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A HISTORY

OF

THE ART OF PRINTING.

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A HISTORY

OF

THE ART OF PRINTING,

FROM ITS INVENTION TO ITS WIDE-SPREAD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

PRECEDED BY A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE

ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET,

AND THE SUCCESSIVE METHODS OF RECORDING EVENTS AND MULTIPLYING MS. BOOKS BEFORE THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

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BY H. NOËL HUMPHREYS,

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF WRITING," "THE ILLUMINATED BOOKS OF THE MIDDLE AGES," "THE COINAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE," ETC. ETC.

WITH ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS,

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PREFACE

THE existing mass of literature devoted to the early history of the Printing-Press is so great, that the addition of another volume to the vast accumulation may appear at first sight not only unnecessary, but a wilful and useless addition to an already unmanageable and more than sufficient source of information. My reply to this view of the case is, that by far the greater number of the works on the subject are devoted to its separate sections, and that they are generally so technical in their treatment as to be partially unintelligible to the general reader, while many of the most instructive are either in Latin, French, or German.

In the next place, recent investigations have thrown so much new light upon the subject, that many of the theories and statements of the elder bibliographers have become altogether unsafe guides; and lastly, the illustrative examples of the great mass of bibliographical works, except in a few comparatively recent instances, have been so unsatisfactory in regard to accuracy, and so insufficient in number, that the subject may be said never to have been thoroughly illustrated in any single work, while it is one which cannot be satisfactorily elucidated without the introduction of abundant Examples.

It may be stated also, that the very best of the so-called fac-similes, executed by hand, can never reproduce the general aspect of a page of print of any special epoch with anything like the accuracy of a photo-lithograph, by which means an entire page can be accurately reproduced at one quarter the expense that a few lines would cost, if executed by hand; and it is this facility of copious illustration which has been one of my chief reasons for undertaking an outline history of the origin and development of the Printing-Press during the first eventful century of its existence, say from 1430 to 1530.

But my principal inducement to attempt the production of the present volume was my conviction that a complete outline of the progress of the art throughout the whole of Europe, to the close of the 15th century, did not exist in a condensed and popular form, such as might be read with interest as a consecutive narrative, sufficiently free from technical details to be perfectly intelligible to the general reader; and it was with this feeling that I commenced an undertaking, upon which a very great amount of careful study has been bestowed.

I have endeavoured to make the general view of the subject more complete, by describing at some length the origin of letters themselves, as the means of expressing the sounds of language, by explaining the nature of the subsequently-established methods of keeping records, and also the means used for rapidly multiplying Manuscripts before the invention of Printing.

As regards the origin of the Printing-Press itself, I have dwelt at some length on the subject of those works supposed to be printed with moveable types at Haärlem, perhaps a quarter of

a century before Gutenberg brought his labours in the same direction to a successful issue at Mayence; and in treating of the rival claims of Holland and Germany to the invention of the art which has proved itself by far more important than any other in stimulating the progress of modern civilization, I have endeavoured to treat the point at issue with scrupulous fairness, though inclined to believe in the prior claims of Holland.

In describing the introduction of the Printing-Press into England by William Caxton, of ever-glorious memory, I have, perhaps, been more minute than is consistent with the general aim and scope of my work; but if the space allotted to the career of an individual printer, who was but the enthusiastic practitioner and not the inventor of his art, be deemed too great, the importance of his labours in a national point of view, as those of the undoubted father of the Printing-Press in England, must be my excuse.

The illustrations of the present volume form, as I believe, a more complete series of examples of the early progress of the art of Printing than has ever been given to the public before, and might alone serve, with the simple assistance of the descriptive titles appended to each plate, to convey a very accurate idea of the origin and subsequent progress of the most important of all human arts. I cannot help calling particular attention to a few of these illustrations, which are very remarkable works of their class, as reproduced by means of photo-lithographs, combined with the chromo-lithography of the illuminated ornaments, by Messrs. Day & Son, Limited. For instance, the entire page from Gutenberg's famous Bible, the first real "Book" which ever issued from the Printing-Press, is such a specimen as no previous work on the subject can boast of, and which could not now have been produced but for new processes which scientific and artistic discoveries have placed at my disposal; and the same may be said of the entire page from Schoiffher's Psalter, and several other of the illustrations.

In conclusion, I may state, that while I have necessarily derived abundant advantages from the invaluable aggregation of knowledge accumulated by the great bibliographers of the last two centuries, I have yet mainly depended upon my own careful examination of the series of monuments which have furnished the present illustrations, for obtaining my immediate information; and the results of those observations, whatever may be their value, form the basis of the present essay towards a general and popular view of the subject.

I ought not to conclude this brief preamble without stating that the excellent and instructive arrangement of the series of specimens exhibited in the Library of the British Museum, under the superintendence of the present Principal Librarian, Mr. Winter Jones, has afforded me many invaluable hints in my selection of specimens; and that the advice and assistance of Mr. Watts, Mr. Rye, Mr. Buller, and other gentlemen connected with the Printed Book Department of our National Library, have been extremely valuable.

H. N. H.

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A

History

OF

THE ART OF PRINTING.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Of the earliest methods of recording national events.—Of the cultivation of the memory for that purpose by a special class of a community, who transmitted their records orally to their successors. — Of the subsequent methods of preserving records by means of pictorial and symbolic signs, and of the eventual development of the Art of Writing.

SUFFICIENT evidence still exists to prove that, in periods not very long anterior to the earliest historic dates, the Art of Writing, even in its rudest pictorial forms, was utterly unknown; and that the records of comparatively civilized nations were preserved by memory alone. In these prehistoric epochs a certain class, generally of the sacerdotal order, devoted itself to the duty of preserving and transmitting to their successors the history of the State, and also the national Codes of law, religion, and morals. From careful training, and continual practice, the memory of the recording class became so tenacious, that a multitude of facts were preserved by its means almost as unerringly as in a written document. Events were, in fact, written on the brain instead of on stone, papyrus, or parchment; and so carefully was the art of thus retaining and transmitting events cultivated, that the powers acquired for that purpose were far greater than we can now well conceive of. It was, indeed, by this means that those famous Sanscrit Vedas, which probably contain the oldest dogmas of a religious creed, and the oldest moral and legal codes in existence, were, during a long period, transmitted from generation to generation of the priestly order, whose memories were specially trained for their preservation and transmission to their successors. Even after the invention of the Art of Writing, and when these codes of religious and moral law had taken the form of written documents, the habit of committing them to memory did not suddenly cease, but continued to form one of the chief duties of the priests who were their *ex-officio* custodians.

In order to acquire the powers of memory requisite for such purposes, many years were consumed in daily and hourly training; twelve years being thus devoted by the inferior orders of the priesthood, while those aspiring to superior sacerdotal rank, or rather those specially predestined to fill the upper grades of the hierarchy, passed a probationary state of no less than forty years in the same course of studies.

The length of time required in committing accurately to memory the whole of those sacred codes is, indeed, in no way astonishing when we consider that the body of matter to be so mastered was more than equal in extent to the whole of our own Sacred Scriptures.

It is probable that even so late as the time of Homer memory still played an important part as a substitute for written records; and some writers have thought that the immortal poems themselves were thus preserved during, perhaps, two, three, or more centuries immediately following their composition, by the professional bards or reciters of Greece. The rhapsodies attributed to Ossian, or at all events the genuine portions of them, were undoubtedly preserved by oral tradition at a very recent period, in the north of Scotland.

Among the means devised for aiding the memory in the permanent retention of codes of Law, Religion, or historical narrative, it is more than probable that the arrangement of the matter to be preserved into measured phrases, each having a sort of balance, or completeness, in itself, was one of the principal and most effectual. We know, from many trite examples that might be cited, how greatly such an arrangement is found to assist the memory; even the number of days in each of the calendar months, for instance, might often prove a puzzle to many of us but for the old schoolroom doggerel,—

"Thirty days hath September,
April, June, and November;"

and how much more easy it is to get by heart a page of poetry than a page of prose.

It is fair, then, to suppose that great skill was thus developed in the rhythmical arrangement of sentences, leading gradually to still higher kinds of versification,—destined perhaps to become the eventual parents of the subsequent poetic metres of Greece and Rome,—which may thus owe their origin to verbal arrangements, originally intended as mere aids to memory, at a time when that faculty was the only depository of the laws and the history of nations. By continual practice in this kind of mental packing away of the constantly-accumulating stores of learning of various kinds, the class to which this branch of the State labour was allotted must have become exceedingly skilful in their art; and it is therefore but a natural inference to suppose that some of the highest forms of versification may have been thus worked out, and that the scientific and artistic cultivation of the memory by the means described, may actually have resulted in laying the foundations of Poetry itself; for striking forms of expression, and appropriate and beautiful arrangements of words and ideas, must necessarily have developed themselves during the labours of these incessant students of the most efficient aids to memory.

The Bardic forms of Recitation would in this way naturally develop themselves, as the best suited to historic narrative; and, in fact, the Iliad itself may, perhaps, be considered a bardic composition. Whether this view be conceded or not, it is at all events certain, that long after the art of Writing had removed the necessity of bardic recitals, or sacerdotal colleges of memory, —if I may be permitted the use of such a term,—verse continued to be frequently used simply as an aid to the memory. We know from Cicero, for instance, that so late as the century preceding the Christian era, the Roman populace committed to memory the laws of the twelve tables through the medium of doggerel verses, in which the main points of the ancient Roman law were embodied for that purpose.

It is certain, therefore, that a kind of brain-printing not only preceded the ink and paper of the Press, but was also in existence long anterior to the invention of any system of Writing. In

short, a human faculty now almost entirely neglected, was once the sole medium known for the preservation of national records; and, in fact, continued so, in some instances, long after the invention of Writing had been perfected. For there existed a strong lingering feeling in favour of the more ancient method of keeping records in the living and intelligent brain, rather than in the dead form of written signs, long after the necessity for doing so had been removed.

Respecting this feeling many interesting passages occur in the works of Plato, which might be cited, and one of these is too striking not to find a place here. The Athenian philosopher, who had travelled in Egypt, makes his venerated teacher, Socrates, in one of the famous dialogues, utter the following remarkable passage :—

"When the god Theuth, the mythic inventor of Egyptian letters, proposed the use of his invention to Thamus, king of Egypt, the king replied, 'Thou, father of letters, hast allowed thyself to be blinded by thy inclination, till thou seest things different to what they are. Those who learn thy letters will leave to those strange characters the care of recalling to them all that they should rather have confided to memory, and they will themselves preserve no *actual* recollection of the things themselves. Thus thou hast discovered, not a means of memory, but only of mere reminiscence. Thou givest to thy disciples the means of appearing wise without really being so, for they will merely read, and not have the living instruction of masters,'" &c.

It is thus that the conservative principle is ever found expressing itself, seeing the good which belongs to existing things and fully appreciating it, and putting forward specious reasons against innovation; and were it not for this conservative feeling which pervades the minds of the great majority of ordinary natures, existing institutions could never be kept at work while more advanced systems were ripening.

Notwithstanding the conservative wisdom which Plato makes Socrates attribute to the good king Thamus, the vast advantages derivable from a ready method of recording thoughts by means of easily written characters soon made themselves felt over great part of the ancient civilized world. So great, indeed, are the effects which are now produced by the invention of systems of writing, in the dissemination of knowledge, and even in the transmission of mere local news with copiousness and rapidity, that we of a printing-press age are unwilling to believe in the results achieved by the art of writing alone, unaided by the powers of our boasted Press.

The eventual acquisition of a system of writing was, however, no sudden invention; it was, as the more perfect culture of the memory had been, the slow growth of ages. Many modern generalizers, without sufficiently consulting the vast mass of minute data necessary to the complete appreciation of the subject, have thought that systems of writing were the work of ingenious inventors in certain countries at particular epochs, who, by analyzing the qualities of the human voice, and finding it capable of emitting a certain number of distinct sounds, invented, there and then, a series of arbitrary signs to express them. Such a course, it has been often asserted, was the obvious and the necessary origin of alphabets. It is true that alphabets have been made in that way, but only long after the great principle of an alphabetic system had been gradually evolved from methods of writing, perfectly complete in themselves, which in their earliest stage had nothing to do with alphabets, as they did not in any way express the sounds of language, nor even pretend to do so, being, as it were, distinct languages in themselves,—pictorial languages,—addressing themselves exclusively to the eye, as a spoken language addresses itself to the ear.

The nature of the origin of these systems of pictorial writing may be briefly yet sufficiently stated, for my present purpose, within the space of a very few pages, and may be best illustrated from the Egyptian method, which is the earliest of which we have any knowledge, having been practised, as proved by sufficient data and existing monuments, full three thousand years before the Christian era.

The existing monuments of the Egyptian system of writing contain ample evidence that in its beginning the method was a purely pictorial one. That is to say, things were not represented by

their *names*, but by their forms,—a man as a man, a king as a man wearing the symbols of royalty, the act of running by a running figure, or that of praying by a kneeling figure.

Every existing hieroglyphic is a pictorial representation of some object, more or less simplified in order to render its execution easy, and, to a certain extent, rapid. Even when abstract ideas had to be expressed, the purpose was effected by similar forms of objects, used as symbols, instead of in a direct or positive sense, each symbolic figure being accompanied by a particular sign to express that its signification was symbolic instead of positive. Thus, in expressing divisions of time, for instance, the moon was used to denote a month, the reason of which is sufficiently obvious; while a palm-leaf signified a complete year, because the palm was believed to put forth invariably twelve leaves during the year.

Problems still more difficult of expression by means of pictorial signs were solved in an analogous manner by the thoughtful and patient ingenuity of those priestly scribes of Egypt For instance, the idea of the soul,—that part of our being destined to live beyond the brief duration of an earthly existence,—was successfully expressed by a single pictorial sign in a most unmistakable manner. In Egyptian physiology, the heart was considered the seat of life accompanied by the belief that the principle of life and of the soul were one; the soul was therefore, expressed by the figure of a heart.

I have not space to multiply examples, or I might safely prove the system to have been so complete even during its purely pictorial stage that there could have been no difficulty in expressing, not only every historical event, but even delicate shades of thought; for which purpose some of the combinations of objects and symbols were most imaginative and ingenious The examples already described are sufficient to prove that the Egyptian system of writing which was (as I shall subsequently endeavour to show) the remote parent of our own, was not in its original form, a system serving for the notation of language, as an alphabet is, but was an entirely distinct method of record, founded upon three kinds of pictorial representations,—positive, symbolical, and combinative. It is true that, in the earliest examples which are known to us of Egyptian writing, it already displays the germs of a phonetic principle, though still in strictly pictorial forms; but of the fact that in its origin it was simply pictorial, and nothing more its entire method carries inherent proof, which places that hypothesis beyond doubt; and if that were not sufficiently convincing, a reference to other early systems of writing, which, being of less remote date, we are able to examine in a more primitive stage of their development, will afford additional proof.* We have, for instance, examples of the Mexican writing in its purely pictorial stage, which exhibits both positive and symbolic pictures or characters on a precisely analogous system to those of the Egyptians, showing that when first the human instincts are stimulated, at a special point in the developments of civilization, to attempt material records instead of trusting to tradition, they invariably adopt the pictorial principle. Indeed, it is quite inconceivable that the first forms of material record should be attempted through the difficult medium of a notation of language, which involves a series of considerations quite beyond the amount of mental capacity developed in the earlier stages of civilization; while the obvious method of expressing the idea of a lion by a rude figure of the animal itself is easy both of conception and execution.

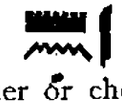
Chinese writing is to this day a complicated series of pictures and pictorial combinations in each of which, however great the abbreviation, and even changes of form, for the convenience of writing, the different stages of departure from the more correct pictorial representations can be traced in writings of different periods through nearly all their gradual stages of degradation till they have assumed their present arbitrary forms, which look so much like alphabetic characters.

It remains to show how alphabetic systems eventually grew out of pictorial ones. In the

* In my "History of Writing" I have dwelt upon this branch of the subject at considerable length, and in some detail.

Egyptian system, the first modifications of pictorial objects in such a way as to express the sounds of language occurred when it became necessary to express the *name* of a thing, and not merely the thing itself, as the *name* of a king, for instance, in which case a new problem had to be solved. We have seen that in the earliest periods the written definition of a king by a crowned man (his nation being indicated by national symbols) was all that could be required in a primitive record; but as civilization advanced, and greater detail was called for in the compilation of annals, and it became necessary to express the *name* of a native or foreign king, it was then, and under such circumstances, that *sounds*—the sounds of spoken language—had first to be dealt with; but even in such cases the pictorial system was still found available. Let it be supposed that the name to be recorded was Ahomrhe. This supposititious name is founded, as was the custom in a primitive state of civilization, upon objects, the qualities of which the bearer was supposed to possess,—*Ahom*, an eagle, and *Rhe*, the sun; in allusion, possibly, to the possession of a keenness of sight akin to that of the eagle, which the ancients believed could look at the sun without any disposition to close the eyelid.* As these natural objects suggested the name, it follows that pictorial figures of them could also be made to represent the sounds of the name in a record; but then they had to be accompanied by a sign expressive of a proper name, which sign was generally a half-circle; and when the name was that of an exalted personage, as a prince or king, the name was also placed on a royal shield, or surrounded by an inclosing line, as we find all such Egyptian names. By this device the meaning of the necessary combination of images became unmistakable, and the figures of the eagle (*Ahom*), and the sun (*Rhe*), accompanied by a small semicircle, and the whole placed on a shield (or within an inclosing line representing the form of a shield), denoted, beyond possibility of error to those instructed in the method of Egyptian writing, the name desired, and at the same time the title, Ahomrhe, the king.

The next step in advance occurred through the necessity of expressing some foreign *name* which, to Egyptian ears, bore no reference to any natural objects, but was a mere sound. This difficulty was also surmounted by a closely similar method, and in the success then achieved was laid the foundation of a true alphabet; the expression of the mere sound of the foreign name being achieved, like that of the native name, by the use of representations of natural objects. In many instances, a combination of the native names of well-known objects might be made to express the sound of a foreign name having no reference to those objects; but cases would necessarily occur to which this simple method would not apply. The Egyptian scribes appear to have surmounted the difficulty in the following manner:—The pictorial objects were made, in such cases, to represent only the initial sounds of their own names; as, for instance, a reed, called *aak*, was used to express only its initial sound, *a*; and a lion, called *labo*, only gave the sound *l*; and this system, as we may infer from the stage in which the Egyptian method has reached us, eventually became the only one used in writing names, either native or foreign, and was adopted at a very early period in the progress of the hieroglyphical writing of the Egyptians.

We thus find the Egyptian name of Amun written in this manner:—  Reading from right to left, we get first, *aak* (a reed), giving *A*; next *mene* (a chequer or chessboard), giving *m*; and last, *nim* (water), giving the final *n*; in this way completing the name, with the omission of the vowel, which had to be mentally supplied, as in all those ancient Oriental systems, which there is some reason to believe were derived, more or less directly, from the Egyptian. The Hebrew, for instance, is an existing example, both of writing from right to left and of the omission of vowels, their places being eventually supplied by those accents, or vowel points, as they are called, which were adopted at a later period.

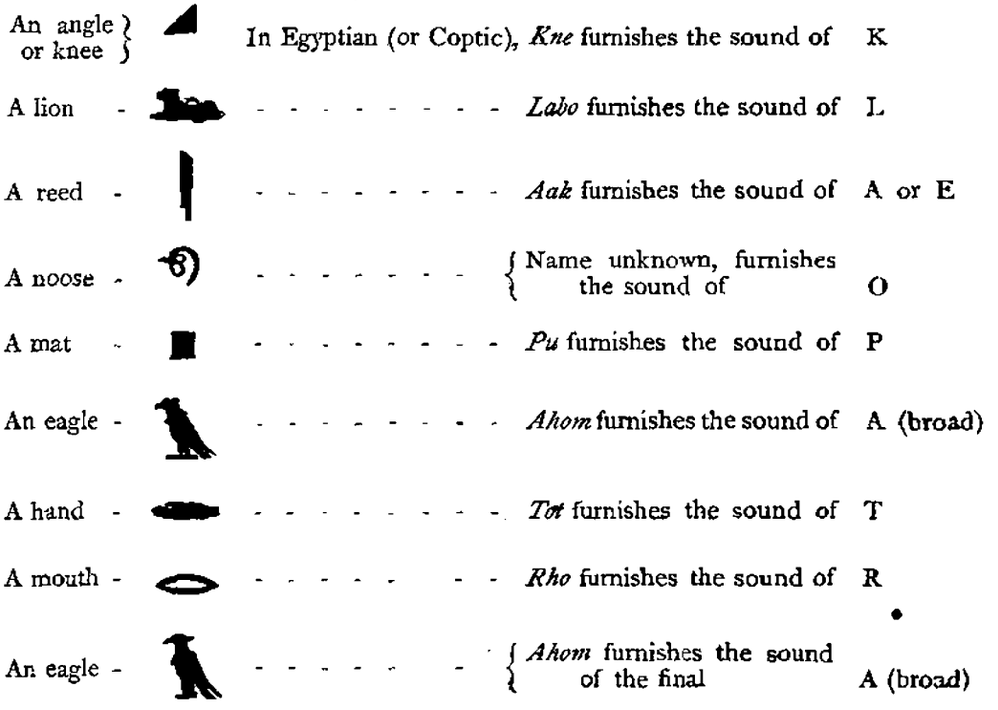
The Egyptian system of writing which had reached the degree of completeness just

* Among the North-American Indians we have existing examples of this kind of name; as, "Flying Cloud," "Stealthy Fox," "Feathered Arrow," &c.

described at a very early period (according to some authorities, more than 4,000 years before the Christian era), never advanced beyond it, although it continued in use during the whole epoch of the Greek domination of the Ptolemies, and nearly to the close of the long period during which Egypt was a Roman province. The ancient characters, even when reduced to the value of positive letters in the notation of proper names, still retained the forms of the objects of which they were as accurate representations as the art at the period of their original adoption could produce. It is true that a quick or cursive style of making the characters, when written on papyrus, was adopted at a very early period; but even in the most rapid method of Egyptian writing, known as the demotic or popular style, each character is still the positive representation of an animal or some other natural object, though so much abbreviated or condensed as to be scarcely recognized by one not acquainted with the figures of which those abbreviated characters are, as it were, the short-hand representations. As an example of the most complete and latest manner of writing the proper name of a sovereign in the phonetic or sound-expressing hieroglyphics, and one in which the vowels as well as the consonants are expressed, that of Cleopatra, the last of the Greco-Egyptian sovereigns, will suffice.

The name of Cleopatra, within the cartouche or surrounding line, which expresses the royal shield.

The name is to be read from right to left.


An angle or knee
In Egyptian (or Coptic), *Kne* furnishes the sound of K
A lion
Labo furnishes the sound of L
A reed
Aak furnishes the sound of A or E
A noose
Name unknown, furnishes the sound of O
A mat
Pu furnishes the sound of P
An eagle
Ahom furnishes the sound of A (broad)
A hand
Tot furnishes the sound of T
A mouth
Rho furnishes the sound of R
An eagle
Ahom furnishes the sound of the final A (broad)

We have in this example a name in which all the vowels are expressed, which was not usual in the earlier periods. The semicircular sign is also present, denoting a proper name; added to which is the female symbol, an egg, defining the name to be that of a female; while the whole is inclosed in the outline of the royal shield, denoting it to be that of a sovereign. The name of Berenice, another Greco-Egyptian princess, is generally written *with* the final vowel, while two of the intermediate ones are omitted. It will be noticed in the name of Cleopatra, that the first letter is the equivalent of the Greek κ instead of the Roman C; also that the third letter is the sharp *a*, in accordance with the Greek pronunciation of the name. The single reed expresses the finer or more attenuated sound of our A, while two reeds were used to express a broader sound, like the French *a*, or *ei*, or *ai*, for which purpose the double reed is used as *ei* in the sixth sound of Berenice. It will also be noticed, that in reading the name of Cleopatra downwards, and from right to left, that the ■, or P, is misplaced, and instead of being to the right of the eagle, is placed on the extreme left of its line: this is merely to afford better room for the figure of the eagle, the *mat* packing more conveniently in

its actual position, and leaving all the more picturesque figures in the central line. Liberties of this kind were continually taken by the Egyptian scribes, with an artistic feeling for symmetry, without causing the slightest confusion to the trained readers of hieroglyphic writing.*

The foundations of an alphabetic system of writing—the true basis of the boasted powers of the modern Printing Press—were thus laid by the hieroglyphic system of recording facts and thoughts invented by those priests of Egypt, to whom our eternal gratitude is due.

That the Hebrew system of writing was founded upon a precisely similar pictorial method to that of the Egyptians is easily shown by a very cursory examination of the *form* of its characters in connection with their *names;* and it is more than probable that it was derived directly, in its principle if not in its forms, from the Egyptian. If so, only part of the parent system was taken. The superior value of the phonetic, or sound-expressing, characters had long been perceived by the Egyptians themselves, but under the severely conservative system of the theocracy that governed the land of the Pharaohs, not a tittle of the system invented and developed by the priests could be abandoned. The same feeling, however, did not exist among a foreign people, who, in adopting a method of writing founded on the Egyptian system, may only have taken its most valuable principle, that of its purely phonetic signs. That the Hebrew characters (and probably the Phœnician also) were thus founded upon the sound-expressing characters of the Egyptian system, appears probable from the fact that the *sound* values of the Hebrew letters are derived from the initial sounds of the objects which their forms represent, as in the Egyptian system, which may be easily shown on examining a few of them. Take, for instance, the first:—In the oldest form of this character (the Samaritan), it plainly represents the head of an ox, and its name is *Aleph* (head, or chief), the initial sound of which (A) it conveys. The Hebrew name of the second letter as plainly represents a house, or tent, the name of which, *Beth*, gives its initial sound (B), in like manner, to the letter; the third letter represented, was in its earliest form, the head and neck of a camel, and the Hebrew name, *Ghimel*, gives its initial sound (G) to the character; of the fourth letter, *Daleth*, representing a door, the same may be said, showing that the characters *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Ghimel*, *Daleth* (A, B, C, D), which are each portraits of certain objects, express the respective initial sounds of the names of those objects.

In the Egyptian system, whence the principles of these sound-expressing characters had been derived, various objects were used to express the same sound; for which purpose, any object beginning with an identical sound was equally serviceable. By this means very great diversity of forms was introduced, which was taken advantage of by writers of what may be termed luxurious inscriptions, in which the scribe would lay himself out to write the name of a prince or a city with a different set of characters each time it occurred. In the newer systems, however, in which the purely pictorial and symbolic portion of Egyptian hieroglyphics was abandoned, the phonetic characters selected would naturally have a stronger tendency to become permanent; as the principle of their formation, when disconnected from the rest of the parent system, would soon be more or less forgotten. It is natural to suppose that the usefulness and simplicity of purely phonetic characters, when once discovered, became rapidly appreciated; and the lessening, rather than the increase of their numbers would evidently be the great desideratum, so that the system of *variants* would be gradually abandoned; and as in the first effort to write a *foreign*

* It should be noticed here, though space forbids more than a passing remark, that the artistic scribes of Egypt had the faculty of seizing with such accuracy the more characteristic and salient points in the forms of natural objects, that however slight the outline the figure is never mistaken, whether of a bee, a goose, a gosling, an eagle, a lion, a calf, a palm-leaf, or any other object; and that in all three classes of Egyptian writing the figures may always be found characteristically distinct. In the full monumental hieroglyphic, figures so drawn are, of course, unmistakable; in the hieratic, or abbreviated hand of the priesthood, when only half the figure often stands for the whole, it is almost equally plain; and even in the demotic, or popular cursive hand, each figure is still plainly traceable by the accustomed reader. I have stated these points in much greater detail in my "History of Writing."

name the Egyptians for the first time attempted by certain signs the *sounds* of language, so on the transplanting of their system for the use of a foreign people, the complete notation of language by means of a set of fixed characters was first achieved.*

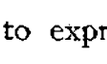
The nature of the Hebrew and Phœnician characters may be thus recapitulated. They were abbreviated representations of objects, and were employed to signify the initial sounds of the names of those objects, being used in that form for the general purposes of the notation of the sounds of language; twenty-two such characters being found sufficient to express all the sounds of the Hebrew language by a tolerably perfect system of notation.

We have here arrived at a true system of *writing*, as we now understand the term; but it was not yet a *complete* one. The vowels were not expressed by a separate character, but supplied by the reader, as in the Egyptian system. It is possible, however, that these were not left entirely to guess-work, but were suggested by the second sound of the name of the object represented by the character. Thus the Hebrew *k*, *koph*, may have been used when the vowel sound *o* followed, and the *kaph* when the vowel sound *a* followed. It may also be observed that, in the oldest forms of the Hebrew characters, in some cases, different objects seem to have been used, but of course only those of which the initial sounds answered the purpose required.

The systems of Hebrew and Phœnician writing never advanced beyond the stage in which the vowel sounds were omitted; a deficiency supplied to the Hebrew at a comparatively recent period by the arbitrary addition of accents, or "vowel-points," to perform the parts of the absent vowels. It was from the Phœnician characters, which closely resemble the Hebrew in name, form, and value, that the Greek letters were afterwards derived, and also the Roman, for it is now well known that the Roman alphabet, in its earliest form, was the same as the Greek. The Greeks, in adopting the Phœnician system of writing, only accepted those characters which they immediately required for a rough-and-ready kind of notation of their own language; the number first taken being only sixteen. Along with them, merely for the purpose of a convenient means of distinction, the names which they found attached to them were also taken; but to these names no definite meaning was attached, and the names themselves having thus become merely arbitrary sounds, were modified according to Grecian notions of euphony; the Aleph becoming *Alepha*, or *Alpha;* the Beth, *Betha*, or *Beta;* while the Ghimel, or Ghamel, became *Gamma;* and the Daleth, *Daletha*, or *Delta.* Thus was the *alphabet*, even with its modern title, at last established; for the Greeks soon gave to their newly-acquired set of writing-signs the combined names of the two first characters, "Alpha-beta."

The Greeks were not at that period archæologists, and did not seek for the origin of the names of the characters they adopted; they found them in use by their neighbours as sound-expressing signs, and adopted them only for that definite purpose, without any reference to the principles on which they had been contrived or invented. This is proved by the names which they subsequently gave to certain modified characters. When, for instance, the short *o* was eventually distinguished from the long *o* by doubling the letter, as *oo*, or *ω*, the distinctive appellations of these letters were formed, not of the name of the object which originally furnished the sound, but by a definition of the sounds expressed by the letters themselves; thus, the short *o* was called *o-micron* or *small o;* while the long *oo* was termed *o-mega*, or *great o.* The way in which phonetic characters had been first obtained had not, however, been entirely lost sight of by the Greeks; and when they required additional letters, not to be obtained by a modification of those received from the Phœnicians, they manufactured them in an analogous manner. Thus, when a character expressing the sound *psi* was required, they sought for some similar sound in

* This transition is exemplified in the Assyrian system, also derived, in all probability, from the Egyptian. It was not the phonetic signs only that were at first adopted by the Assyrian scribes, but many of the symbolic and purely pictorial ones also, which renders the oldest form of Assyrian character so difficult to decipher.

nature, and observing that the swift flight of an arrow produced that sound (*ps* .....) at the moment of springing from the string and bow, they took the form of a bow and arrow, at the instant of the arrow's flight, to express the required sound; from which device,  modified for rapid writing, we get Ψ. But yet they no longer thought of giving to the character the name of the object that furnished the sound, which would have had no meaning, as it was on account of the *sound* caused by the object, and not on account of its *name*, that they had selected its form as that of their new character, which was therefore, in a true phonetic system, named in accordance with the sound it expressed, *psi*. The same may be said of the name of the *Theta*, adopted in an analogous manner. We therefore find the Greek alphabet partly composed of characters bearing the names of the objects which their forms originally represented, and partly of letters named simply after the sounds they expressed, because the later additions were the work of a transition period, when the pictorial system was passing away, and the phonetic system had firmly established itself.

It was in the Roman system of letters that the pictorial origin of the signs was first and finally ignored; and in which their own sounds became their only distinctive names, instead of the unintelligible corruptions of the Hebrew terms for Head, House, Camel, Door, &c., which to this day distinguish those of the Greek alphabet. The Roman *literatores*, who taught children their letters, taught them what was termed their A, B, C, and not the Alpha-beta. The Greek *grammatici*, who taught Greek literature in Rome, put their pupils through a course of rudimental spelling in the forms of *Beta-Alpha*, ba; *Beta-Iota*, bi; *Beta-omicron*, bo; the Roman teacher merely dictating—*BA*, ba; *BI*, bi; *BO*, bo. And so the last traces of the hieroglyphic and pictorial origin of our letters was finally lost, except in their forms, which though few suspect it, and fewer still might be disposed to admit it, are positively the corrupted and abbreviated shapes of certain natural objects; our A being the abbreviated portrait of the head of an ox; B (though much distorted), of a rude Hebrew house or tent; G, of the head and neck of a camel; and D, of an ancient door, or entrance to a tent.

It is thus evident that letters were not originally devised, like the notes of music, to express certain sounds, but were originally not even phonetic in their character, and only became so by many successive stages of adaptation. It was only after the *growth*, not the *invention*, of an alphabet that it was sought to make other alphabets, at once, on principles similar to those which the Greek and Roman alphabets had arrived at by slow degrees and transitions. It has been attempted in our day, for instance, to invent a series of purely phonetic signs so complete that through their medium any language could be perfectly represented, without any of those anomalies which still cling about the old alphabets, making the spelling of certain words uncertain, and, in many instances, betraying the cumbrous incompleteness of the origin of our letters:* but these modern essays at a truer system of phonography have not hitherto met with complete success.

I have attempted to show in the foregoing account of the origin of the Greek and Roman characters, the immediate parent of all the European alphabets, how we became possessed of a method of writing, a power without which the Printing Press itself could not have been called into existence, as its only function is, after all, to multiply the work of the pen at a more rapid rate than can be effected by hand labour; the Printing Press is, in simple fact, but the servant of the pen; for the simplest notification, as much as the broad sheet of the newspaper, or the portly volume itself, must be *written* before it can be printed.

* In my "History of Writing" I have more fully described the modern phonetic systems, and stated the reasons of their partial want of success. Before closing my "History of Printing" I shall again refer to the Pitman system.

CHAPTER II.

Of the methods of executing written Documents and Records. — Of the earliest means of multiplying and circulating them, and of the methods adopted by ancient nations for multiplying copies of written Books; also of the Number and Price of written Books during the periods of Greek and Roman civilization.

IN speaking of those early periods in which memory performed the functions of the pen, it was suggested, if not expressly stated, that as nations prospered and progressed, the preservation of the ever-increasing bulk and complexity of their annals by the aid of memory alone must necessarily at a certain point have become impossible. Even the prospect of that point could not fail to stimulate the inventive powers of man to produce some remedy for the approaching evil that was casting its shadow before. It was under this pressure that the first steps in the art of writing were made; and that the mass of facts and events that were cumbering the brains of the trained preservers and transmitters of the State laws and history were transferred to the walls of palaces, temples, pyramids, and obelisks, in the form of pictorial signs, which expert scribes found no difficulty in reading. Records of victories were carved in characters of the same class upon detached rocks on or near the site of the battle; and regal progresses were commemorated in a similar manner. Of these rock inscriptions, many still exist within the limits of the ancient Assyrian empire. They are often in three languages, and in three distinct sets of characters, being addressed to the three leading races of which the great empire was composed. The comparison of these three classes of writing, each employed in the notation of the same decrees, has very mainly contributed to the modern deciphering of the ancient cuneiform letters of Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. These rock inscriptions, however, could not, evidently, be circulated. They are literally illustrations of the axiom that, "as the mountain would not go to Mahomet, Mahomet had to go to the mountain." But a time eventually came, long centuries after, when by the invention of printing the mountain, in the sense alluded to, was actually sent to Mahomet, in the shape of those ponderous *folio* volumes of the first European printers of the 15th century—for very mountains of literature they truly may be called, and they rapidly found their way, not only all over Europe, but even into Asia. The mural and rock inscriptions of Assyria were not the only records reduced to writing,—the art of impressing writing of the same kind on small slabs of clay was eventually discovered and practised, and notifications and proclamations in this form eventually circulated all over the Assyrian empire. The rock inscriptions eventually became known to the people by the name of "speaking stones;" and long after their meaning and true character was forgotten, they were still regarded with a kind of superstitious feeling, of which many curious facts have been narrated. In that stage of the art of writing, when it was only known and practised by officers of the priestly order, the characters were called carvings or sculptures, as being cut in stone; and therefore it is that we find the Egyptian records were termed by the Greeks, priestly sculptures, or "*hieroglyphics.*"*

The Greeks, with all their refinement, continued to use the monumental class of stone inscription long after more convenient and portable materials had been invented, and in general

* With the Greeks the generic term for a *letter* was *gramma;* with the Romans, *litera;* thus, with the Greeks letters were still called *pictures;* while, in their reduced and abbreviated form, the Romans only called them *lines.*

use. For instance, the Athenian record now known as the "Parian Chronicle" was engraved on tablets of marble, some of which now exist in the famous Arundel collection. It appears also that the Jewish nation, as well as others in the East, kept their national records on slabs or columns of stone. "The children of Seth," says Josephus, "engraved upon columns of stone, and afterwards of brick, their astronomical discoveries,"—a system doubtless used for other important and national records. It was from similar columns, in Egypt, that Pythagoras and Plato derived their knowledge of Egyptian learning. Such records are spoken of as late as the time of Proclus, about the year 500 of the present era; many of the well-known obelisks, which still exist, being no doubt monuments of that kind.

One of the many proofs that all written records were originally cut in stone, or some hard material, is to be found in the names of letters and writing in nearly all languages. The Greek term for the art of writing, *graphein*, the Latin *scribere* or *exarare*, the Flemish *ceryten*, the Saxon *writan*, all express the action of making an indented line or furrow. The Runic letters, also, receive their name from the Danish *run*, or *ryn*,—meaning a furrow, line, or trace,—as does the Latin *litera*, from which we have our own term *letter*, and more directly *literature*. All these words signified either to *write*, or to *represent*,—showing that the first letters, as before stated, were representations of natural objects, and that both painting and writing originated in the same simple manner by means of incised lines in some suitable substance. The idea of scratching a line with a sharp flint, or some other hard material, was of course much more simple than that of preparing a fabricated mixture, and laying it, by means of a brush or some other manufactured instrument, on an artificial or natural substance. So that we may arrange the chronological order and succession of writing materials in complete accordance with that of other arts; the sharp flint being the pen of the "stone age," the bronze styles the writing implement in the bronze age, and the iron styles of the iron age; and with the invention of artificial and portable surfaces for writing on, came the reed pen, the hair brush, and eventually the quill pen, &c. How early the quill pen appeared is difficult to prove; but Clemens of Alexandria, about A.D. 180, mentions both "feather" and "reed" as used for writing in his time.

In later periods the significance attached to the names of letters, as founded on the nature of their origin, naturally lost its force, but we subsequently find the characters used in writing taking collectively the name of the substance on which they were written. Thus we have the term *stave* for a certain given portion of writing, from *stav*, *staf*, or *stab* (a stick), on account of the squared stick or staff on which Runic records were often made. In Hungarian there is a corresponding term, *botu*, a letter, from *bot*, a *stick*. Yet names of this class often rather refer to the entire book, than to the letters of which its records were composed. We get, for instance, our term "book," from the Danish *boch*, beach bark, on which writings were made after the stone and wood periods had passed away. At a later epoch, again, in the term *bog-stav*, or book-staff, we have the two terms combined. In the Latin term *codex* (a piece of wood) we have another name for a book, also derived from one of its original materials; as also in the Greek *biblia*, from *biblos*, bark, like the Latin *liber*, which expresses the name of that kind of bark of which the earliest Italic books were made. Still the anciently established use of solid substances prevailed for a long time, from a kind of prestige—as the most favourite kind of writing material. Plutarch tells us that in his time children learned their letters from tablets of wood, in which the letters were cut in hollow or in relief. Quintilian also, in speaking of the education of children, says that it may be useful to let them have tablets with the letters engraved in hollow, so that their little hands may be able to guide the styles by following the furrow, and so learn by degrees how to form them without that assistance; and Plato incidentally suggests the same method. It is thus, by industriously gleaning stray grains of evidence from the scattered remnants of ancient literature still spared to us, that industrious archæologists have got together such evidence of the

origin and gradual development of almost all the useful arts as furnishes us with a tolerably accurate idea of their nature, origin, and eventual progress. Even from the writings of St. Jerome, a few words of evidence on the subject in hand have been carefully culled—where they might have been least expected; they occur in a letter to a bishop of Rome, in which he sends advice to a Roman lady, named Lælia, that her little girl Paula should have letters inscribed on boxwood or ivory to play with, in order that she may in that way learn the names of them.

As the knowledge of writing and its uses became more general, it became more and more necessary to impart to written documents a portable character; and inscriptions of a precisely similar import to those on the walls of the temples and Pyramids were eventually made on thin plates of metal, or on the broad leaves of certain plants, and on sheets formed of woven textures, such as common linen. Egyptian ingenuity, however, did not fail to provide eventually a more suitable material. From a kind of rush growing in the swamps adjacent to the Nile, they detached the pellicle found between the flesh and the bark of the thick part of the stalk, and the strips so obtained were artificially united till the required breadth of surface was obtained. The sheets formed in this manner were pressed till perfectly flat, and then dried in the sun. A thin material of great toughness and tolerable whiteness, which could be written upon with ease and expedition, was thus produced. This substance was the well-known papyrus, so called from the name of the reed or rush from which it was prepared.* The Egyptian name of this plant was probably *papyr* or *papeer* (the Syrian name being *babeer*), to which the Greeks, through whose medium the name has been transmitted to us, no doubt added, as was their custom, an euphonious termination, making it into *papyros*. In the Egyptian papyrus we have, without doubt, the parent of our modern paper, both as to the character of the substance, and also the name. We are thus indebted to the ingenious and industrious people of ancient Egypt for the invention both of the letters and paper, without which our boasted Printing Press would have been useless. The Press itself was, however, far distant in those days of the greatness of Egypt, though the principal materials destined to exercise its powers had already been brought into existence; yet, at the period under description, the abundance of the new writing material manufactured by the Egyptians must have been enormous, though almost entirely for home consumption; and as copies on papyrus, of the funereal ritual, were placed in almost every mummy-case, the quantity annually consumed in that manner alone, created a sufficient demand to stimulate a very extensive production of such *writing paper*.

While the Egyptians were thus producing the parent of our modern paper, the nations grouped together in central Asia, in the Assyrian empire, having adopted the Egyptian method of writing, and modified it to suit their peculiar purposes, or, developed a system of their own, founded upon similar principles, were content with slabs of soft clay as a writing material, which, after being hardened by baking, were stowed away in record chambers, their aggregate bulk becoming enormous, and their numbers, if we are to believe the statements of ancient authors, being almost fabulous. The Assyrians, however, notwithstanding the cumbrous nature of their writing materials, were in one respect nearer to the invention of a printing press than the Egyptians had ever been, inasmuch as they had positively discovered, and also practised, a method of rapidly multiplying their writings. This was effected by engraved seals, consisting of the well-known cylinders, and also seals of other forms, from which any number of impressions could be taken. Mr. Layard, in his remarkable researches, discovered impressions on clay from such seals, some of which appear to have been regal mandates, duplicates of which, thus obtained, were no doubt sent to high officers of State and other officials in the various provinces of the empire. This step was

* The author of the article "Liber," in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, calls it the papyrus *tree;* but although the plant grows to a considerable height, this is evidently a misapplication of the term.

almost as near an approach to our present system of printing as that by means of which the first block books were produced, the entire pages of which were carved in relief on a slab of wood, from which, when blackened with a suitable ink, any number of impressions could be successively taken.* But the Assyrian engraved seal, from which impressions in clay could be produced, did not possess inherent powers of development in the required direction; and so the Assyrian seals and their clay impressions, though approaching the power of the Printing Press, inasmuch as they were means of multiplying written documents, made no further progress.

After the advent of Greek domination in Asia and in Egypt, Grecian learning received the greatest aid in its dissemination from the general use of the finely-prepared Egyptian papyrus. But, notwithstanding the assistance derived from the use of this excellent writing material, and the previous use of the bark of certain trees, especially the inner bark of the lime, which was manipulated in a very skilful manner, writings still remained so expensive, that we find, according to Diogenes Laertius, that Aristotle, during his residence at Athens, gave three Attic talents, equal to £700 of our money, for a copy of the works of Speusippus, a disciple of Plato; so that a very active circulation of ideas by means of writing was evidently not taking place in Greece at that period, and, in fact, for want of some method of multiplying manuscripts cheaply, such a circulation was impossible.

Shortly afterwards, when the vast empire of Alexander had been broken up into separate kingdoms, which fell to the lot of his generals and their descendants,—just as the great provinces of Europe very nearly did to the marshals of Napoleon,—a curious instance relating to the importance of papyrus as a writing material occurred. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Macedonian king of Egypt, busy with the extension of the great library he had established at Alexandria, became jealous of the celebrity enjoyed by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, as a rival patron of literature; and in order to impede his further accumulation of manuscripts, issued an edict preventing the exportation of Egyptian papyrus. The blow was soon felt at Pergamus; but Eumenes, instead of allowing his project to be stopped by this impediment, caused the skins of sheep to be so beautifully prepared for writing on, that his scribes scarcely regretted the loss of their supply of papyrus; and the skins prepared in the new and improved manner as a writing material having been first manufactured and used at Pergamus, received the name of *pergamena*, a term which, with but slight corruption, has endured to the present day as pergament and parchment. The preparation of these skins, however, was not altogether a novelty in Asia, and Eumenes is only entitled to rank as an improver, and not as inventor; for we learn from Josephus how much the surprise and admiration of Ptolemy Philadelphus were excited on seeing the sacred Scriptures of the Jews, which were written in letters of gold on a roll of skins, so skilfully joined together that no seam could be discovered. May not the sight of this magnificent manuscript, amply denoting the high estimation in which its contents were held, have had some influence in determining the Greco-Egyptian king to cause the execution of that Greek translation now known as the Septuagint, which was executed by the order of this prince for the use of the Jews settled at Cyrene, who had adopted the Greek language.

In Greece proper, although it is well known that the Egyptian papyrus was largely introduced, it would seem that they still had a material of their own, of similar character, prepared from the bark of a tree, as their term for books, or rather scrolls, was *biblion*, that is, things of bark, from the word *biblos*, bark, or perhaps, only that kind of bark prepared as a writing material. It is true that the papyrus was also a bark; but as papyrus is also mentioned by Greek writers, it is most probable that the *biblos* upon which the Greek term for a book (*biblia*) is founded, was a native manufacture similar to the *liber*, or prepared inner bark of the lime, which was used in Italy for similar purposes, and which in an analogous manner furnished the Latin language with the per-

* The Chinese, at a very early period, discovered a method of printing from engraved wood blocks.

manent name for a book.* Or it may be that the ancient name, *biblos*, on the importation of the superior Egyptian material, was transferred to the foreign manufacture in preference to adopting the Egyptian name. It is well known that it is from that term, *biblia*, the Greek word denoting a volume, that we have received the name "Bible," by which the volume of the Holy Scriptures is designated by the modern nations of Europe.†

Having now reached the period of Alexander the Great,—the middle of the fourth century B.C.,—it may be advantageous to briefly recapitulate the general facts set forth in the present endeavour to trace the origin and progress of the art of writing, and of writing materials, and deduce from them some kind of estimate of the means they then afforded for the accumulation and dissemination of general knowledge.

Sufficient has been stated to convey to the general reader some idea of the methods of recording events in preceding epochs; and it now becomes necessary to consider the aspect of literary affairs at a period when the works of celebrated authors were transcribed for sale, in all probability by professional transcribers. That this state of things had been to some extent established in the fourth century before the Christian era, we have seen by the purchase of the works of a popular author by Aristotle for three Attic talents. We have next to inquire how far the circulation thus become possible was carried into actual operation. But in Greece, Grecianized Asia, and Egypt, we have few data concerning that period capable of giving much information in detail upon this interesting point. We have, however, seen that public libraries were formed by princes professing themselves patrons of literature, and we also learn from ancient authors that discourses were read in public places devoted to the instruction of youth in the philosophy and general literature of the age. But such readings rather tend to show the impossibility of obtaining books for private study,—a supposition strengthened by the well-known fact that public events were periodically written on a certain portion of the walls of particular temples, as the readiest mode of imparting information to the people; these records being the *ephemeræ* so frequently referred to by Greek authors. Demosthenes appears to allude to them when speaking of walls whitened for the purpose of public notices and temporary records, and they were described by Suidas under the name of Λεύχωμα. Portions of these inscriptions were doubtless extracted and written upon sheets of prepared bark, or linen, for preservation in the public records; while the more important events were subsequently engraved on marble tablets, similar to the celebrated Parian marbles in the Arundel collection, the form of the old monumental stone records being still venerated. There were also the popular records, δημόσια γράμματα, of which the State took charge,—relating, no doubt, to marriages, births, and deaths; while private pedigrees, tracing descents to epochs of fabulous antiquity, were very generally kept by private families of the wealthy classes.

All this presupposes a period of some literary activity, and the existence—limited no doubt—of a reading public. The existence of a reading public may indeed be traced to a much earlier period among the Greeks. Peisistratus, the first tyrant, and at the same time the first civilizer of the Athenians, founded a library in Athens 600 years before the Christian era, and near 300 before the birth of Alexander the Great.‡ It was, in fact, to this remarkable man that we are, perhaps, indebted for the possession of the poems of Homer, for he it was who first collected and reduced

* Which has reached us in our terms library, librarian, &c.

† In treatises concerning ancient Greek MSS., the word *biblos* (βίβλος) is frequently described as the Egyptian name of the papyrus plant; but there is every reason to believe, as before stated, that the Egyptian name for that plant was *papyr*, or *babyr*, and that the term *biblos* is a native Greek term for the bark of some native tree.

‡ The native Egyptian princes, even as early as Sesostris, appear to have made collections of records, either engraved on stone or written in hieroglyphic on papyrus; and Lord Lyndsay has given a very interesting account of an apartment in the palace at Thebes, in which it is said that the supposed books of Thoth were preserved. This and the record chambers of Assyria, filled with inscribed bricks, may be deemed the first libraries on record.

them to a regular written text; without which they might now, like other literary works of antiquity, only exist in a few disjointed fragments. The scroll containing the text of this noble groundwork of Greek poetry no doubt formed a principal feature in the library of Peisistratus. What other monuments of early literature now lost, he brought together, which have since perished, it is impossible to guess. Among them may have been the rude dramas of Thespis, which were as much the first parents of dramatic composition as the Iliad was of epic poetry; at all events, the collection was thought sufficiently precious to be carried off to Persia by Xerxes after his invasion of Greece, if we are to believe Gellius, who further states that it afterwards fell into the possession of Seleucus when he became king of Syria. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, appears to have founded a library some time after that of Peisistratus, about 500 B.C., and Euclid the geometrician, Euripides the tragic poet, and Aristotle, had all fine collections of books, that of Aristotle eventually finding its way to the great library of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, after which period both public and private collections became much more general. But although stationary libraries were thus established, the great expense of books, and the difficulties of transit, probably prevented anything like a regular circulation of manuscripts, though from the reign of Alexander the Great to the subjection of Greece and great part of the Macedonian empire to the power of Rome,—a period exceeding two centuries in duration,—the general advance of literature in consequence of the increased practice of the perfected art of writing, and the invention of conveniently portable materials for writing, was very rapid and striking; and it was during this period that the schools of Athens and Alexandria became great and active centres of learning. It is, however, in Rome that we shall find the first traces of such popular literature as we have in view when speaking of the Printing Press.

CHAPTER III.

Of the earliest kind of Roman Records, of subsequent improvements, and of the eventual methods adopted in Rome for the rapid multiplication of the MSS. of popular works, and of the establishment of Roman periodicals analogous in character to our modern newspapers, &c. &c.

IN order to appreciate the nature of the early growth of popular Roman literature, we must retrace our steps for an instant. The earliest written annals of Rome distinctly spoken of by ancient authors are those kept by the High Pontiff, the Pontifex Maximus, assisted by his four colleagues to the year of Rome 453, and afterwards by the new pontiffs created under the Ogulnian law. These records were the true sources of early Roman history, whether they were disfigured by hierarchic or patrician views, being, of course, open to discussion. Similar records of family affairs were also kept by private families. The national Annals of the Pontiffs having become a kind of popular history, were subsequently versified by Attius, Ennius, and others. As being executed under the supervision of the High Pontiff, they were called the Great Annals, certainly not on account of their extent; for Cicero says, in his "Orator," that those of each year, being finally collected by the Pontiff, were written upon a white tablet, and placed in a room in his house accessible to the public. Here, however, is an indisputable example of the establishment of a national Gazette or State Chronicle, though only annually communicated to the public by means of a written document; and moreover the public had to go to their newspaper—it did not come to them, and was only to be seen at "the Office." The meagreness of this record appears to have been even greater than we can well imagine; for Livy, in transcribing the annals for the years 390 and 391, only found the words, "In this and the following year a pestilence prevailed" ("Et hoc, et in sequenti anno pestilentia fuit"). Eclipses are, however correctly and constantly stated in these, as in the Egyptian and Chinese records, which is a sort of guarantee for their general accuracy as far as they go, notwithstanding the occasional insertion of supernatural events of very extraordinary character. It was in this repertorium, in fact, that Livy found those showers of blood and other similar phenomena, which he never omitted an opportunity of repeating. Records of marriages, funeral orations, acquisitions of property, holding of public offices, &c., were kept in the tablinum, or receptacle for tablets.

It was from Annals bald of real facts, but rich in supernatural wonders, that Virgil drew the chief material for his Æneid, and Ovid for his Fasti. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also refers to the accounts of prodigies that might be read in these sacred tablets; and Pliny no doubt refers to the same ancient Annals when speaking of information obtained *ex antiquissimis Annalibus*. Their excessive bareness no doubt decreased with the growing greatness of Rome, even to the extent of insertion being made of the merest gossip, as Pliny quotes from that source the following idle story:—"At the siege of Casilinum by Hannibal, a rat was sold for two hundred denarii, and the seller died of hunger, while the buyer survived."

Such bits of gossip as this no doubt amused the annual visitors to the Pontiff's antechamber when they went to read the year's news; and that they equally relished the account of prodigies there can be little doubt, and believed them also; especially as coming from such an authority; for we find the cultivated author Florus, when repeating the prodigies of the Annals in his Roman history, gravely saying "they would pass for fables were they not in the Annals." There can be but little doubt

that these records escaped the burning of Rome by the Gauls, and did not perish, as carelessly stated by Livy, who evidently transcribed the passage from some ill-informed writer; for he himself speaks of them as in actual existence in other passages of his history; while Ovid and other writers of the Augustan age still more distinctly allude to them. It is even probable that they were still in existence at a very late period of the Empire, though it is true that many valuable records perished in the great conflagration which took place in the reign of Vespasian.

Among the examples of partial colouring infused by the Patrician party in charge of the Annals may be mentioned the fact, that, while it was announced to the people, in the selected portion prepared for their use, that the gold carried off by the Gauls was reconquered by Camillus, Suetonius, who was secretary to Hadrian, and had access to more private records, found that the gold was not so reconquered, but that the Gauls successfully carried off the whole of the treasure.

Such an annuary as that described must have ceased to satisfy the Roman people during the active period preceding the close of the republic, and there is every reason to believe that Julius Cæsar, bidding for popularity in his first consulate, in the year of Rome 694, made at one blow a most sweeping reform in this matter, causing the proceedings of the Senate to be published Daily,—"a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the old conservative system of Patrician influence, and a signal triumph for Democracy. That the Patrician party "cooked" the portion of the Annals rendered public, there can be no doubt; for while Tacitus and Pliny found from unpublished sources that Rome really surrendered to Porsenna, the portion of the Annals subsequently published denied it. Suetonius relates that Cæsar and his coadjutor Bibulus were very active during their consulate in publishing reports of the daily Acts of the Senate; and further informs us that these reports were taken down by trained writers, who were called tabularii, or inscribers of tablets, and also scribæ. They were also known by the more distinctly definite term of logographi, or writers of the discourses—in fact, "Reporters."

These Reporters were probably only rapid writers, using the ordinary characters. The reports thus taken of the Acts of the Senate were revised and edited by a senator appointed to that duty before they were published by means of the exposure of the official tablets upon which they were finally inscribed. It is possible that to this period may also be assigned the first regular transmission of such reports to the provinces.

Cicero, it would appear, was the first to adopt abbreviated forms of writing for the purposes of "reporting"; for Plutarch informs us that during his consulship he dispersed about the senate-house several expert writers, whom he had taught to make use of certain figures which by a few brief signs expressed many words.* Other similar systems, no doubt, came rapidly into use, as well as various kinds of "cipher," used merely for secrecy; for we find Ovid applauding Cæsar's habit of writing his letters in a kind of character which could not be understood by his enemies. That systems of stenography came into general use for certain purposes, and that the methods were very effeotive, we may infer from a passage in Horace, who, when addressing a short-hand writer, says, "You write in such a manner that you will have no occasion in four whole years to ask for another sheet of parchment;" while Dion Cassius ascribes especially to Mæcenas "a very estimable invention," namely, the use of characters called Notæ, by the help of which a scribe could write as fast as a man could speak; but this system was, in all probability, only a modification of Cicero's method.

That not only the regular publication, but also the circulation, of a diary containing the Acts

* The method of Cicero became known as the Tyronean system, after the name of Tyro, a freedman, who was one of his most expert writers; and this so-called Tyronean system has come down to our times. There is in the British Museum a MS. (of about the 10th or 11th century) containing most of the Tyronean abbreviations. Those young soldiers who could write by notes (*notæ*) were employed in keeping the accounts of each legion, and a record of events connected with it, such writers being known as *librarius legionis*, or more briefly, *actuarii*, or *actarii*.

of the Senate, and many other events of more or less interest, including even private matters, was established in Rome about the time of Cæsar, and most probably through his influence, there can be no doubt; and it would seem that such publications had much the form of a modern newspaper, though the "Press," literally speaking, had no existence. Of this fact many and various evidences exist; among others, the letters of Celius Rufus to Cicero, when the latter was in Asia. Celius was a dashing young man of fashion, and luxurious idler, who could yet write a capital letter to his friend Cicero, filled with all the chit-chat of the great city, from the little political treacheries, and the last private scandal, down to the faulty training of the favourite gladiator, besides much interesting general information. In a letter of that kind he tells Cicero that he sends him this budget as a journal of Roman matters, and that he is indebted for some of his facts to the compilations of Chrestes, who would seem to have been an editor on the staff of the Roman Diurnal, or possibly the publisher of a separate compilation of light gossip. Cicero, having received from Celius an account of the scandalous affair of Ocella, replies, "I find nothing about it in the Acta," evidently showing that he regularly received the "Acta," in which he evidently expected to find all gossip and scandal of that kind alluded to. We further learn, from the letters and satires of Juvenal, that marriages and divorces were so published. Writing from Laodicea to his friend Atticus, Cicero says, "I have the 'Acta of the City' up to the Nones of March;" and writing from Rome to Cornificius, he says, "Of course they send you the 'Acta' of the City." The copies of the Acta thus circulated, if only copied day by day by the freedmen, or educated slaves in the families of public men, and sent regularly to their friends, were yet very near to what we term newspapers, with the exception of being *written* instead of *printed.* We have also seen that organized transcription was capable of great rapidity of execution, of which we shall obtain additional evidences as we proceed.

During the Dictatorship of Cæsar the publication of the daily Acts of the Senate had become established, yet there were frequently secret sittings, at which senators replaced the public tachygraphers in executing the reports of the Acta Diurna; and, indeed, previously to that period the whole of the sittings of the Senate may be said to have been secret, and those passages in the Annals which were made public were often falsified to suit the Patrician policy of the moment. It may, therefore, have been only an increased degree of publicity imparted to the Debates which Suetonius attributes to Cæsar, as M. Le Clerc has suggested in his treatise on the Annals of the Pontiffs; for many authorities might be cited to the effect that "daily" reports partially superseded the annual ones as early as the year of Rome 623 (B.C. 131), when the influence of the Gracchi caused a vast increase of democratic power in the State, under the influence of which more copious records of the Acts of the Senate would necessarily be called for. Sempronius Asellio, for instance, in a passage preserved by Aulus Gellius, complains that "the 'Annals' only indicate the fact, and the year of the fact, as those who write a *diarium*, which the Greeks call *ephemerides;* it is not, however, enough to say that a thing has been done, but it should also be told by what means." This passage, written at the time of the siege of Numantia, and during the democratic influence of the Gracchi, appears to support the idea that some reform of the old dry method of keeping the Annals took place at that period.

But whether Cæsar founded, or only perfected and extended in a more practical form, the dissemination of public and private news, it is certain that he well knew how to avail himself of this species of publicity. Dion Cassius (as an example) informs us, that he caused it to be published in the Diurnal of the feast of the Lupercal, that he had refused the crown; to which Cicero also alludes in his second Philippic, when accusing Antony; and he evidently wished to have it understood that Antony had been the active agent in sending this little matter of Cæsarean magnanimity for publication in the Diurnal, as he says, speaking of Antony, "*He has dared to place in the fasti, 'Marcus Antonius, Consul, has offered the royalty, by order of the*

people, to Cæsar, Perpetual Dictator, and Cæsar has not accepted it.'" It is probable, however, that Cicero may, in this instance, judging from his indignant tone, refer to an insertion of this fact in the Lupercalian kalendar, as polluting the records of a religious institution with allusions to vulgar political intrigues. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Cæsar found means to turn to political account his command of the matter published in the Acta Diurna; for Cicero complains also, though not with the rancour which characterizes his denunciation of the conduct of Antony, that his name was used to give colour to a *senatus consultum* at which he was not present, and which was no *senatus consultum* at all, being held at Cæsar's own house. He goes on to say, in a somewhat bantering strain, "I receive letters from princes of foreign states thanking me for the part I have taken in making them kings, while I did not even know that there were such persons in the world;" Cæsar and his friends having evidently turned to good account the respectable name of Cicero as that of an adviser in the matters alluded to.*

That it was not only the Acts of the Senate, but also the principal events occurring in Rome, that were published by Cæsar in the Diurna, may be fairly inferred from the passage in Suetonius previously referred to, which runs thus:—"Having become Consul, he introduced, for the first time, the custom of arranging and publishing the daily Acts of the Senate, and the People."† And thus, among other claims of Cæsar upon the gratitude of succeeding generations, that of the founder of newspapers‡ must, it seems, be added; for that this diary of events was actually a kind of newspaper has been plainly shown by contemporary authorities.

In the reign of Augustus the publication of the daily Acts of the Senate was discontinued by order of the Emperor; that of the more popular portion of the Acta Diurna being allowed to continue, probably under a secret though severe censorship. But influential persons were still able to turn this channel of public information to their own public or private account; for as Dion Cassius states, the pride of Livia suggested to her the idea of causing the names of all who had been admitted to the honour of an interview at her morning receptions to be inserted in the Acta Diurna.

Under Tiberius the Senatorial Acta were still suppressed as in the reign of Augustus, and the censorship of the popular portion of the Acta became open and direct; insomuch that Dion Cassius says he only allowed what he pleased to be published. Under Nero, who (in spite of his historically bad name) was the hero of the people, the Acts of the Senate were again made public; and that the character of the Diarium Romanum of that day was not very different from that of the Italian Diario Romano of the present time, as regards its newspaper form, we have the incidental passage in Seneca to prove, who, speaking of a man making useless mysteries, and being over discreet without any occasion, says he is like one "who should read you a passage of the public Diurnal close to your ear as a secret."

After another period of suspension, the Acts of the Senate appeared again, with the other news of the day, under Domitian; thus the two emperors with the blackest historical names for tyranny were both conspicuous as friends of publicity in regard to the transactions of the Government. After the reign of Domitian, the Acta were continuously published till the end of the Empire, and the means of circulation appear to have become more and more extensive and active. Tacitus calls these publications,—for publications they seem to have been in the fullest sense of the

* Cicero, when himself in power, knew well how to make use of the publicity thus given to the Acts of the Senate, and during the Catiline conspiracy caused the Acts to be revised by senators only, sending copies of the Acts, thus revised by his own party, to all parts of Italy and the foreign provinces.

† In this term *acta* we have the corresponding term to that of "*Acts* of the Apostles," our *Acts* of Parliament, &c. The Romans had also, after this period, another class of Acts, the *acta militaria*, of which Vegetius speaks, saying, "Inito honore, primus omnium instituit, ut tam senatus, quam populi diurna acta."

‡ The originals of these Acta Diurna were preserved among the records of the Government.

term,—the daily Acts of the City (*diurna Urbis Acta*); and tells us, moreover, that there were subscribers to them in the provinces,* and even in the most distant armies, where a single copy was sometimes read aloud to several assembled legions in succession. We also learn, incidentally, that the Acta contained, in addition to other news, all that related to public edifices, especially circuses and theatres.

That the office of senatorial revision of the Acta was still held to be an honourable one, even after its importance had partially ceased, we may gather from Spartianus, who informs us that Hadrian was appointed to this office by Trajan. But the editorial power of these honorary functionaries may, perhaps, not have had anything to do with the general Acta Diurna of the City, but only with the transactions of the Senate. We find, however, in the reign of Commodus, as described by Lampridius, that the Emperor took an especial delight in causing an account of all his most ridiculous and cruel eccentricities to be published in the Diurna; and Vopiscus states, in his life of Probus, that his historical writings were composed chiefly from the Diurnals of the Senate and People.

After the establishment of Christianity, there is reason to believe that the Bishops of Rome issued Acta Diurna, and that the letter of St. Augustine (No. 213) may be considered a copy of the ecclesiastical Acta of Hippone for the 26th of September of the year 426.

A vast number of passages from ancient writings might be cited to prove still more clearly the activity and energy of the Roman mind, that found means to disseminate pretty freely the political and private news of the day, without the intervention of that ingenious piece of mechanism which we designate "the Press."

In the matter of books the same may be said, and it has been urged by a modern writer, M. Gereau, that books were even more cheaply furnished to Roman purchasers than to the book-buyers of our day.

But if Roman books were in reality cheaper than ours, they certainly cannot be said to have been so plentiful; nevertheless, that they were occasionally more abundant than required is sufficiently proved by the existence of Roman proverbs regarding the uses that such surplus copies might be put to, in the shape of "wrapping up butter or lining trunks." It is certain, at any rate, that books were much more plentiful in Roman than in Mediæval times, owing, probably, to a greater and more freely exercised intellectual activity in the great centres of Roman civilization.

Already, in the reign of Augustus, and probably a century earlier, the "publishing business" had become an extensive and lucrative branch of trade in Rome; and Atticus, Dorus, and Triphon, whose names are well known to classical readers as the Longmans, Murrays, and Simpkins of their day, may be supposed to have issued what we should call "large editions" of their authors' works, or their calling could not have been so important or lucrative as we know that it was. It may indeed be fairly inferred, from numberless passages scattered through the various classes of ancient literature still extant, that Roman authors addressed an immense public. With the exception of the city of Rome itself, however, it was, perhaps, rather a widely-spread, than a densely numerous one; and it was to the vastly extensive influence of Roman authorship, considered from this point of view, that Ovid and Propertius† in all probability alluded, when they spoke of their works being known all over the world—as when Ovid, in his Tristia,‡ threatens to make his plaint heard "as far as the earth extends."

Considerable luxury was displayed by Roman publishers in the "getting up" of the books, which, in the time of Augustus, were still in the form of scrolls. These had a roller of ivory or wood fixed to each end; so that, as fast as read, the read portion could be wound round the roller at the beginning of the scroll. These rollers were often very richly ornamented; and

* Annals, xvi. 22. † Prop., ii. 18, and elsewhere. ‡ iv. 9 and 10.

Ovid alludes, not only to the purple *charta*, or papyrus, upon which highly-prized works were written, but also to the tinging of them with a delicate oil drawn from cedar-wood, which was supposed to preserve them from decay. He also speaks of elaborate titles, beautifully written in red ink,—a style of book decoration which preceded the illuminations of the Mediæval era. This passage occurs in his first elegy, "Ad librum." Horace also has devoted a poem to the "Book," and in the course of the Epistle, and in other passages of his poems, some very interesting particulars occur. For instance, we learn that authorship was not an unprofitable profession, as he assures us that a successful poem brought, not only fame, but profit to the author. He would seem also to allude in some way to the extreme cheapness at which books were published, when he complains, with a fine-gentleman air of disgust, that his poems are in the hands of the "vulgar." Yet it is well known that a certain degree of scarcity of papyrus existed in the early part of the reign of Augustus, or, at all events, in the immediately preceding period, for "palimpsests" already existed in the time of Horace, who tells us of old writings being scraped off to be replaced by new matter. Cicero, also, praises his friend Trebatius for being so economical as to write to him on palimpsest papyrus, but, with a true bibliophilist feeling, wonders "what those writings could have been which were considered of less importance than a letter." We learn, more especially from Horace, that the Sosii were the leading Roman publishers of his time; and it is clear that they must have had a very large staff of copyists at work, to enable them to keep up such a stock of popular works as Horace and other authors describe, as being constantly on sale at their establishment.

No doubt the luxury of reading extended itself as rapidly as the other luxuries of the Empire, and means for supplying the increased demand for the works of popular authors must have been as rapidly devised. This demand immediately led to larger importations of Egyptian papyrus, termed charta by the Romans; and, to create a sufficient supply, the new African province increased both the quantity and the quality of this excellent writing-paper. In short, it is evident that books were then produced in great numbers, as we find Martial exclaiming, "Every one has me in his pocket, every one has me in his hand."* The vastness of the Empire, and the feeling that, even among the burning recesses of Asia, or the misty wilds of Northern Germany, some Roman official possessed a copy of his works, perhaps led to this somewhat vainglorious assertion. Yet no doubt very large editions were sold, and at a price that is astonishing, when we consider that each copy was written by hand. It has been thought that the custom which prevailed in Rome of reading the works of popular authors at the public baths, and in the libraries and porticos, tends to show that the literary demand exceeded the supply of books; but this is not necessarily the inference to be drawn from that fact. For instance, the reading of Mr. Dickens's "Christmas Carol" at St. Martin's Hall is surely no sign that a sufficient supply of this book has not been published: it is the desire to see the author himself, and to hear a work effectively read, as a relaxation and in company, instead of perusing it in a dull study private, that has a great deal to do with such readings. There is also another consideration. In Rome, this may have been a habit partly arising from the natural vanity of authorship, and was sometimes, perhaps, a mode of advertisement adopted by Roman publishers. That it not unfrequently arose from an author's vanity, we may assume from what Juvenal says of the flocks of people that rushed to hear "the sweet voice of Statius," when he publicly recited his "Thebaid;" adding that the boisterous applause might yet not prevent him from starving; an allusion to the gratuitous nature of those entertainments. The custom may also be looked upon as the continuation of an ancient one, which prevailed in the infancy of literature, when the Greek philosophers recited their dogmas and instructed their pupils in the public places set apart for such purposes. So that, in short, the existence of public recitals does not afford any proof, that even in the reigns of the first emperors the supply of books was

* 8th book of Epigrams, No. 61.

insufficient. It must also be taken into consideration that the accomplishments of reading and writing were still to a great extent confined to the wealthy classes, with the exception of such slaves as were regularly trained to be readers and writers, as to any other art ministering to the comforts and luxuries of their masters. The public recitals were, in fact, addressed, to a very great extent, to the populace—to those who could only enjoy the pleasures of poetry by recitals; just as the populace of Naples, at the present day, listen to their improvisatori; and are as critical concerning the true poetic qualities of their illiterate bard, as are those more educated classes, whom poets address through the medium of books.

In speaking of the spread of literature in the Roman world, it should be stated that Roman ladies occupied a very much higher social position than that held by the wives of the most eminent citizens among the Greeks; and we find, from various detached passages scattered through the works of ancient writers, that they must have been almost as well supplied with the current literature of the day as if they had subscribed to the establishment of a Roman Mudie. We find also that a special class of slaves was educated for the express purpose of reading aloud to them as they reclined at their meals or sat at their embroidery.

Roman writers were both numerous and voluminous. Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of "thousands" of writers on the subject of Roman history alone; and there yet appears to have been no difficulty in procuring the works of Roman authors at moderate prices. It is evident, therefore, that some well-organized method of multiplying copies must have been established, almost as effective as the Printing Press itself.*

As to the precise numbers of any popular works which were executed in manuscript, we may obtain some information from the fact that Augustus confiscated above 2,000 copies of the pseudo Sibylline books; and many works of a more popular kind must have been issued to a much greater extent. A passage in Pliny also throws a stray gleam of light upon the number of copies that constituted an edition of a Roman book, when he tells us that Regulus, who composed an oration on the death of his son, caused a thousand copies of it to be made for circulation in the provinces,† independently, as it would seem, of the number produced for Rome itself. Verses of the chief Roman poets were read aloud in the public schools; and Persius relates that it was one of the ambitions of his cotemporary poets to have their verses selected as examples to be read in such a manner; for which purpose alone a very large number of copies must have been required. The Emperor Nero insured the execution of a very large edition of his own verses by "commanding" that they should be given to schoolboys as examples.

The beginnings of the "book trade" in Rome had already developed themselves as early as the close of the Republic and the earliest period of the Empire; but the earlier booksellers were at first mere dealers in second-hand wares, buyers of small lots of books after the decease of collectors, or from the young spendthrift, who carried to them the contents of the librarium and tabularium which he had inherited; or, purchasers of Greek MSS. from itinerant merchants. Copies of the works of authors in repute were at that time principally executed in private families, in most of which a certain number of slaves were trained to that kind of work, their sole occupation being to transcribe rare books, and to look after the collection, (which, if we may judge by the libraries preserved in lava at Herculaneum, was seldom very large,) when not occupied in reading aloud, as previously stated, to the assembled members of the family.

These remarks are not mere guesses at the truth, but a description of actual facts, as we learn them from the correspondence of one of the greatest lovers of books, and most pertinacious collectors of his time. The letters of this Roman bibliophilist, Atticus (that Pomponius Atticus who was the schoolfellow and attached friend of Cicero), are indeed full of curious information concerning

* See Gereau, "Les Livres dans l'Antiquité."

† In exemplaria transcripta mille.

the tone of literary thought and the general literature of the time. In order to carry out more completely, and on a larger scale, the arrangements adopted in every educated Roman family for procuring and preserving books, he trained a large number of slaves to the especial duty of transcribing alone, and by this means it is easy to conceive that work of the kind might be very rapidly got through, especially with proper organization. Let us imagine such a staff of trained slaves at work for a publisher instead of a private collector, in which case, a number of copies of the same book being required, the work might be carried on still more advantageously. It may be supposed, for example, that 5 readers were each separately reading to 100* trained writers, in different apartments; by which means 500 copies of a short poem, or small book of poems, could be produced in one day;† each rapid writer being able, in less than 12 hours, to produce a copy of a poem equal in extent to Tennyson's "Enoch Arden," and its accompanying poems. The cost of a poem so produced would be almost as small as a similar work produced by the boasted powers of the Press, before the modern appliance of steam power, as may be approximately estimated in this way:—The food of a slave was, 1 Roman pound of a kind of common corn called *far*, (perhaps an abbreviation of *farina*,) with a small modicum of wine; to which must be added the due portion of the monthly sextarius of oil, and 1 modius of salt. Such were the rations allowed by Horace to his slaves. The sustenance of a slave on this allowance would not cost much more than a sestertius and a half per day, which may be roughly calculated as equivalent to about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ of our money.‡ To this must be added the value of the *charta*, or papyrus, perhaps another sestertius, if of the common kind; so that with the finishing and rolling the cost price of the "Book" would be about 6*d.*

Thus slave labour was the Printing Press of the Romans; and a very effective one it was; for we shall find in the Middle Ages, when slaves had disappeared, and the monks, with such organization of labour as they could establish in the monasteries, were the only transcribers, books became both very rare and extravagantly dear. Another element in the cheapness of Roman books was the continually increasing abundance of papyrus, the common kinds of which were sold at what would now seem almost nominal prices. So abundant was it, that a coarse kind was made expressly for "play-bills," and thence called Amphitheatrica; while a still coarser kind, made for the use of retail dealers in wrapping up small articles, was termed Emporetica, as being manufactured expressly for the emporia. At the same time, improvements had progressed towards perfection as well as cheapness; expensive kinds being produced for the wealthy, which were distinguished by different "snowy" names, indicating various degrees of whiteness, a quality in which the best papyrus must have rivalled our best modern papers.

Martial gives us, incidentally, in his Epigrams, some positive information as to the "selling price" of his works, which corresponds pretty accurately with the calculations risked in a preceding paragraph. He tells us that the first book of his Epigrams, not a very scanty volume, was to be had for 6 sestertii, something less than a shilling; and in a most elegant case or binding for 5 denarii, about three shillings. This last kind of cover was, doubtless, the "mantle of purple," (*purpurea toga*, as he sometimes calls it,) the external case of purple vellum or charta, with finely carved knobs for the rollers, and a title written in minium; and, perhaps, further embellished with a portrait§ of the author. Such were the attractions which tempted the book collector in his day, when the bookshops of the Argiletum and the Vicus Scandalarius displayed their wares in the most inviting forms; and the columns of their tabernæ were covered with finely emblazoned notices of

* It is not unreasonable to suppose that 500 slaves might be thus employed, as slaves could be kept so cheaply, that wealthy families (land-owners) counted their slaves by thousands rather than hundreds.

† Martial distinctly says that it took only *one* hour to copy the whole of his second book of Epigrams; but we must allow for poetical exaggeration.

‡ The sestertius is often calculated as 2*d.* of our money.

§ Seneca de Tranq., An. ix. Martial, xiv. 186.

the last works of the favourite poet. His thirteenth book, Martial informs us, sold for only 4 sesterces (8*d.*); and he says that half that price would leave a fair profit.* He may, however, have formed a very low estimate of the rights of the publisher in that respect, and evidently was not contented with his own share. Indeed, unless he had some other means of income, he could not have lived upon his literary labours, as it has been computed that he only received about £200 in our money for the whole of his Epigrams; which, instead of being a sum to pay for the work of a life, seems a very small sum for a single year's income of a man of literary eminence, and leads one to suppose that some miscalculation must have been made, as nothing can well be more intricate than the Roman method of expressing large sums in sestertii. Poets, too, have always pleaded poverty, except such aristocratic ones as he who played the noble poet, in the fashion of flinging the honorarium for one of his first poems (£800), to a needy friend, but eventually grew to like the "filthy lucre" arising from his works as well as any other poet, and even to haggle about price with as much earnestness. But to return to the production of books in the Roman period, when that idol of modern times—the Printing Press—was not in existence, it may be safely stated that books were manufactured with an abundance that amounted sometimes to superfluity; for both Horace and Martial tell us that larger editions were often printed than could be got rid of, bringing about that plague of the modern publishing craft, "large remainders," for which, however, as satirically hinted by the poet, there was always the resource of selling the unread verses, "to wrap up pastry and spices."

It has been urged that works written from dictation are generally full of blunders; and we may, perhaps, refer the various incorrect readings in the copies of the literary works of antiquity which have come down to us to this very cause, and to the errors of the very first-issued copies, rather than to the carelessness or ignorance of more recent transcribers in the so-called dark ages. However this may be, the boasted productions of the Printing Press itself are not always free from errors, and sometimes very ridiculous ones, as when the well-known line of a recent English poet,—

"Like dewdrops upon fresh-blown roses,"

was made, by the awkward change of a single letter, to read as follows :—

"Like dewdrops upon fresh-blown *n*oses;"

or, in the laughable mistake that occurred, not very long ago, in a ponderous volume of Sir Archibald Alison's stately history, where, in describing the pall-bearers at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, the fourth being Sir Peregrine Maitland, that personage, by a temporary association of ideas in the mind of the compositor, was transformed into Sir Peregrine Pickle; and so it stands in a certain number of copies to the present day, as any one curious in the matter may very easily prove by reference to the fine large imperial octavo volume in question.

We must not, however, thus illustrate the blunderings of our vaunted Press without suggesting at least one example of the ridiculous mistakes that but too frequently occurred in the execution of manuscript works by Greek and Roman transcribers and their followers. Let us take the error corrected by Dindorf in the works of Pausanias, after it had been continued by transcriber after transcriber till no existing copy was found without it. In the passage in question, Pausanias is made to say that the Sibyl's mother was a goddess, but that her father was a *whale-eater*,—πατρὸς δὲ κητοφάγοιο; and the passage was read and re-read by successive generations, and nobody bothered himself about the dietary of the whale-eater, or how his larder was supplied. Dindorf, however, in critically editing the work, was not satisfied about the whale-eating propensities of the father of the Sibyl; he inferred that some striking antithesis was intended, and that some special opposition of character and nature between the mother and the father of the Sibyl was meant

* Epig. xiii. 3.

to be conveyed, which he did not find expressed in the whale-eating habits of the father. He therefore examined the term very carefully, and comparing it with every word of similar sound and spelling that he could find, eventually discovered that Homer distinguished the gods as not being *bread-eaters*, that is, not requiring the common sustenance of humanity, while the father of the sibyl, being a mortal, was an *eater* of bread; and it therefore became evident that θεκ σιτοφάγοιο should have appeared in the defective text instead of δὲ κητοφάγοιο.

The form of books at this period was not, as with us, a series of square leaves sewn together at the back, but invariably a roll, as we find from the contents of the exhumed library at Herculaneum, and from representations of books in Pompeian paintings and other monuments. Most of the rolls discovered were written on papyrus; but the ancient Latin name for a book, *liber* (bark), was founded upon the material which was used for that purpose before the introduction of the more convenient Egyptian material. The Greek term, *biblia*, was also the name of a kind of bark used for the same purpose; we have adopted both words, the former in our terms, *library*, *librarian*, &c., and the latter in the name commonly given to the "Book" of the Holy Scriptures, *Bible*, also in such terms as *bibliography*, *bibliomania*, &c., the French having preserved the Roman name of the book itself in their *livre*, while in their equivalent for our *library*, they adopt the Greek basis, of which they form *bibliothèque*. It is supposed that the square form of book began to prevail in Rome, in imitation of the tablets used for private memoranda, which were, at first, waxed plates of metal, within a cover more or less richly decorated, and protected by raised edges, so that the inscriptions scratched in the wax on the opposite faces of the two tablets by the stylus could not touch each other when the covers were closed. These tablets were, at a later period, displaced by leaves of vellum, sometimes of different colours, to the number of five or six. Such tablets within richly carved ivory covers were, during the period of the Eastern Empire, presented to consuls or other high functionaries on their nomination to Office, of which they were, when of the official kind, considered as the badge. Eventually it became customary for private persons to present each other with tablets, often with complimentary poems ready written on the leaves of vellum, the covers naturally becoming objects for decorative embellishment. Small books of poems may have been prepared for sale in the same way, as the old rolled form, even when finished off with ivory or gold balls at the ends of the roller, did not afford such scope for decoration as the pair of "panels" which enclosed and protected the tablets. This form of book probably arose in the East, shortly before the removal of the capital to Constantinople, as the name, by which tablets of that kind were distinguished, was the Greek term *diptych*. The facilities for executing decorations and illustrations on pages which remained flat instead of being rolled, is another reason which may have induced transcribers and ornamenters of books to adopt the new style. The period which may be assigned for the general adoption of the square form for certain books, which were at first distinguished as *libri quadrati*, was probably not earlier than the fourth century. There is a copy of Virgil in the Vatican library, which may be considered one of the oldest existing monuments of a book in this form. It has been assigned by some to the reign of Septimius Severus, but more probably belongs to the age of Constantine. At any rate it is a relic of Roman handicraft, when the language of Virgil was still the language of Rome, as shown by the costumes and all the accessories of the illustrations, which were evidently executed when Roman dress and manners still prevailed in Italy.

Many very interesting particulars might be brought together in this place, regarding the books of the latter period of the Roman empire; but this is not a treatise on manuscript books, and I am, therefore, compelled to press forward towards other changes in what may be termed the mechanism of literature—changes which had for their object the more rapid and accurate multiplication of copies, and which eventually led to the invention of Printing.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Manuscript books of the Middle Ages, and of the Block-books, which were the first books produced by a Printing process, forming the connecting link between Manuscript books and the books printed with moveable types.

———o———

AFTER the fall of the Roman empire of the West, the political and social confusion which ensued was necessarily a great discouragement to the cultivation of literature all over Western Europe, either as a pursuit of refined leisure, or as a profession. It was still more fatal to the mere trade of bookselling, and all the different branches of work connected with the copying and binding of books. One division of literary labour, however,—that connected with theological subjects,—had received such an impetus from the imperial acknowledgment of Christianity, as caused it still to retain all its importance and influence, even after the fall of the Empire; so that the demand for copies of the Holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the fathers of the Church, continued as great as before, and even increased.

The eastern portion of the Empire, which had resisted, or rather escaped the shock of the barbarian invasions, though with the loss of nearly all its distant provinces, still formed a nucleus of the ancient forms of civilization, of which Constantinople was the centre; and there, the professional transcriber still carried on the general business of his craft with activity. Theodosius, who reigned from 378 to 395, constantly employed, as stated by the Byzantine annalist Zonaras, seven transcribers under the direction of the chief librarian, in order to increase the literary stores of the library; while at a later period, during the reign of Leo the Isaurian, in the 8th century, we learn, incidentally, from the same source, that twelve transcribers were employed in the great library at that time; a fact mentioned by the historian in consequence of their refusal to join in the Imperial raid against the supporters of image-worship. The means resorted to by the Emperor to punish their insubordination was as follows:—"He caused the library to be surrounded by vast piles of faggots, which being fired at a given signal, the whole building was totally destroyed, along with its twelve scribes and chief librarian, and above 30,000 volumes of precious MSS., and also pictures, statuary, and other works of art without number." In the West, however, the work of transcribing copies of the Scriptures gradually ceased to be a profession in those disturbed times, and almost entirely devolved upon the priests themselves. It was in the monasteries, which rapidly arose, as the modern kingdoms assumed form and consistency, that the copying of MSS. was alone carried on with something like professional regularity. But, as in the East, the books copied being principally for the use of the churches, great pains and labour were bestowed upon their caligraphy and embellishment; and so much time was often consumed in the profuse decoration of a single book, that the number produced was comparatively small. It was probably, however, sufficient to meet the demand; and even if it had not been so, an organization like that described in a preceding chapter, capable of producing volumes, such as those containing the Epigrams of Martial, in a few hours, could not have been attempted; for the institution of slavery, which had afforded the means of training skilled labour, upon a large scale, to the production of work of that class, had passed away,—as one might have thought, for ever, had not the discovery of the New World shown us that there are men always ready to take advantage of the unprotected condition of a weaker race, and attempt the permanent re-establishment of the greatest curse of

ancient civilization, in even more odious forms than those of Roman times. This we have unfortunately seen exemplified in our own time in the southern states of the American Union, where it had become so lucrative, that men were found capable of rushing into political rebellion for the express purpose of defending and extending that abominable institution; and, in that infamous cause, carrying on the most gigantic and sanguinary civil war that the world ever knew; while many Englishmen, with shame be it said, sympathized with the cause of the slaveholders.

In the early ages of our modern forms of civilization there was, as just stated, no longer a numerous body of domestic slaves, forming a part of the social institutions, who could be rendered available for skilled manufacture on a large scale; so that when the arts of life revived, and intellectual wants began once more to assert themselves, and the business of the transcriber again began to flourish, it was not as a branch of wholesale manufacture. It was only in the form of individual and isolated labour that an open and independent trade in copying books, and the business of general transcribing, first reappeared. Nevertheless, in some few of the monasteries, where profit was sought from that source, and in which, from the nature of such institutions, many individuals were congregated who understood more or less of the arts of copying and decorating books, a kind of division of labour was instituted, somewhat analogous in spirit to that of the modern systems of manufacture. Such monastic establishments supplied other religious institutions as well as churches, with their books, and became at the same time depositories of ancient manuscripts, too often kept only as models of caligraphy, but by which means much of the literature of the ancient world, which we still possess, was preserved. In the mean time, in Constantinople, and other cities of the East still under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors, the profession of the scribe had continued to prevail in its ancient form, and no doubt, to some extent, with the aid of subordinate, and possibly even *slave* labour. The spirit of the ancient arts had there remained to some extent, in an active state, though, in the main, the civilization of the East was slowly but surely sinking, while that of the West was gradually rising.

Although the production of books, both religious and secular, by means of the ready pen of the transcriber, was eventually destined to become, in Western Europe, a branch of systematic manufacture, that time was, as yet, far distant; for from the 5th to the 12th century, such books as were written for individuals were almost exclusively the luxuries of churchmen, as they alone nearly monopolized the whole intellectual sphere of the then existing civilization; while most of the costly books executed in that period were fitted only to become sumptuous additions to the splendid services of the Church. These volumes, weighty with the sheer bulk of vellum and ivory, may therefore be considered rather as pieces of church furniture than as books intended as a means of both preserving and circulating ideas. It should be observed, *en passant*, that during the reign of Charlemagne, in the 8th and 9th centuries, an attempt was made, as we learn from Eginhard, to organize a system for the reproduction of valuable books, in the imperial palace.

But in order fully to appreciate the first steps towards the discovery of a method or methods by means of which a piece of writing once made might be multiplied at will by some simple process, we must retrace our steps for a moment in order to investigate the origin of wood-engraving, as being the first invention which led to practical results of that kind. In tracing back its course to its origin, we not only find that the Chinese are the first who invented that art, but also that they actually used it systematically for the purpose of multiplying writings from a single copy by means of obtaining a series of impressions from the original engraving without re-writing. The required letters being cut in relief upon a tablet of wood, and then charged with ink, it is easy to understand that, by placing a sheet of any material analogous to linen or paper upon the tablet furnished with such raised and inked letters, an impression of all the writing on the tablet could be readily obtained upon the linen or paper, and also that the process be repeated *ad infinitum*.

This invention was probably, like so many others, the result of some fortuitous accident, as in the case of discoveries in other nations, the progress of whose civilization we are in any degree acquainted with. The Chinese, in the earlier periods of their knowledge of the art of writing, used solid substances to write upon, and it was long before they adopted the use of more suitable fabrics, such as linen, silk, or eventually paper, of which, probably, they were the first inventors. They made their ancient writing-tablets of a light kind of wood suited to the purpose, in the preparation of which they exhibited their well-known skill and ingenuity, and a bundle of them became a book, of very analogous form, no doubt, to those we read of in the Old Testament, the Hebrew name of which was *sepher*, which literally means a bundle.* Such bundles of portable tablets succeeded the still more cumbrous forms which belong to what has been termed the "Stone period" in the early civilization of many branches of the human race, and during which the well-known rock inscriptions formed the only public records; a system which, in Central Asia, was succeeded by the clay tablets or bricks of the Babylonians and Assyrians, which, from the strong influence of ancient custom, continued in use long after prepared skins, bark, and other still more portable substances for writing upon had been discovered. In like manner the Chinese, a truly conservative people, continued the partial use of the tablet books long after the discovery of linen or paper as superior materials for such a purpose. This preservation of the old methods was more especially observed in books of a religious nature, and to the present day, many of those sacred records are still written on wood; the Form, it would seem, being deemed so closely allied to the Spirit of the work, as to render a separation dangerous.

Chinese books were also, at a comparatively early period, written on prepared leaves of trees, linen, silk, and other suitable materials; and eventually came the discovery above alluded to, of abridging the labour of the scribe, by carving their characters in relief on tablets of wood, and then printing impressions of the carved tablets on to linen or any similar surface. Books so produced were absolutely *Block-books*, and we have abundant evidence to prove that the Chinese invented the system many centuries before it was known in Europe. Du Halde describes the method of their more recent productions of this class as follows:—"The characters are first written on a transparent paper, which being reversed so as to place the letters 'backwards' as on a seal, the scribe traces them on to the wood, and then painting them black, it only remains for the engraver to cut away all the surrounding wood to a certain depth, and the letters, thus raised, on being charged with ink, yield impressions upon any suitable soft substance that is pressed upon them." The same author lays much stress upon the advantages of Block-books, even over the boasted system of the Printing Press, as enabling a publisher to print a few copies at a time, whenever required. This advantage being fully appreciated by the Chinese, has tended to render them indifferent to the introduction of the European Press. It was, indeed, this kind of facility which in like manner caused the Block-books of modern Europe, which were first produced in the 15th century, to continue in partial use long after the invention of moveable types had been brought to a high degree of perfection, and after the true Printing Press was in full action.

The Chinese still print from their book-blocks by a rubbing process, by which means a well-trained workman can easily print 1,000 impressions of each sheet in a day. These Oriental Block-books, like our own Block-books of the 15th century, were printed on one side only; but they were in many respects superior in execution to the earliest European productions of the same class.

To return to the review and consideration of the accidental manner in which the Chinese block-printing may have been discovered, we may imagine that when the characters, simply

* Such wooden tablets, made into bundles, as books, were doubtless in use in Europe up to a comparatively late period of the Roman Empire, as one of the names by which early copies of the Holy Scriptures were known was *Codex*, which literally means the trunk, or part of the trunk, of a tree.

written on a wooden tablet, were still wet, a piece of linen or some sort of paper (many kinds of which were made by the Chinese at very early periods) was accidentally laid upon it, when the wet letters would necessarily repeat themselves on the superposed linen or paper. Here, then, was a positive *print*, but it was only a single print, and could not be repeated without painting the letters all over again with wet colour, which would take nearly as long as painting a fresh tablet,—so the discovery was barren. But to Chinese ingenuity a fertile suggestion had been presented, and we may easily imagine how it might occur to a skilful letter-painter, ready at his art, and anxious to abridge his labours, to cut away the wood round the letters to a certain depth all over the tablet, leaving the letters the only prominent part, when they might be charged with colour at one stroke of a broad brush, and, by placing a piece of linen or paper carefully over them, and slightly rubbing it while steadily held in its place, an accurate impression of the whole page of letters on the tablet might be taken at once; and, better still, the operation might be repeated any number of times. But in order to make the discovery practically useful, the experimental transcriber would at once perceive that the letters on the wooden tablet must be written and carved backwards, in order that when necessarily reversed in the impression, they should be in the required direction. This idea would be very simple for a clever artisan to conceive, especially as it is more than probable that seals were already in use for producing impressions on clay or wax; in which case the devices to be so impressed must of course have been engraved on the seal in the opposite way to that in which they were required to appear in the impression.

In such manner may the art of taking impressions from wood upon linen or paper have been discovered; and it is at once obvious that such impressions could be taken in any colour. I am led to make this last remark because it would appear, from acknowledged data, that the art of printing coloured patterns on woven fabrics was known at a very early period in the far East, and more especially in China. Whether the printing of stuffs led to that of book-tablets, or whether the book-tablets led to the other uses of the principle, is as immaterial as it is difficult to determine; it is sufficient for the present purpose to have shown in what manner the process of taking such impressions may have arisen. That it was in general use for printing writings from engraved tablets in China, at least 300 years before the Christian era (though Du Halde assigns a somewhat more recent date), there is sufficient proof; while in the 9th century, their Block-books were already highly decorated with outline illustrations; in fact, our modern art of wood-engraving, in some of its highest forms, was already practised by them with great success at that early period, as shown by those ancient books so printed which are still in existence; and considering that a rapid process of multiplying books by *printing* was known to the Chinese 300 years before the Christian era, how deeply must we regret that this art did not extend itself to the region of Greek and Roman civilization, the fertile receptacles of so many other arts of Eastern origin; for had the Chinese process reached Europe during the age of Alexander the Great, or immediately after, what stores of ancient knowledge, of which we have now not even a record, would probably have been safely transmitted to us; while many works only known to us by a fragmental portion, or perhaps a mere line or two cited in the work of another author, might have reached us in their entire form. It has been asserted that in the 12th century of our era, the Chinese actually had a system of printing with moveable types, of which some account will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

That the transmission of the Chinese invention to Europe at that period did not take place is by no means extraordinary, when we consider the instinctive aversion of that nation to intercourse with foreigners, and the nature of the political institutions by which that national prejudice was fostered. How effectual their exclusive system proved itself for several centuries after, that period is shown by the fact, that it was not till the 13th century of our era that

European travellers succeeded in penetrating the mysterious circle of Chinese civilization. At that epoch the Italian travellers Matteo and Niccolo Polo, the father and uncle of the more celebrated Marco Polo, stimulated no doubt by the profits of the trade with the East established by the Venetians, succeeded in reaching the frontiers of China. Matteo and Niccolo Polo returned to Italy, about 1270, and Marco in 1295, after which he wrote the well-known account of his travels in the East. In describing the many extraordinary things which he had seen in Asia, he especially refers to *books printed from tablets of wood.* His account of them is somewhat confused; but he or his relatives had probably brought home specimens of them, as they did of other eastern curiosities, which rendered minute descriptions unnecessary. If so, they no doubt selected those most profusely illustrated, as they could fully appreciate the pictorial illustrations, though they could not read the Chinese characters. That the Chinese block-books brought home by Marco Polo did not immediately suggest the adoption of the principle is very possible; but at all events it is highly probable that they led to the application of the process as a means of producing playing-cards more rapidly than by painting them by hand, as will be shown in its proper place. Engraving on wood had, however, been used in Europe in a crude form long before the time of the Polo's; for it is known that images of saints were produced by similar means as early as the 9th century; and that the art of printing patterns on stuffs by means of engraved tablets of wood or metal was in use in Europe in the 12th century; for M. T. O. Weigel, of Leipzig, in his recent work on the "History of Block-Printing before Albert Durer," has given a series of fac-similes of such printing on linen, woollen, and silken fabrics, some of which may fairly be attributed to the 12th century. It seems highly probable, however, that, even if previously existing in a rude state, the art received an entirely new impetus about the time of Marco Polo's return from the East, at which period the Oriental trade of the Venetians was in its zenith; and if so, it is more than probable that it was from the introduction of those Oriental specimens of the art brought by Marco Polo, which could not fail to interest the skilled artisans of Venice; in fact, we find that the Venetians soon afterwards established manufactories of playing-cards executed by that process on an extensive scale, which is proved by an existing decree, issued in the early part of the 15th century, for the protection of those manufactures against foreign competition. Heinnecken, however, claims the honour of the commercial application of wood-engraving for Germany; while Meerman, with greater show of reason, pleads for Holland. But there is yet some reason to suppose that Italy, the cradle of so many of our modern European arts, may also have been that of wood-engraving.

One of the proofs of the early development of the art of wood-engraving by the Italians is the existence of the celebrated Venetian decree for the protection of the native printing of playing-cards against the introduction of inferior and cheaper goods imported by foreigners. This decree is dated Oct. 11, 1441; but it is evident from its wording that it was issued in defence of a thriving trade long since established, and which had probably for fully a century, or perhaps much longer, enjoyed a kind of monopoly. In support of this view of the case, it may be stated that Lanzi speaks of specimens of ancient playing-cards of Venetian manufacture, which he attributes to a period fully as early as the year 1400, on account of their exhibiting that excellence of execution which could only be attained by long practice. For instance he tells us that some of them are evidently *printed* in gold and colours,—by a similar process, no doubt, to that by which patterns were printed on silks and cotton stuffs in the East, at a very early period, as previously referred to. The decree was therefore issued, we may presume, for the protection of a long established branch of national trade; and we shall next see who were the opponents against whom the decree was more specially directed.

In the Burgher-book of Augsburg, for the year 1418, entries occur which give some colour to Heinnecken's claim for his countrymen as the inventors of wood-engraving; for in the

entries referred to in the above-named list of burghers, the names of respectable traders occur as *kartenmachers*, while others are called *formenschneiders*, or *cutters* of figures; possibly engravers on wood, as our own term for wood-engraving was, till quite recently, wood-cutting. These last may, however, have been also carvers of small statuettes of saints.

The Germans thus appear to have driven a great trade in the article of playing-cards printed from wood blocks at that comparatively early period, also, no doubt, in cards with figures of saints, which latter* were possibly the more special work of the kartenmachers;* but of both classes of work we have accounts of vast bales being sent off to foreign countries; and it was probably against this inundation of German cards that the Venetian makers obtained the well-known decree in defence of their old-established trade.

That the Venetians should have become acquainted with wood-engraving before the people of any other Italian state appears highly probable when their direct and continuous trade with the East, established as early as the 9th century, is taken into consideration. Vast commercial depôts were established by the Venetians in Constantinople; and that city owed much of its wealth and continued prosperity to the circumstance of its close connection with the thriving and enterprising Venetians. So continuous and intimate was the intercourse of these cities, that for several centuries of the Middle Ages, the Greek language was more readily written and spoken in Venice than French at the present day in the counting-houses of London. It is therefore possible, that even before the voyages of Niccolo, Matteo, and Marco Polo, a knowledge of wood-engraving may have been brought to them from the East; and that the knowledge may have spread to other parts of Italy at a very early period. This view is borne out by the fact that both Spain and France used playing-cards as early as the middle of the 14th century, when so many of the articles of luxury in use in those countries were either directly imported from Italy or imitated from products of that country. In the curious mediæval poem of "Renard the Fox," for instance, it is stated that the use of playing-cards was forbidden at that period, the poem being written between 1328 and 1342; while we learn from a French chronicle that three packs of playing-cards were furnished to Charles VI. by Gringonneur the painter for fifty sous; which sum was probably paid for colouring in a superior manner for court use, cards which were printed in outline only. These cards may, however, have been entirely executed by hand.

Although in other parts of Italy, as well as Venice, the art of wood-engraving became known at an early period, yet, from the Italian art-working class being imbued with a more artistic and less intensely trading spirit, the art may have been turned to greater commercial account in Germany and Holland, as would appear from the far greater number of its monuments found existing in those countries than in Italy, where its use for superior work may possibly have never been fully developed, as being deemed better suited for more mechanical purposes.

The earliest Italian artists in this kind of work who attained to any reputation did not, in fact, flourish till the beginning of the 16th century, long after the great German wood-engravers had already run their course. But at that time, especially after Albert Durer's visit to Venice, Italian wood-engravers of merit appeared; and their style, as might be expected, is more refined and elegant, in a certain point of view, than that of the Germans. Among those Italian wood-engravers mentioned by writers on art, are Carpi, Domenico Beccafiume, and Baldassare Peruggi; but their earliest works do not date much earlier than 1511. It is true there were

* These cards, with figures of saints, were long the only prints that found their way to small German towns; and the name by which they were known, *Heiligen*, or Saints, descended to prints of all classes. M. Fuseli, of Zurich, informed Mr. Ottley that, in that canton, all prints were, by the lower orders, still called Helgen, even if the subjects were of the most profane character. It is possible that the formenschneiders may have only been carvers of small wooden statuettes.

others, whose productions are only found in the form of illustrations and decorative borderings, or initial letters for books, works which yet merit careful examination, as we shall find in describing a series of the earliest books printed in Italy. Some of these book-artists belong to the close of the 15th century; and the well-known cuts for the New Testament, signed Jacobi, may certainly be assigned to that period.

In Germany, also, the practice of the art appears to have been confined at first to such common work as that of figures of saints and playing-cards, and it is in Holland only that we find the earliest and best-executed specimens of the superior block-books; there is therefore, then, every reason to believe that wood-engraving, as an European art of really high character, first fully developed itself in that country.

Of the existing specimens of such figures of saints as those alluded to, M. Weigel, in his recent folio volumes, gives a specimen, which he attributes to the 12th century. It is a crucifixion—which I fear may prove to be a pen-and-ink drawing; but his following specimens are certainly genuine, and the earliest of them date as early as the last quarter of the 14th century, especially the "St. George on Horseback," and a "St. Christopher." Mr. Ottley, in his "History of Engraving," gives fac-similes, among others, of a woodcut of St. Bridget, in coarse but not unskilful outline, which he assigns to the year 1390. Thierry tells us, that in the "Legende Dorée," preserved in the academy of Lyons, figures of saints of this kind have been pasted within each of the covers,—a custom which seems to have prevailed during part of the 15th century, as one of the earliest and most remarkable examples yet known, the St. Christopher figured by Ottley, was found pasted inside the binding of a MS. book of that period in the library of the Chartreux, at Buxheim, near Memmingen. This print is unusually large, indeed, of folio size, and is very boldly though rudely cut. In the same volume was found a similar cut of the Annunciation of the Virgin, which Mr. Ottley considered the work of the same artist; but it appears to exhibit an earlier, and certainly better, kind of artistic treatment. The volume containing these two interesting monuments of the then earliest known stage of wood-engraving in Europe, of which examples have reached us, found its way, through the medium of English gold, to the noble library of Lord Spencer, in which it was described by Dibdin at great length in his most interesting and useful, though, occasionally, incorrect catalogue. The date of the "St. Christopher" which was placed by the engraver at the side of the figure, is 1433, the earliest known date appended to any European monument of the art, till the discovery of the Mechlin specimen dated 1418, and was probably the production of an artist of Augsburg, as we know, by the entries in the Burgher-book, that such work was done there as early as at that date. Ottley, and other antiquaries, deemed it extraordinary that no earlier specimen had then been discovered of an art which had doubtless been in active operation for a century before that time; and the numerous specimens since discovered by M. Weigel, and engraved in fac-simile in his two handsome volumes, have proved that the expectations entertained by them, of further discoveries, were well founded. None of the earliest of these recent discoveries have, however, a date attached to them, though the early period of their execution cannot be doubted. The impression of the St. Christopher, although dated 1433, is printed in regular printing-ink, and is therefore not one of the original impressions from the block, as oleaginous printing-ink was then unknown; and the fact of printing-ink being used in this instance led Mr. Dibdin into erroneous remarks on the subject, when he calls it "the most ancient specimen extant of the use of printing-ink," for the impression was certainly not taken at the time the block was executed, and probably not till long after printing-ink, then unknown, had come into general use, when its advantages, combined with those afforded by the Press, caused many old blocks to be reprinted from, which had been long thrown aside. It is true that the volume in which the print in question was discovered was written

in 1417; so that it *might*, in so far as the date is concerned, have been bound, and the print stuck into its cover, in 1433. But such could not be the case, from the certainty that at that time wood blocks were invariably printed with distemper colours only.

From what has been advanced in reference to the origin of wood-engraving in Europe, it may be inferred that this art, even if known before in a rude form, doubtless received a fresh and important impulse in the 14th century, in consequence of knowledge derived from the East at that period, when commercial enterprise began to extend itself greatly in that direction; and if, as there seems reason to suppose, rude images of saints had been printed from blocks of wood, or of soft metal, as early as the 9th century, the art in that rude state may have originated from observing the effects of the seals for making impressions on clay, or other soft substances, which, though originating in the East, had been in use in Europe from a very remote period of antiquity. Some accident may have revealed the possibility of obtaining an ink imprint from such seals, which, by being improved upon, may have led to the production of the rude images of saints which have been described. If such a discovery were not made, even in Grecian times, it appears extraordinary, when we read in the records of Herodotus of geographical plans engraved on copper; a passage which led Mr. Ottley to infer that we must have received the art of engraving from the ancients; but he surely did not mean that the ancients also practised the art of taking impressions in ink from such engravings, which by no means follows. We know, for instance, from the extant will of Charlemagne, that he possessed plans of Rome, of Constantinople, and of the three parts of the world, engraved on silver; but we have not the slightest evidence that prints were ever taken from such engraved plates in that age. Even at a later period, when the first great Italian engravers on metal filled the engraved lines of engraved plates of copper or silver with black enamel, to give them greater effect—works known by the characteristic name of Nielli—they did not even then think of systematically printing from them, although they took ink proofs of them on sulphur, and even on paper, to ascertain the progress and complete effect of their work before filling in the enamel.

The object of entering at some length into an outline of the leading facts concerning the early history of wood-engraving has been to lead gradually towards the eventual application of that art to the production and multiplication of copies of books. We have seen that the Chinese had so applied it at a very early period, while in Europe the earliest well-authenticated examples of such books do not date earlier than the beginning of the 15th century, and then they were, at first, mere picture-books, consisting of a series of subjects in outline, often very rude, accompanied by brief descriptions, which were little more than titles containing the names of the figures and that of the subject.

None of the celebrated block-books of Holland and Germany, the only countries in which the art of block-book engraving was carried to its highest degree of perfection, date earlier, as just stated, than the beginning of the 15th century; yet, one of the first historians of the art, M. Papillon, of Paris, himself an eminent wood-engraver, gives an account of an Italian block-book which he professes to have seen, and which he considers must have been produced in Italy in the 13th century, before the voyages of Polo. As the story is quite an art-romance, it is worth telling; and, in order to maintain chronological order, this appears to be the place for telling it, apocryphal though it be; for leaving it out while telling the story of the block-books, would be like leaving out the legend of Fair Rosamund in the history of Henry II. Moreover, as recorded by the French writer, the story is so attractive, and so seemingly possible, that the learned and generally scrupulous Ottley seems to have been tempted to accept, not only the bare fact of the existence of a perfect block-book of the latter part of the 13th century, but also the whole of the details concerning it, which are narrated with such evident relish by Papillon. The following is a brief account of this interesting, though, I fear, entirely imaginary,

chapter in the early history of block-books. The book is described as the work of a brother and sister bearing the name of Cuñio, which is that of a well-known noble family of Ravenna. In the account of the book itself it is stated that, like the earliest block-books of a later age, which are well known, the pictorial engravings formed the principal feature of the work, the text consisting of nothing more than briefly explanatory titles. The narrator states that he saw this work at a country house near Paris, which was the residence of a Swiss officer, a M. Gredex, in the year 1719 or 1720, speaking of it as an old Italian book of rude wood-engravings, having a *title-page* composed of fanciful ornaments. The title itself he describes as being in old Italic Latin, which he interpreted as follows:—"Heroic actions, represented in figures, of the great and magnanimous Macedonian king, the bold and valiant Alexander, dedicated and presented, and humbly offered to the most holy Father Honorius, to the glory and support of the Church, and to our illustrious and generous father and mother, by us, Alessandro Alburio Cunio, knight, and Isabella Cunio, twin brother and sister—first reduced and imagined, and attempted to be executed in relief, with a small knife, on blocks of wood made even, and polished by this learned and dear sister, continued and finished by us together, at Ravenna, from eight pictures of our invention, engraved and explained by verses, and thus *marked* upon paper to perpetuate a number of them, and to enable us to present them to our relations and friends in testimony of gratitude, friendship, and affection; all this was done and finished by us when only sixteen years of age." Such was the preface or preamble to the book, as described by Papillon, who asserts that there was also, on the first page, a memorandum in the writing of the period, which would appear to have been made on that particular page on account of its being a first or trial proof, as it was to the following effect:—"The ground of the wooden blocks must be hollowed out deeper, in order that the paper may not touch it any more in receiving the impression."

Papillon then gives a list of all the subjects, with the descriptions attached to them, from which the following may be selected as examples. The fifth is described as "Alexander generously giving Campaspe, his mistress, to Apelles, who was painting her picture." "The figure of this celebrated beauty," says Papillon, "is far from unpleasing;" and he goes on to tell us, in a genuine French strain, that "the painter appears transported with joy at his good fortune." He further tells us that at the bottom of the picture, on a sort of antique tablet, are signed the name of both brother and sister; while the device of Alexander in the tent of Darius is signed as both printed and engraved (*scalpsit*) by Isabel alone. The last subject described is the "Glory and triumph of Alexander on entering into Babylon." In closing his account of this work, M. Papillon gives a very circumstantial account of certain papers connected with the history of this "earliest of block-books," and also of the manner in which the book came into the hands of the then possessor, whose grandfather, it is stated, had received it from a descendant of the Cunios, at that time Podesta of Imola. The papers contained, according to this statement, a concise history of the Cunio family at the period of the execution of the work in question by the twin sister and brother,—a story not without interest, and which may be briefly recapitulated in a few words. Count Alberic Cunio, the grandfather of the twins, had a son who, about the year 1270, was privately married to a noble lady of Verona, without his father's consent. Cardinal Savelli, afterwards Honorius IV., was a near relation of the Count Cunio, and through his influence the marriage was annulled, and the priest who had solemnized it banished from the Papal States; the younger Cunio being compelled to marry a lady of his father's selection. The offspring of the first ill-fated marriage was the twins in question, who were subsequently, with their mother's consent, taken to their father's home and affectionately adopted by the new wife, who had no children of her own. They were educated with the greatest care, and both became "Admirable Crichtons," male and female, endowed with more than the usual amount of Crichtonian

versatility, and chivalric character and accomplishments. The youth became, while yet a boy, a brilliant soldier; was knighted on the field of victory by his noble father; and, with a train of attendants, proceeded to visit his own mother, who was residing with a noble aunt, in order to pay his affectionate respects to her while still blushing with all his new honours. He is made to remain two days with his mother, and then, in similar state, to wait upon his stepmother. It was soon after these events that he and his sister, at the age of sixteen, began to execute and engrave "The heroic deeds of Alexander." In the mean time, a youth of noble family, Pandulpho, had fallen desperately in love with Isabel Cunio, and being anxious to render himself worthy of a young lady so beautiful and accomplished, joined her brother as his companion in arms in the next campaign. Cunio was killed in battle; and Isabel, refusing to marry after the loss of her brother, languished till the age of twenty, when she died; and her lover, broken-hearted, of course did not long survive her; while the mother, unable to survive the loss of her two beautiful children, also died soon after. Such is the story of the twins of Ravenna, the reputed authors of the book of early wood-engravings seen and described by Papillon. It reads like one of the set romances of the 12th or 13th century; and as those romances were doubtless, like those of our own day, founded upon possible, if not probable facts, arising out of the conditions of society which prevailed at the time, there is no reason why the story of the Cunios should not be, to some extent, true.

If a pure invention of the enthusiastic historian of his art (Papillon), it is certainly a very clever one, and a very careful one; for not only does the story agree in date with the reign of Pope Honorius IV., which only lasted two years, from 1285 to 1287, but careful investigation by Ottley and others has shown that there actually was a noble family of the name of Cunio established at Ravenna at that period, and also that the names Alberic, Alberico, and Alessandro were pre-names in use in the family. It should also be borne in mind that the Polo's had recently returned from the East at that time, bringing, no doubt, as I have previously suggested, specimens of the Chinese block-books to Italy with them; and, possibly, some of the blocks from which they were printed. That the travels of the Polo family had attracted general attention at that time, we have many proofs; and that Honorius IV., the patron of the Cunios, was strongly influenced by them, may be inferred from the fact that, during his brief span of power, he endeavoured to found a college at Paris for the study of the Oriental languages; a remarkable attempt in the 13th century, which must have been the result of some special influence, similar to the one described, or from circumstances arising out of the temporary occupation of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

Such are the arguments in favour of the statement of Papillon, who appears to have made in it good faith, and of which the critical Ottley was found willing to take a favourable view, if not absolutely to accept. On the other side of the question occur certain facts very difficult to get over. In the first place, Papillon admits that his description was written thirty years after he had seen the work in question and listened to the descriptions and translations of M. Gredex; of which, however, he had taken notes at the time, which notes, though long mislaid, turned up about the time that he was writing his "History of Engraving." Supposing that he really saw the book in question at the time described, it would have been at a time when he may have been quite inexperienced in the archæology of his art, though already expert in the practice of engraving: therefore when it is argued that, in such a matter, the author of a history of wood-engraving, which contains many sound and ingenious views on the subject, could not be grossly mistaken as to the probable date of a work, the argument is worth little, as at the time he made the notes in question he was not the experienced artist and critic which he became after thirty years' intelligent practice of his profession as a wood-engraver. The notes in question are not to be taken, therefore, as the result of his mature judgment.

In the next place, it is to be remarked that the described form of the title-page, and of the signatures, with "pinxit" and "scalpsit," are inconsistent with the artistic practices of the time to which the work is assigned. A set title-page, especially with an appropriate kind of ornamentation, only developed itself as a feature, in books of any kind, towards the close of the 15th century; none of the block-books of the 15th century having a regular title-page in any form at all. It would therefore appear that the book seen by Papillon must have belonged to a period as late as the close of the 15th century, or even somewhat later. The story itself may have been a well-known one, and perhaps founded on the artistic skill of some particular family, and may have been dressed up with plates to match the legend by some ingenious wood-engraver at the close of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. At a time when wood-engraving had taken a leading position among those arts which were especially devoted to the interests of religion, it is far from improbable that some such legend concerning its origin and early history should arise, which would naturally take a form in accordance with the legendary spirit of the time. The Greeks attached to the origin of painting a mythic story, full of that peculiarly poetic character that distinguished them from other races; a story in which a Corinthian maid, on the eve of separation from her lover, observing the shadow of his profile cast by the light of a lamp upon the wall, traced its outline with the point of a small knife, that she might still possess his image after his departure. In like manner, but in another spirit, the clustered columns and roof-groins of Gothic architecture have been said to be reproductions in stone of the trunks and branches of those sacred groves which were the first Temples. The history of almost every art has, in short, some such attached legend; and to the origin even of the leading features of many arts a special legend has been subsequently appended, as in the well-known case of the Corinthian capital. Farther on we shall see that the origin of the art of printing with movable types, though so comparatively recent, has long ago been furnished in due form with, not merely one, but several legendary and romantic stories connected with its discovery. Putting aside, therefore, Papillon's account of the Italian block-book, and pronouncing it a graceful legend, invented and illustrated at the close of the 15th century, the true character of which the French author failed to detect, we may proceed at once to an account of the first well-authenticated block-books of Holland and Germany which began to appear at the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century.

The advent of block-books appears to have been led up to in the following manner:—The elaborate decorations of manuscripts of the best class rendered them very costly, while the general revival of learning which occurred about the periods just named caused such an increased demand for copies of classical authors and books of general learning, that the business of transcription began to pass out of the almost exclusive hands of churchmen, and the art of professional transcribers again became a trade. With the establishment of a trade grew up rivalries; and many copyists sought to satisfy the increasing public demand for books by producing manuscripts at a cheaper rate. The first essays were in elementary works, such as grammars, and the ordinary kinds of books of devotion. To effect this purpose, elaborate gilding and decorative ornamentation were abandoned, and pictorial illustrations in mere outline adopted. It is true that, even in Saxon times, in the 9th and 10th centuries, some MSS. were illustrated in simple outline, but yet in a costly manner, and by superior artists; and some of these so closely resemble the general character of the block-books of the Chinese, that one might almost fancy the Saxon artists had seen some of them. The cheap books with outline illustrations of the 14th and 15th centuries are, however, of quite a different class, and evidently the work of inferior, and often very unskilful hands, the art being sometimes of the very rudest kind, and the outline, in most cases, roughly coloured by some mechanical process analogous to stencilling. A MS. in the British Museum (additional, 1577) is of this class. It is described in the catalogue as "Figures de la Bible" (in French), though the

·Cxix·

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Nomina iudicum coram quibus est
ductus et accusatus. Anna
cayphas. herodes pontius pilatus.
Columpna virge. flagella
sputa. arundo et funiculi.
Orux. clavi. lancea. mallei
corona et tabula titulus
Alape. colaphi opprobria blas
phemie et derisio. Velamen
oculorum prophetia xpi et vestimen
torum divisio. Sors super tu
nicam. et herodis album in
dumentum. Tribunal iudi
cis. lotio manuum et purpurum
vestimentum. Sompnum vxoris
pilati et liberatio barrabe
homicide. Tumultus et clamor iudeorum et geminatum crucifige
Sitis xpi acetabilium et acetum felle amaricatum
Arundo cum spongia ysopus et vinum mirratum
Oratio xpi clamor latrine et latronis acceptatio
Omnia verba xpi in cruce et discipuli Johannis commendatio
Expiratio xpi lancea longini cum ipsius illuminatione
Effluxio sanguinis et aque centurio cum sua protestatione
Obscuratio solis. terremotus scissio veli et petrarum.
Ruina partis templi. aperitio sepulcrorum fetor et mons calvariarum
Triginta argentei quibus xpus erat venditus et emptus
Desperatio iude qui non est xpi sanguine redemptus.
Hiis et aliis xpi penalitatibus maria dearmavit.
Et tanquam propugnatrix nostra hostem nostrum deiecit et conculcavit
Tunc impleta sunt et in ipsa primo arate olim figure
Et quedam prophetica dicta sacre scripture
Super aspidem et basiliscum tu maria ambulabis
Leonem et draconem. i. sathanam conculcabis.

Johel perforavit caput Sysarem hostem filiorum israel.

A PAGE FROM A MANUSCRIPT ILLUSTRATED WITH DESIGNS IN OUTLINE
SUCH AS WERE AFTERWARDS IMITATED IN THE BLOCK-BOOKS.
THE MS. IS APPARENTLY OF THE 14TH CENTURY, PROBABLY ABOUT 1325.

work is evidently Italian. Each of the illustrations, consisting of a series of Bible subjects, occupies nearly the whole of a page, leaving room for little more than the accompanying text or title. The colours seem to have been brushed on by some peculiar process in a nearly dry state; and without any regard to the special colour of each, all the lights are left white. There were also, however, books of this kind much better executed, the illustrations of which were only in outline, sometimes very elegantly drawn. It was this class of cheap illustrated MSS. which would seem to have more especially foreshadowed the production of the Block-books, and indeed suggested those very outline illustrations which wood-engraving was so well calculated to reproduce. As an example of those MSS. of the time which were illustrated with designs in simple outline, I may allude to one from the fine collection in the British Museum, entitled—"Historia Bibliæ Metrice." It consists of a series of essays in verse, in which the events of the Old Testament are considered and described as typical of those of the New; and to each of the more leading events of both sections an illustrative miniature in pen-and-ink is attached, often very cleverly and carefully drawn. These subjects all relate to signal triumphs of the children of Israel over their enemies, by God's more or less direct intervention, and are supposed to typify the eventual triumph of faith and truth in the advent of the Saviour.

A work foreshadowing still more completely the coming block-books with their outline illustrations, is a MS. of the 14th century, entitled "Historia Bibliæ Figuris." The accompanying fac-simile of an entire page of the MS. (plate 1.) will convey a perfectly accurate idea of the style of these illustrations. This page was selected in consequence of the careful drawing of the two figures in the illustration, and more especially on account of the careful manner in which the armour, a mixture of chain and plate, is drawn, which enables us with tolerable certainty to ascribe the execution of the MS. to the beginning of the 14th century. The composition illustrates the well-known passage in the Book of Judges, chap. iv. 21:—"Then Jael, Heber's wife, took a nail of the tent,* and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the nail into his temple and fastened it into the ground, for he was fast asleep and weary: so he died." The title of the subject is written above it in red ink, the versified commentary filling the rest of the page, and expounding the typification, by the event in question, of certain passages in the New Testament. The ink of the transcriber has in many of the pages of this MS. faded, while that of the artist has remained in nearly all cases strong, black, and glossy. The next type described in this interesting volume, which is accompanied by an illustration, is Judith and Holophernes, and eventually we have the final realization of the whole series of types in the actual advent of Christ, the illustration of which is among the most remarkable in the volume. The figure of Christ is both graceful and commanding. Holding in one hand a spear, and in the other a staff surmounted by a cross, he tramples upon prostrate demons, in the drawing of which the grotesquely horrible is realized with wonderful power, foreshadowing all that curiously clever treatment of similar subjects so remarkable in the early Block-books, in the description of which Mr. Dibdin always seems to revel with peculiar delight.

Books of the kind just described, of which an almost endless variety still exists in the MS. form, were such as the wood-cutters first attempted to imitate by a mechanical process, such as would at once greatly increase their numbers and decrease their price. This process—namely, that of engraving both the illustration and text of each page on a block of wood of the proper size—of course took much longer in the first instance than the writing and drawing by hand of a single page on parchment or paper; but when once executed, a number of impressions, to

* The nature of the tent-nail or peg, one of those formed of some kind of hard wood, by means of which the edges of the tent were fixed to the ground, has evidently been well understood by the mediæval draughtsman, and is evidently long enough to pass through the head and fasten it to the ground, as narrated; but the driving it bodily through the solid steel head-piece is an artistic exaggeration.

any extent, could be rapidly taken from it. Neither illustrations nor text were, in the first attempts, at all equal to those executed by hand, more especially the writing; but they served to meet the demand for cheaper books of the kind; and in the earliest specimens, the writing which evidently formed the main difficulty, was confined pretty nearly to the mere titles of the subject of the designs, or, to the shortest possible kind of descriptions. Collections of twelve or more of those figures of saints previously referred to, and made, perhaps, by the formenschneiders, who worked also at the manufacture of playing-cards, were stitched together, and formed, it may be, the first approach to a "book" produced by means of impressions from an engraved block. Such specimens, however, if still in existence, could scarcely be considered in the light of "Block-books," in the true sense of the term. The earliest of those works which exhibit the true characteristics of this curious and interesting class of books is probably the "Biblia Pauperum." This was an accurate imitation of a manuscript book that had been popular as a religious work for the instruction of the ignorant for five or six centuries,—the work having been composed by St. Ansgarius, in the beginning of the 9th century. St. Ansgarius, or Anscarius, or Ansgar, born in 801, became a monk of Corvey, where he gave himself up to the most ascetic life and the severest study. He laid the foundation of the library there, which was destined to be the means of preserving many valuable works of the classics from destruction, and among others, it is said, the Annals of Tacitus. He is said to have passed some time at the Anglo-Saxon court, and was eventually appointed by his own sovereign, Louis le Débonnaire, a teacher of the Gospel to the pagan Saxons north of the Rhine; from whence he went to visit Harold, king of Denmark, whom he had baptized at Mayence. Becoming eventually Archbishop of Hamburg, he held that office with honour, and dignity for thirty-four years.

It was while occupied in his missionary labours that he is said to have composed the series of scriptural designs, briefly explained by passages from the Holy Scriptures, which afterwards became known as the Bible of the Poor,—"Biblia Pauperum." In an old copy of the xylographic "Biblia Pauperum" at Florence, there is an entry, in Latin, in writing of the 15th century, to the effect that the author of the book was St. Ansgar; and this view is further corroborated by several passages in mediæval chronicles to the effect that St. Ansgarius wrote a book for the conversion of the pagans, entirely composed of signs,—the signs alluded to being no doubt the series of simple outline devices which were afterwards improved into those which served as the models of the first block-book. Heinecken supposes the designs of St. Ansgar to have been copied in the sculptures of the cathedral of Bremen, or that those sculptures were designed by him; but they are of much later period. Another bibliographic writer, Lessing, says the designs of the "Biblia Pauperum" were taken from the painted windows of the convent at Herschare, which exhibit the same series of subjects; they were, however, much more probably taken from the well-known and long favourably received series of the then popular book, which has long been known as "Historiæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti, seu Biblia Pauperum." Many interesting particulars of the career of St. Ansgar may be found in the ecclesiastical essays by M. Munlen, published at Copenhagen in 1798. I have examined several of the manuscript copies of this reputed work of St. Ansgar, some of which are very beautifully illuminated; but the great portion are of rude execution, while all invariably exhibit the same arrangement. The principal subjects are always three, forming, as it were, a triptych; while, in most of the other works of the same kind, there are only two—the type from the Old Testament, and the corresponding event in the New. But, in the "Biblia Pauperum," there are two ancient types, the Christian event typified, forming the central picture or device, and having above it the half-length figures of two of the prophets, and below, two figures of apostles, or fathers of the Church.

There are several MS. copies of the "Biblia Pauperum" in the British Museum, but none of

very early date. The one numbered "Royal Library V." is a work of the close of the 14th century; perhaps about the year 1400, that of the death of Richard II. The book is of oblong form, to admit, as it would seem, of the three devices being placed in the same row, without crowding. The designs are coloured and illuminated, and are precisely the same in spirit as those of the Block-book, even to the ray emanating from God the Father, and falling on the Virgin Mary, and in which the infant Christ is seen bearing His cross. It is probable that this idea might be traced back to the pencil and religious fancy of St. Ansgar; though none of the bibliographers who have delighted to linger over every detail of the "Biblia Pauperum" have suggested the idea,—not even Zani, who goes out of his way to prove that in the engraving of this subject, in the Block-book, the engraver had fallen into the errors of the Valentinian heretics of the 2nd century. As an illustration of the best drawn of the types in this MS., which is the best finished of the kind that I have met with, I may cite the page containing, as the ancient types, Samson bearing away the gates of Gaza, and Jonah coming forth from the whale; while the centre device, the event typified, is the removal of the stone from the sepulchre.

Among the Additional MSS. of the Museum, the No. 15,705, purchased in 1841, may be pointed out as a copy of the "Biblia Pauperum," in which the designs are in simple outline, and apparently of the 15th century. The MS. No. 165, D, in the Arundel Collection, another of the Museum copies, is exceedingly rude in execution, but all the usual arrangement of the subjects is strictly adhered to. These examples will be sufficient to show the kind of book which the "Biblia Pauperum" was in its MS. form. That it was in great demand is proved by the number of MSS. still in existence; and that books of its class were greatly required may be easily understood, when it is stated that a complete copy of the Bible at that period frequently cost a thousand florins.

That the first attempts to supply books of a simple class, by a new process, was made in Holland and Flanders, and not in Germany, as some have asserted, many circumstances go to prove. In the first place, the Low Countries had great artists, such as the brothers Van Eyc, at a period when Germany had neither artists of repute nor artistic monuments to boast of; and, in the second place, the earliest class of Block-books are found much more abundantly in Holland and Flanders than in Germany, though specimens of later date are known in Germany, which are evidently of German execution; and the Royal Library of Munich contains the finest collection in Europe of these bibliographic rarities, both of Dutch and German origin.

The models, however, upon which German artists subsequently worked, and in some rare cases improved, were, almost invariably, of Dutch or Flemish origin. No German town can prove the establishment of such manufactories of books at the close of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century as Bruges and Antwerp; and in such establishments in Flanders and in Holland was concentrated the talent practised in book-work of all kinds, that produced the Block-books; the close commercial connection of the Dutch towns with those of Flanders, leading to the conclusion that book-work was one of the staples of Flemish as well as of the Dutch towns. Be this as it may, many suppose that Laurens Koster, of Haärlem, who afterwards invented moveable types, was one of the earliest engravers of Block-books, and that, in fact, the "Biblia Pauperum" was actually his work. There is considerable internal evidence for this hypothesis in the style of the compositions and their arrangement; those of the "Biblia Pauperum" being separated from each other by architectural framing of precisely the same kind as those of Koster's "Speculum," which I shall have to describe in the next chapter; while the drawing of the figures is of such similar character, that, if not by the same hand, it must evidently be of the same school. The period of its execution may probably be estimated as lying between 1410 and 1420; possibly earlier, but certainly not later. Mr. Horne possessed a volume in the original binding, which contained three of the most celebrated Block-

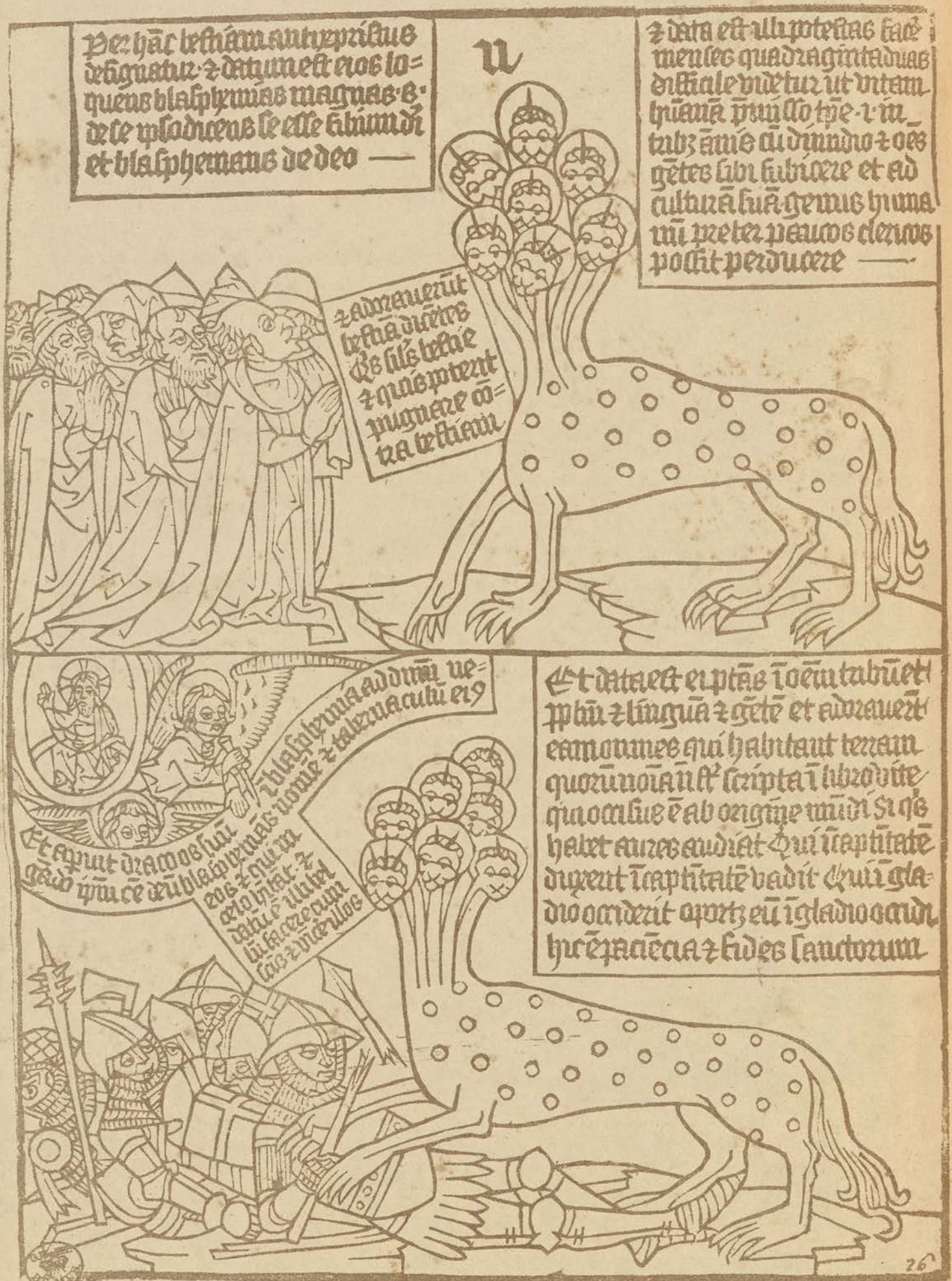
books, — the "Biblia Pauperum," the "Apocalypse," and the "Ars Moriendi." Within the binding was the following memorandum :—"Hic liber religatus fuit per Plebanum ecclesiæ anno Domini 142..."—the last numeral being very indistinct, the date may fairly be taken as 1425. All three books were in circulation at that time; and allowing for their having followed each other, at certain intervals, 1410, or thereabouts, would be an exceedingly probable date for the publication of the first of them. Much more might be urged in favour of that period as the proximate date of the first Block-books; but, in the present instance, a chapter, and not a volume, is all the space that I can devote to their story; and I must therefore proceed at once to the description of the xylographic "Biblia Pauperum," generally esteemed (on sufficiently good grounds) the first book of its class, though there is no positive proof that it is so. The earliest editions of this celebrated Block-book contain forty leaves, and the latest editions have ten additional, making fifty leaves,* printed only on one side; the rubbing process by means of which the impressions were obtained having unfitted the backs for the reception of impressions; while by rubbing on the fronts, already bearing impressions, in order to print impressions on the backs, the fronts themselves would have been very much injured; so that as long as the rubbing process was the only one by means of which an impression from an engraved block could be obtained, so long would it remain an imperative rule to print on one side only. Many writers have described the Block-books as having the leaves pasted back to back, in order to conceal the blanks; but I have not met with many Block-books originally so treated.

The first of the forty pages of the first edition of the "Biblia Pauperum," of which I here give a fac-simile (Plate 2), has for its central subject the "Annunciation," in which a ray appears to be breathed down upon the Virgin from God the Father, seen above in a cloud; and in the ray, the Spirit of the Holy Ghost is seen descending in the form of a dove, followed by the Infant Christ bearing His cross—a singular composition, which has led to much discussion. The meaning of the prefigurative types on either side of the principal subject is set forth in the Latin inscriptions in the upper corners—Eve's temptation being said to foreshadow the Birth of Christ, according to the text (Gen. iii. 15), "Her seed . . shall bruise thy [the serpent's] head;" while Gideon's fleece, becoming saturated with dew, the earth around remaining dry, is made to typify Christ's birth by the infusion of the Holy Ghost. Above is an abbreviated text, in the Latin of the Vulgate, issuing from the niche of Isaiah, in further illustration of the meaning of the type, which is, in the English version, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son."—(Isaiah vii. 14.) Over Gideon, from the niche of David, is (English version), "He shall come down like rain into a fleece of wool."—(Psalm lxxii. 6.) Below these two subjects are alliterative, or rhymed couplets, marked as verses by the letters Vs (*versus*). Under Eve, "Vipera vim perdit, Sine vi pariente puella." Under Gideon, "Rore madet vellus, Pluviam sicut arida tellus." Beneath the central device is a similar couplet, "Virgo salutatur, Innupta manens gravidatur." The prophets in the niches below are, Ezekiel (to the left), with the text, "Porta hæc clausa, et non aperietur" (xliv. 2); and Jeremiah, with the text, "Creavit Dominum novum super terram, femina circumdabit virum" (xxxi. 22). My fac-simile is from the copy which came to the British Museum with the Royal Library. It is a fine copy of the first edition of forty pages. When in the Jaignal Collection, it was bound up with a copy of the Apocalypse. The backs of the pages exhibit very plainly the traces of rubbing with some saponaceous substance while the face of the paper was fixed upon the inked engraving of the block to receive the impression. The pages are systematically marked for the guidance of the

* Heinecken considers this edition the fifth; many of the plates having been retouched, or newly engraved. The text of my present fac-simile is in an earlier character than that of the block-pages of the "Speculum," and not by the same hand, being more upright, and thinner. Subsequent German editions were traced by inferior artists from the original Dutch one. For further details of the "Biblia Pauperum," and other block-books, see Appendix.

A PAGE FROM THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM (GENERALE) SUPPOSED TO BE ONE OF THE EARLIEST BLOCK BOOKS

A PAGE FROM "THE BLOCK-BOOK CALLED "THE BOOK OF CANTICLES."


Per hāc tēstāmū antyprīstus
dēignatur z dicūt nēst eios lo=
quētis blasphymias magnas z
de se plodētes se esse dīnum dī
et blasphemātis de deo —
z data est illi potestas facē
mēses quadraginta duas
dicit ale videtur ut vnū tem
pus tēnāt pīm̄ illo tpe z iu
dicij āmīs dū dīnndo z oēs
gētes sibi subīcere et ad
cultū sū gentis humā
nū pter pcios electos
posit perducere —
z adorauerūt
tēstū dicētes
Qs sīls bēstie
z quis potent
pugnare cō=
tra tēstiam
Et data est illi potestas in oēm tabū et
pplm̄ z lingūā z gētē et adorauēt
eam omnes qui habitant terram
quorū nomīa nō sūt scripta in libro vite
qui occisus ē ab origine mūdi Si qs
habet aures audiat Qui in captiuitatē
duxerit in captiuitatē vadit Qui in gla
dio occiderit oportet eū in gladio occidi
hic ē patiētia z fides sanctorum
Et aperuit draconis sui
cēdo pīm̄ cē de blasphymias
eos z qui in
habitāt z
iu facere cum
eis z vincere eos
z blasphymias adūm̄ ue=
rū z tabernaculū eius
26

A PAGE FROM THE BLOCK-BOOK CALLED "THE APOCALYPSE OF St JOHN," EXECUTED PROBABLY IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 15th CENTURY.

binder, by means of the letters of the alphabet; the plate here reproduced in fac-simile being the first plate, is therefore distinguished by A, which occurs under the half-figures of Isaiah and David. This circumstance is thought to prove that Block-books must have been long in use; but the simple fact is, that this system of signatures had been adopted in MS. books as early as the 12th century. Mr. Ottley thought the Spencer edition the *first*, on account of the greater expressiveness of some of the figures, and also on account of certain imperfections consequent upon the engravings having been made on wood not well suited for printing from. Among the additional plates of the increased editions, the first is the tree of Jesse; and there is in one of the later editions the arms of the engraver or publisher, and a date, not very distinct, made out to be 1450. A late German edition of the "Biblia Pauperum" has the date 1475; but before that period editions had been printed at the regular press with moveable types,—as, for instance, that of Pfister, printed at Bamberg in 1462.

The next example I shall give from the Block-books is a page from the "Book of Canticles," as it is commonly called; but more fully entitled, "Historia seu Providentia Virginis Mariæ ex Cantico Canticorum" (Plate 3). This book consists of a number of texts selected from the "Song of Solomon," as supposed to typify the history of the Virgin Mary; the text being illustrated by a series of compositions which are, on the whole, more skilful and graceful than any to be found in the whole range of Block-book art. The work is supposed by many of the advocates of the priority of the Dutch to be the production of the atelier, if not of the hand, of Laurens Koster, of Haarlem, the reputed subsequent inventor of moveable types. Certain it is that the treatment of the compositions bears a strong affinity to that of the illustrations of the "Speculum;" and that the work is of Dutch origin, and not German, is pretty certain, as in some copies there is a Dutch inscription at the head of the first leaf. The copy in the Museum from which this present fac-simile is taken has the inscription in question. My fac-simile is from page 5, as arranged in the Museum copy, which is a very fine one, and was purchased in 1838. The other copy in the National Collection is a coloured one, and was bequeathed, like so many other treasures, both of the Library and Medal-room, by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode.

The graceful drawing and grouping of the figures in the upper section of this interesting plate are very remarkable, especially as regards the hands; while the picturesquely angular folds of the drapery, in a style which Albert Durer subsequently carried to such perfection, are very tasteful, and full of a quaint sort of elegance. In the lower subject, the Virgin in the Garden guarded by Angels, the treatment is also very quaint and interesting. The details of the fountain, the plants, and the circular embattled enclosure are all executed with the freedom and confidence of a master hand. Many of the other pages are equally excellent, insomuch that it was very difficult to select, when only one could be taken. A complete description of the present plate, from the "Book of Canticles," will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

The third Block-book I shall allude to is the "Apocalypse" (Plate 4; illustrating Chap. viii. 1 to 10). Some have considered this work earlier than the "Biblia Pauperum." The armour of the soldiers, as seen in the fac-simile of the page selected for reproduction, is, in fact, of an earlier period than that of the designs of the "Biblia Pauperum," as may be seen by a reference to the example from that work, and belongs to the middle of the 14th century; but this may be accounted for from the work having been closely copied from some MS. of that period. It is, however, difficult to admit this view, as it was so usual with mediæval artists to reduce all kinds of costume to the fashion of their own time. But there is a MS. of the "Apocalypse" in the Bodleian Library from which these very groups of soldiers, with their chain gorgets, may have been taken; and moreover, notwithstanding the primitive manner of introducing the patches of text, the style of the writing, which is much more regular and finished than that of the "Biblia Pauperum," induces me, while assigning a very early date to this

Block-book, to consider it more recent than that work. A fuller account of this plate will be found in the Appendix.

My next specimen (Plate 5) is from the "Ars Memorandi," a work intended to recall, by means of familiar signs, the leading passages of the four Gospels. The execution of this Block-book is extremely rude; not even presenting occasional traits of that quaint elegance and graceful naïveté which distinguish the illustrations of the "Biblia Pauperum," those of the "Canticles," or even those of the Apocalypse; the general rudeness of the "Ars Memorandi" being never redeemed by any feature of really artistic character. This rudeness is, however, no proof of antiquity, and merely suggests, as I imagine, that the designs in question were the production of some monk utterly unskilled in the use of the pencil, whose errors have been partially concealed by the boldness of the engraver. The absence of text-bearing scrolls or tablets in the pictures, and the character of the text itself on the opposite pages (see Plate 5½, No. 2), demonstrate that the production is of later date than the works previously described. The different objects in the composition are systematically distinguished by numbers, and to the corresponding numbers in the opposite page of text brief descriptions are appended; the descriptions written by hand on the objects themselves, in the present copy, have been added by some possessor of the work long after its execution and publication.

The entire work consists of the symbols of the four Evangelists, each occupying an entire page, and being most grotesquely treated; the bull of St. Luke and the lion of St. Mark standing upright on their hind legs. These symbols are surrounded by various objects, calculated to recall the leading events in the respective Gospels. First in order comes the symbol of St. John (the eagle), the most extravagant device of all. There are three of these grotesque eagles, each surrounded by objects having reference to the Gospel according to St. John; these symbols being numbered upon a broad label as *Prima imago Johannis, secunda*, and so on. Three pages having been thus devoted to St. John, five are given to St. Matthew, three to St. Mark, and three to St. Luke. The page I have selected for reproduction is the fourth "image," or symbol of St. Matthew,—the Angel. The objects grouped around are many of them very curious, and, without the assistance of the accompanying explanations, would certainly not serve to aid the memory of the modern Biblical student. The symbolic Angel holds in the left hand objects numbered 18, which, by the explanation, we learn to be the sun and moon, accompanied by an unusual arrangement of stars and planets, intended to recall the passage, "There were signs in the sun and moon"—*erant signa in sole et luna*—I give the text of monkish explanation in MS. No. 19, the clasped hands, represents marriage, in reference to the generations of the Ancestors of Christ, as enumerated by St. Matthew. No. 20, the cockle-shell and the bunch of grapes, are emblems of travelling and pilgrimage, and appear to represent the flight into Egypt; 21, the head of an ass, is intended to recall the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, riding on an ass; 22, a table, with bread knife and drinking-cup, recalls the Last Supper (*Cœna magna*); and the accompanying symbol, without a number, represents the census rendered to Cæsar.

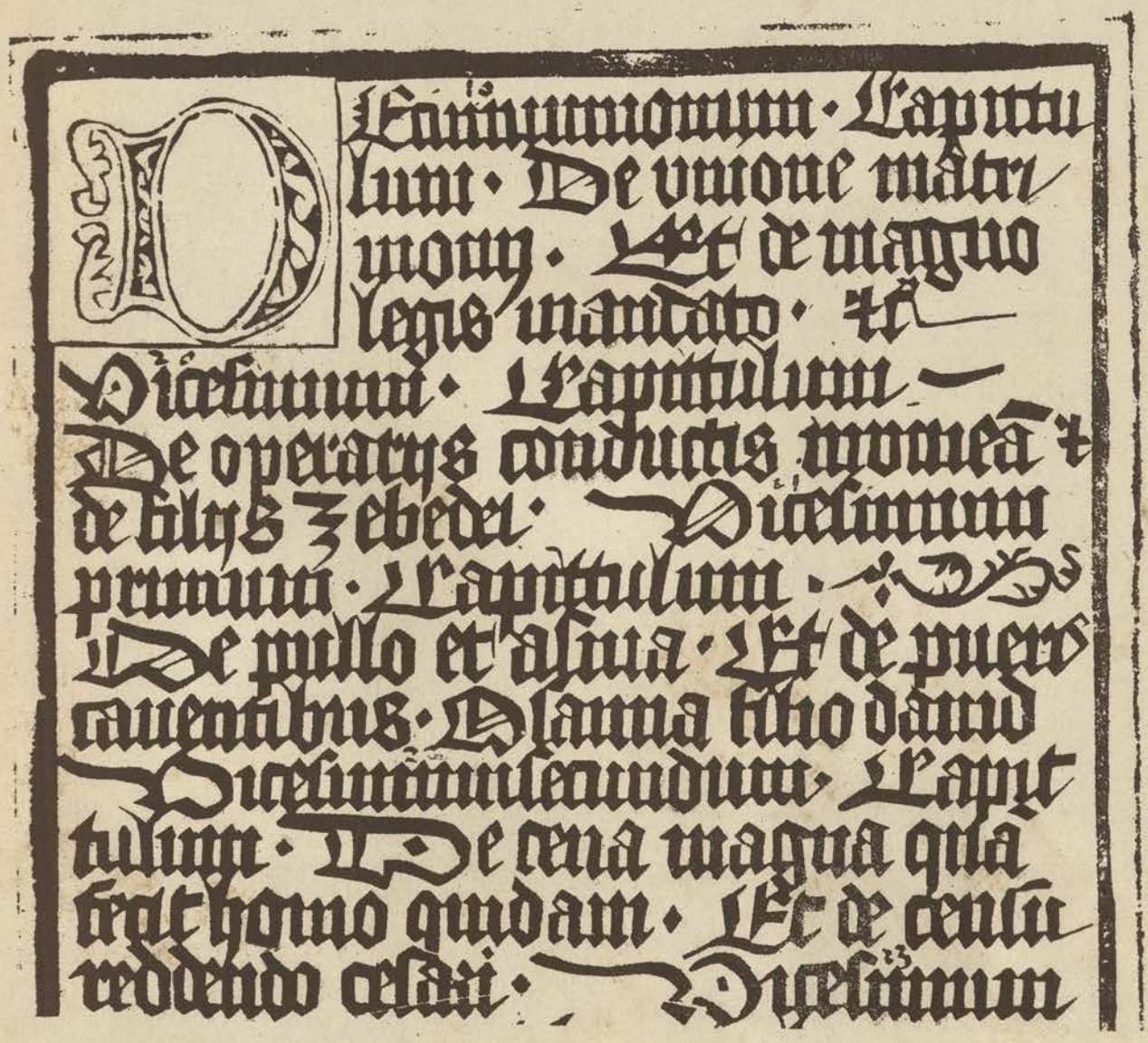
The next Block-book of which I shall give a specimen page is the "Ars Moriendi" (Plate 6). I have selected an edition printed after the discovery that a black oily ink could be used to print from wood blocks, in a Press, by which means the rubbing process was avoided, and printing on both sides rendered possible. This, then, is a specimen of a genuine Block-book, originally intended for printing in distemper colours, but actually printed after the invention of moveable types and the use of the Press; so that it must be considered a late reprint by the newly-introduced process of the true book-printers, whose rise and progress will be described in the ensuing chapters. The present copy of the "Ars Moriendi" is possibly one of the earliest examples known of a Block-book printed with printing-ink. Up to about 1430 (?) all Block-books were printed on one side of the paper only, with pale-brown distemper ink; and after this period the

A SUBJECT PAGE FROM THE BLOCK-BOOK ENTITLED "ARS MEMORANDI" EXECUTED PROBABLY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

1

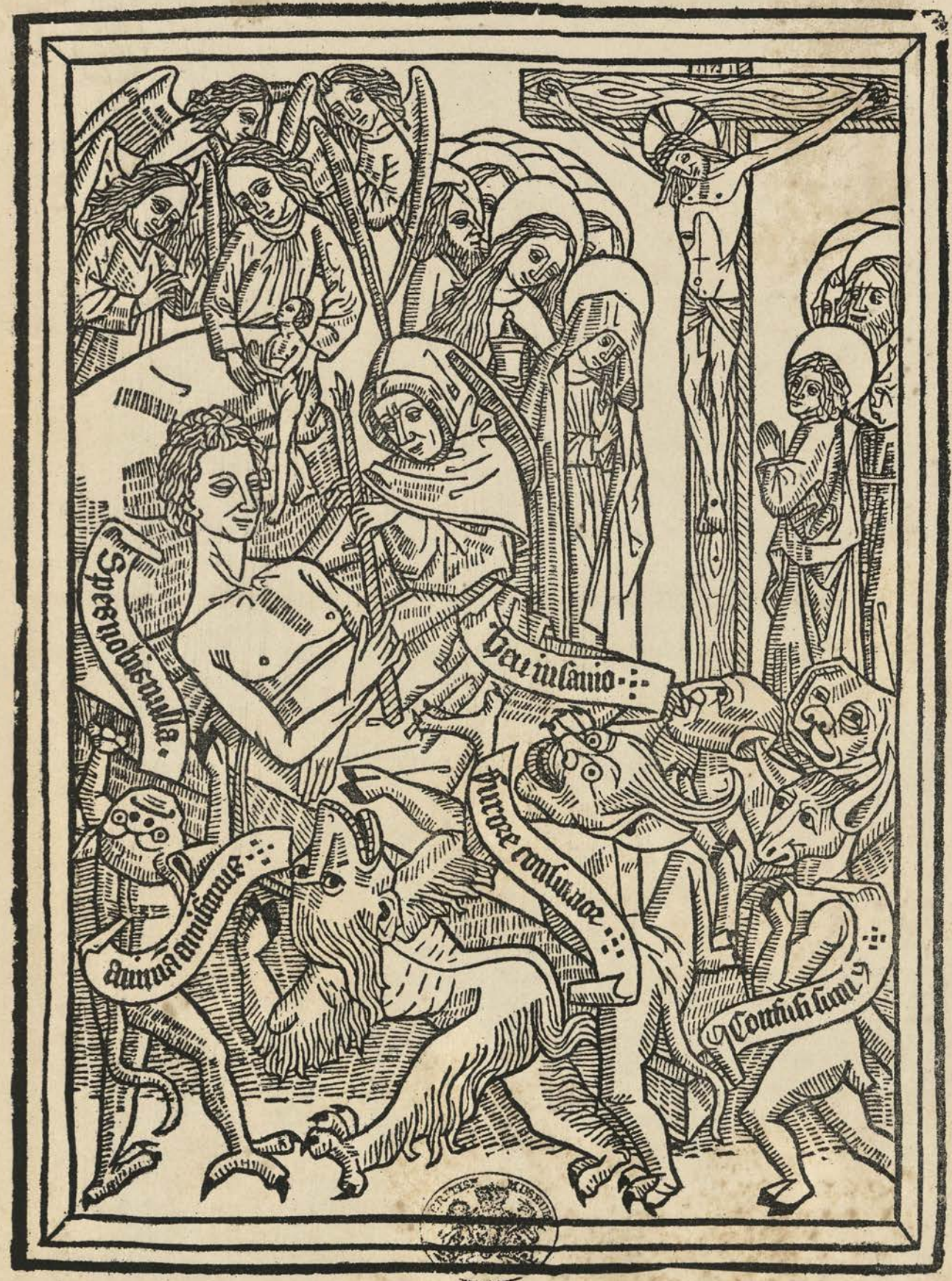
Si agonisãs loq̃ et usum rõis habere potuerit fũ=
dat orõnes deũ p̃mo ĩ uocãdo ut ip̃m ꝑ ĩ effabilẽ
mĩaz suã ⁊ v̄tutẽ passiõis sue suscipe dignet. Scd̃o
diligẽter ĩ uocz gloriosaz v̄gĩez mariã ꝑ sua media=
tr̃ce Deinde oẽs angelos et p̃cipue angelũ ꝑ sua custodia de=
putatũ Deinde apostulos martires ꝯfessores atq̃ v̄gines
specialius tamẽ illos quos ul̃ quas p̃us sanus ĩ veneratio=
ne habuit et dilexit quoꝝ ymagiẽs cũ ymagĩe crucifixi
et beate marie virgĩs ei p̃ntetur Itẽ dicat ter istũ versũ
Disrupisti dñe uinclã mea tibi sacrificabo hostiã laudis
Nam iste versus scd̃m cassiodorũ tante creditur esse v̄tu=
tis ut pc̃ta hoĩm dimittãtur si ĩ fine vera cõfessione
dicatur Itẽ dicat ter hec uerba ul̃ similia que ĩ suma bt̃o
augustino ascribũtur Pax dñi nr̃i ihũ xp̃i et v̄tus passio=
nis eius et signũ s̃tẽ crucis et integritas bt̃issĩe v̄ginis

2



Decimumnonum · Capitu
lum · De vnione matri
monij · Et de magno
legis mandato · ⁊c
Vicesimum · Capitulum
De operarijs conductis in vineã ⁊
de filijs ꝫebedei · Vicesimum
primum · Capitulum ·
De pullo et asina · Et de puero
cauentibus · Osanna filio dauid
Vicesimumsecundum · Capit
tulum · De cena magna quã
fecit homo quidam · Et de censu
reddendo cesari · Vicesimum

1. PART OF A PAGE OF TEXT FROM THE BLOCK-BOOK CALLED "ARS MORIENDI.
2. PART OF A PAGE FROM A BLOCK BOOK CALLED "ARS MEMORANDI.



ONE OF THE SUBJECTS FROM THE BLOCK BOOK CALLED "ARS MORIENDI.

old custom still prevailed partially for a considerable time, gradually giving way to the readier system of printing by Press-work. I have not room here to describe a late German edition of the "Ars Moriendi," of which a beautiful page has been recently reproduced in fac-simile in the work of M. Weigel, of Leipzig.

The text of the "Ars Moriendi," like that of the "Ars Memorandi," is not formed of merely descriptive titles, but occupies entire pages (see Plate 5½, No. 1) opposite the illustrations, which consist of single compositions exhibiting great artistic cleverness. A framework surrounds all the illustrations and pages of text, in the top of which is generally the title of the pictorial composition; as, "Tentacō dyaboli de fide," &c. &c. In the frame to the preface the title of the work is inserted at one corner, as "Ars Moriendi." Titles of this kind were very favourite ones. There was not only "the Art of Dying," and "the Art of Remembering," but also many others; as there were "Mirrors" of all kinds,—mirrors of salvation, of morality, &c. &c., down to mirrors of history. A certain number of the compositions of the "Ars Moriendi" exhibit the dying man as the victim of some special sin,—ambition, avarice, tyranny, &c., and consequently falling into the power of surrounding demons, who tempt him in his last moments with symbols of his ruling vice; while angels retire weeping, and abandon the soul to its inevitable fate; the demons triumphing in grotesque attitudes and equally grotesque exclamations. The subject selected for our fac-simile is from the device representing the opposite to this sad state of things, in the death of a good man. He is represented as dying with a smile, and in good odour with the Church; a monk places a lighted taper, the symbol of eternal life, in his feeble hand; while one among a group of angels receives his soul, represented by a small figure of a man, which the moribund appears to have exhaled with his last breath, having the crucifix, as the emblem of salvation, in full view. The demons, on the other hand, who have swarmed round the death-bed, are furious, exclaiming, by means of the scrolls issuing from them, "No hope for us" (*Spes nobis nulla*), "We are put to confusion" (*confusi sumus*), &c. The drawing and engraving of this and other subjects is bold and ready, and the grouping skilful, showing a somewhat advanced stage of the art; while the half-page of text given as an example also exhibits that semi-cursive style generally used in the MSS. of the first half of the 15th century display. The copy from which our specimen is taken was purchased for the Museum in 1848, and appears to be the edition which Heinecken calls the second.

As examples of the late use of Block-books, long after the invention of printing with moveable types had become almost universal, I have selected specimens from two works, both executed in Germany; for when the art invented by the Dutch (as I am fully convinced) was imitated in Germany, many very excellent specimens were produced there, especially late ones, after the practice had nearly died out elsewhere. The fac-similes Nos. 1 and 2, in Plate 7, are from the "Mirabilia Romæ," printed as late as 1480. This book was unknown to Heinecken. It is exceedingly well executed; the page of text (No. 1) being fully equal to some of the best German manuscripts of the period; while the capital S, with its Gothic ornaments and foliage, is a very pleasing example of its class. It was intended for illumination: I have, indeed, seen an illuminated copy, in which the foliaged ornament was in raised gold, burnished. The book is a sort of guide to all the principal shrines in Rome, with a full account (in German) of the different relics they contain. The illustration No. 2 represents the periodical exhibition of the so-called handkerchief of Saint Veronica, which, according to the Romish legend, having been placed by the saint to the face of Christ to wipe away the blood that streamed from the crown of thorns, received a miraculous and perfect imprint in blood of the features of the Saviour. This is one of the relics still exhibited in Rome, in the middle of the 19th century, the adoration of which entitles the devotee to many years of indulgence. The Museum copy of this work was purchased in 1857

The other specimen of a late Block-book, perhaps the very last of its race, is from a little volume of Italian or German workmanship, entitled "Opera nova contemplativa," printed at Venice as

late as 1510. The text, as exhibited in the page (No. 3, Plate 7), is of a semi-Gothic style and very carefully cut. The engraving, representing David bearing the head of Goliah, appears rather Italian in style, but modified by the Germanesque feeling that was introduced about that period to Venice by the influx of foreign artists. A more elaborate plate, nearly filling an entire page (No. 4, Plate 7), represents the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. The leaves of this book are, of course, printed on both sides, and it is only introduced here as being the last specimen of an expiring branch of art, on which account it is not without a peculiar interest. The text of this little volume forms a striking example of the vast amount of labour which must have been expended on the engraving of the blocks for entire pages of text in books of this class.

Block-books rank among the greatest and most costly of bibliographic rarities, and are very restricted in number; yet I have not space to describe them all in this place; and among those which I shall not be able to refer to, are the "Enndkrist," or "Antichrist," "Die Kunst Cheiromantia," treating of palmistry*—the "Planetenbuch," treating of the influence of planets on human life—the "Defensorium inviolatæ Virginitatis Mariæ Virginis" (the only known copy of which is supposed to be that in the British Museum), and several others. Many of these works were intended for colouring; and a great number of those we possess are, in fact, coloured; but the colouring is so inferior to the work of the designer and engraver, that the uncoloured copies are considered by far the most valuable. The prices which some specimens have realized seem almost fabulous; for instance, as early as the Crivenna sale, a copy of the "Apocalypse" was sold for 510 florins; in 1815 the Duke of Devonshire bought a copy of the "Biblia Pauperum" for £201; and at the present time either of those works would realize a very much larger sum.

It will have been observed that in the earliest Block-books the engraving of the writing is very rude, and evidently executed with much labour and difficulty. Consequently we find such works selected for production as required little more, in the way of writing, than more or less brief descriptive titles, or texts. But as the skill of the engraver increased, the handwriting of the time was much better imitated, and entire pages of text were executed with considerable success, as I have shown by means of the two specimens in Plate 5½. The block-work text of the "Ars Moriendi" is, in fact, nearly as regular, and quite in the same style, as the earliest class of the moveable type work of the Low Countries, as will be acknowledged on comparing it with the specimens from Caxton's "Meditacions," and "Colard Mansion's Surse de Pistoye," in Plate 41. It should also be borne in mind that both in the Block-books and in the subsequently-developed moveable types, it was the precise imitation of the handwriting of the time that was sought, and not the formation of a special kind of letter suited to the purposes of the printing press.

In this brief account of the origin of books of the xylographic class, I have chiefly endeavoured to trace the progress of those practical ideas which led more or less directly towards the development of that perfect system of rapidly reproducing books which we express by the generic name of the "Printing Press." In the ensuing chapter the nature of the link between the system of engraving entire pages on large blocks of wood or soft metal, and that of moveable types of each separate letter, which was the first *direct* step towards the modern art of printing, will be carefully analyzed; and as we draw near to the positive development of that great power by means of which modern civilization is so rapidly working out its marvellous advances, every step will be found full of interest to those who really delight in seeking for the earliest traces of those arts and appliances by means of which the various forms of modern progress have been most prominently advanced.

* Chiromancy, or palmistry, was the pretended art (pretty generally believed in at that time) of defining character and foretelling the future destiny of the individual, by studying the different lines and other marks in the palm of the hand.

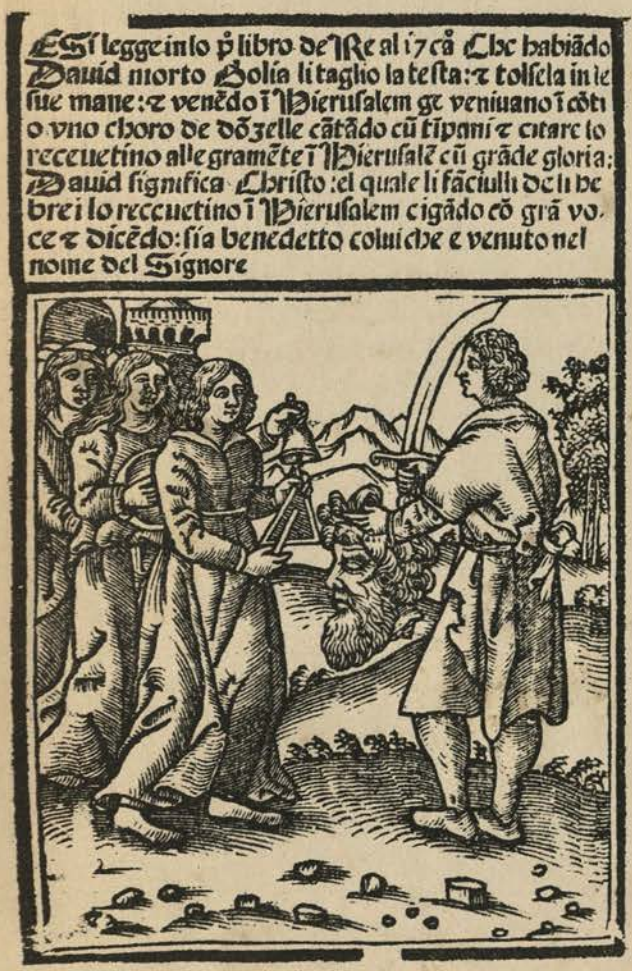
1

Die her nach stet geschriben
die genade vnd ablas vnd das
heyltum Bey den Syben haubt
kyechen vnd allen kyrchen zu
Rome vnd vil wunder zaichen
vnd geschiecht so zu Rome ist
gescheen Vnd auch alle Staao
nes in kyrchen vber iare
Sanctus Sil-
vester der
schreibt in
seiner Co=
ronica das
zu Rome
sein gebest
tausent vnd cccc vnd v kyrchē
der sein vil zerbrochen wo=
den Auss den kyrchen die

2

1 & 2 SPECIMEN PAGES FROM A BLOCK BOOK, CALLED MIRABILIA ROMAE, EXECUTED ABOUT 1480.

3


E Si legge in lo p̊ libro de Re al i 7 cā Che habiādo
Dauid morto Golia li taglio la testa: ⁊ tolsela in le
sue mane: ⁊ venēdo ī Hierusalem ge veniuano ī cōti
o vno choro de dōzelle cātādo cū tīpani ⁊ citare lo
receuetino alle gramēte ī Hierusalē cū grāde gloria:
Dauid significa Christo: el quale li fāciulli de li he
brei lo receuetino ī Hierusalem cigādo cō grā vo-
ce ⁊ dicēdo: sia benedetto colui che e venuto nel
nome del Signore

4

De zacharia al 9c
O figliole de syon
dicete Ecco el Re
tuo E venuto ate
mansueto
De zacharia al 9
Lui come poue-
rello assendete so-
pra lo pulo de
lasina

3 & 4 SPECIMENS FROM ONE OF THE LATEST BLOCK BOOKS, ENTITLED OPERA NOVA AND EXECUTED ABOUT 1510

CHAPTER IV.

Of the practical Origin of Printing with Moveable Types, and of the Claims of Koster of Haärlem to the honour of the "Invention."

THE development of a long series of consecutive ideas all tending, more or less directly, towards the discovery of the art of printing books by means of moveable types, had been the gradual growth of centuries, though the eventual discovery of the principle appears to have been, at last, comparatively sudden, and accomplished, as it were, at a single stride in advance of the Block-book process; while the working out of the means of its practical application appears to have followed with equal rapidity. There is, at the present time, with all the advantages of recent biographical discoveries before us, every reason to believe that Laurens Koster, of Haärlem, was the ingenious artist who first, although in a rude form, realized the practical application of a theory which has led to such vast results, that it may fairly be termed the most important of all human inventions. The advocates of Gutenberg's claim to priority are slow to give way before the accumulated and still accumulating evidence in favour of Koster; and some, closing both eyes and ears to testimony of every kind, refuse to acknowledge that there is the slightest ground for the claims of Holland as against the, asserted, overwhelming evidence in favour of Germany. The examination of the facts and arguments on this interesting *cause célèbre* will therefore properly form the principal subject of the present chapter.

The so-called invention of printing was, it must be conceded, not so much the result of an inspiration of original genius, as the almost inevitable consequence of a gradual development of various kinds of knowledge; on one side calling into action a thirst for general participation in the thoughts and works of the active thinkers of the age; and on the other, the bringing about of the necessary means of gratifying that legitimate thirst in the plentiful production of cheaper and more convenient books than those great vellum manuscripts, which could only be the privilege of the few. Among the previous discoveries which had rendered possible the production of cheap books was that of paper, in a cheap and yet substantial form. Had an ingenious experimenter discovered the art of producing writing (so to speak) with moveable types some few centuries earlier than the time of its actual advent, the discovery could scarcely have been successful, and might have died out, as a pretty but useless piece of ingenuity; for an abundant supply of paper was fully as necessary to the production of books which should supersede those of the professional scribes, as was the art of printing. Indeed, it has to be borne steadily in mind that even the xylographic, or Block-books, which were the necessary precursors of those printed by moveable types, and out of which the practical idea of the use of moveable types necessarily grew, were printed by means of rubbing at the back in order to procure an impression, a process which could only be practised with success upon paper, as vellum is both too tough and too rigid in its texture to admit of successful impressions being produced upon it by that means. So that, putting the cost of the vellum out of the question, the result required could not have been produced at all, before the invention of paper. For the comfort of those advocates of Gutenberg, therefore, who are indignant at the palm of priority being handed over to Koster, it may be fairly asserted that the entire credit of the origin of the true art of printing cannot belong entirely to any one person, or any one people; but is due, as a recent writer on

the subject has judiciously remarked, to the general progress of civilization. In support of this view it is only necessary to suggest that Cicero, in the second book of his "De Natura Deorum," clearly put forth the "idea" of printing books; while even the Chinese, as we have seen, developed, at a very early period, a system of printing books from engraved blocks; though, after all, the art, in the Chinese form, has but little affinity with that kind of printing which now enables us to throw off, in a few hours, 50,000 copies of a newspaper containing the matter of a bulky volume; while it precludes the possibility of the author's corrections in passing his work through the press, one of the most important features of the true system. Yet while we must concede the possession of theoretic *ideas* upon the subject, to Cicero and others, both ancient and modern, it must be kept in view that an idea is not an invention; nor is a theory to be compared in any way to an accomplished fact. The ingenious Marquis of Worcester conceived the idea of the application of steam power to machinery, and even to the propulsion of vessels; but he neither invented the steam-engine, nor built a steam-ship, nor a locomotive; yet when the time came for the necessary introduction of more vast motive powers than human muscle could exert, the earlier steps in discovery pointed the way to the accomplishment of those wonders of modern civilization; while the individual who made the most striking and most practical step towards the final completeness of engines fitted for the creation of motive power nevertheless justly obtained the title of Inventor. Thus Watt is called the inventor of the steam-engine, Fulton of the steam-ship, and Stephenson of the railway locomotive; and no one grudges them the titles earned by their persevering and finally triumphant exertions, though all three had found the first steps made ready for them by ingenious and enterprising predecessors, making their path easier and more obvious, and the end to be attained more definite. In a similar way, the efforts of the image-cutters, card-printers, and xylographic book-makers had been the immediate precursors of the printers with moveable types, without whose efforts, or a series of steps of analogous character, neither Koster nor Gutenberg could have gone directly to their goal as they did, and both with such complete success in the task attempted,—Koster to produce a cheap picture-book, with descriptive text, which should be superior to the Block-books, and yet cheaper; and Gutenberg to vie with the very highest class of manuscript writing, in the very highest class of books.

Laurens Koster, who had been previously a designer and engraver of xylographic books, as it would seem, appears to have made his first essays with separate wooden types about 1426; and from that first step eventually perfected a system of metallic ones; finally reducing them to practical use within about ten years from his first experiment. But before entering upon a narration of the circumstances which are supposed to have led Koster and Gutenberg to perfect their respective systems of printing with moveable types, which was, in fact, the production of a power more influential in promoting social and political progress than any which the world had yet known, it may be well to take a rapid glance at the general state of Europe at that epoch; for which purpose we may assume that Koster was engaged, in or about the year 1430, in finally bringing into a practicable and readily-workable form the system of which a lucky accident had partially revealed to him the first imperfect glimpses a few years before.

The existing state of Europe may be rapidly sketched as follows:—In England we were still in our Plantagenet era, and the wars of the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions had not yet burst forth. The weak reign of Henry VI. had just begun to drag its slow length along; and the year before, Joan of Arc had raised the siege of Orleans, and commenced that series of successes which led to the entire expulsion of the English from France; not merely from their recent conquests, but also from their ancient and hereditary possessions. Charles VII. had been already crowned at Rheims; and the weak English king, under the guidance of the Regent Bedford, was about to be crowned at Paris, as a counter demonstration. Ireland, in sullen and

forced subjection to the superior power of England, was in a state of comparative tranquillity; while in Scotland, James I., after his long captivity in England, was revenging himself by the infliction of cruel tortures upon those who had seized the reins of government during his absence. Such were the kind of events, or rather political confusions, which characterized the last century of the mediæval era,—and such the beginning of that final break-up of the feudal system which was to be virtually consummated in the succeeding century.

The state of France has been partially exhibited in describing that of England; but it should be borne in mind, that the France of the time of Koster was a truly mediæval France, very restricted in extent of territory, and resembling modern France neither geographically nor politically. The hereditary provinces of England — Normandy and Aquitaine — had hitherto formed a large portion of the entire French territory, and were under the dominion of a dynasty of English princes, who scarcely went through the idle forms of occasional homage to the nominal suzerainty of France. The lesser titular barons of the French monarchy also governed their petty territories almost as independent sovereigns;—while in England, the feudal Lord had already lost his legal and absolute independence, as a right, though still irregularly asserting it in turbulent outbreaks, which were soon about to culminate finally in the dynastic wars of the Roses.

Spain was divided into separate kingdoms; for though Leon and Castile had been already united, and some of the smaller principalities had been absorbed by their more powerful neighbours, Arragon, Portugal, and Navarre were still separate States, for ever raging with petty jealousies that led to wars equally petty and purposeless. These small separate kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, and especially Castile and Leon, had, in fact, just passed through a series of internecine wars, somewhat analogous to those about to break out in England; and in those sanguinary struggles Peter the Cruel and Henry of Transtamar (during a fierce struggle in which Edward the Black Prince was a partaker) had committed atrocities far greater than those which subsequently disfigured the contentions of the Houses of York and Lancaster. But a better time was near at hand. A spirit of intellectual inquiry was awakening from its long mediæval sleep; and a new art, that of the Printer, was destined to give it body and permanence, and spread its influence over nearly the whole of Europe. Alfonso V., who occupied the throne of Arragon at the period under description, was, after a fashion, a patron of learning; and his contemporary, John II. of Castile and Leon, though a weak and vacillating prince, being one of those boy kings who, like our Henry VI., gave himself up to the guidance of court favourites, was, at the same time, a protector of literature, the cultivation of which became quite a leading feature of his court; even the members of the royal family distinguishing themselves by the production of poems and other literary works, on a par with those of the best authors of the period. The Moors of Spain, though already stripped of much of their territory, still held the kingdom of Granada, and were in many respects more civilized than their Gothic neighbours. They were, however, preparing their own fall by intestine strife. To illustrate briefly the actual nature of the intestine broils which distracted Spain at that epoch, it may be stated, in a few words, that Charles III. of Navarre was coolly meditating territorial spoliation, to the north of the Pyrenees; and that while Alfonso V. of Arragon was absent on an expedition to assert his claim to the kingdom of Naples, his queen, Maria of Castile, was plotting the cruel and treacherous murder of his favourite mistress, Margaret di Higar. In Portugal, John I. was wasting the wealth and strength of his little kingdom in endeavouring to recover the ancient Mauritanian possessions of Spain on the north coast of Africa; while his son, Prince Henry, a man in advance of his age, was engaged in founding the celebrated port of Sagres, surrounding himself with a knot of learned and scientific men, and planning those maritime expeditions which led to the immediate discovery of Madeira and a considerable

portion of the north-west coast of Africa, hitherto unknown to modern navigators. He was, in fact, laying the foundation of that spirit of maritime enterprise which subsequently led to those discoveries of Columbus, which burst like a flash of light upon Europe some fifty years later.

In Italy all was political dissension and confusion. It was the era of the double papacy. A schism had long been agitating the Church, and had led to the divided rule of a French Pope at Avignon, and an Italian Pope at Rome, whence the Romans were just about to expel Eugenius IV. as they had done several of his predecessors. The last of the Visconti was ruling, in the good old fashion of true Italian despots, in the duchy of Milan, which was about to pass into possession of the Sforze, to the prejudice of the more rightful claim to the succession on the part of a French prince, the Duke of Orleans; while various petty sovereigns, acknowledging no suzerainty to any superior power, oppressed other portions of the Italian peninsula; Naples and Sicily being especially the scene of a dynastic revolution, the Spanish house of Arragon and the French house of Anjou, being engaged in a sanguinary contention for the dominions of Queen Joan, assigned by her to the French prince.

Nevertheless, light was fast breaking. Cosmo de' Medici had established his enlightened rule at Florence; and Dante, followed by Boccacio and Petrarch, had recently laid the foundations of modern literature in putting forth their works in the living language of their country instead of addressing them to the learned few, clothed in the obscure veil of the dead Latin. The Government of Venice was as yet the only European power that had developed an enlarged system of commerce, having turned the crusading mania into a means of seizing several stations in the Levant to serve as counters for an indirect trade with the far East. But these boasted possessions, seemingly so permanent, were already threatened by the alarming growth of the Turkish power, to which they were destined eventually to succumb. The commerce of the Venetian metropolis, however, still went on increasing, and protective edicts, as we have seen, were issued in favour of the manufacture of playing-cards carried on within the precincts of the Ocean city. The unfortunate Francis Foscari, so well known to English readers by Byron's striking drama, was the reigning Doge at the time that Koster was dreaming out a more expeditious method of reproducing books than that afforded by the pen of the copyist, or the engraved tablet of the xylographer; and at Genoa, Isnard de Guarco, who in the general ferment of this transitional political period had been recently deposed, had again become the Doge of the moment.

In Germany, Sigismund, King of Bohemia and Hungary, enjoyed a somewhat empty title as Emperor; the host of petty princes of which the German federation was composed, being almost entirely independent of any kind of central suzerainty, while only a small number had a direct influence in conferring the imperial title, the prince-bishops being among the most turbulent and resolutely independent of the Electors. The character of Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, may serve as an illustration of that of semi-military prelates in general. Being taken prisoner by the English in the very act of combat, to which the state of his cuirass and sword bore ample testimony, he nevertheless appealed to the Papal authority, as an oppressed son of the Church; the English sent to Rome his blood-stained sword and cuirass, accompanied by the well-known text:—"Know then, father, whether this be thy son's coat or no;" the Pope, Innocent III., answering, that "when a son of the Church chooses to quit the army of Christ for that of men, he must submit to the consequences." Such might have been the adventure of almost any one of the prince-bishops of the Empire. Yet Germany, like the rest of Europe, was on the eve of a great advance. The German mind was rapidly ripening,—and was, in fact, almost in the act of preparing itself to become the champion of the Reformation, which was already impending over the Romish Church.

Poland was an elective monarchy, powerful as to extent, but something worse than semi-barbarous in social condition; while there was as yet no Prussia, and the dukes of Moscow were but just throwing off their subjection to the barbaric power of the Tartar dynasties that still represented, though faintly, the power of the ancient Scythians. Parts of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway had only been recently Christianized, and as European powers having any influence beyond their own frontiers, those northern States may almost be said to have been unknown.

To the east, the Turkish power was attaining to its greatest extension and brilliancy; threatening Europe with an all-conquering invasion, such as that which had formerly emanated from the Moorish section of the Mahomedan nations in the 7th century, which after rapidly conquering Spain, was preparing to overrun the whole of Europe, which it might have effected as rapidly, but for the accident of that victory which, after the terrific three days' battle, was won by Charles Martel on the plains of Gaul, a feat which entirely turned the tide of events, that seemed tending towards the Mahomedan subjection of the whole of Christendom; just as a single rock sometimes turns the entire course of the greatest rivers. The threatening attitude of Turkish invasion from the East in the beginning of the 15th century was not doomed to be thus driven back by a single battle, but to keep the whole of Europe in continual dread of the impending danger through a long series of wars, during the varying chances of which the fate of the Christian kingdoms seemed more than once trembling in the balance. Of the vast regions of Asia, Europe had then no accurate knowledge; indeed none at all except that derived from the reports of such travellers as Marco Polo and Mandeville, in whose descriptions fiction was so blended with fact, that little real knowledge was at that time ever obtained from them. It was, however, known that the vast Turkish power had already spread itself all across Asia, and subjugated some of the fairest portions of India, a name at that time surrounded by darkness, and full of mystery to the European mind; while America, the discovery of which was so soon to astonish incredulous Europe, was as yet undreamt of. This age of comparative ignorance,—of plate armour, of tilts and tournaments, of monks and monasteries, of despotisms and feudalism, seems far more in harmony with scribes and their manuscripts, and with legendary chronicles illuminated by hand with endless miniatures and borderings, than with the first throes and upheavings of the Printing Press, which, nevertheless, were then taking place.

I will conclude this brief outline of European history at that period with some account of the state of Holland as being the actual arena of the first steps in an art, the origin of which it is the business of this volume to describe. Philip the Hardy received from his father, King John of France, the duchy of Burgundy as an independent state, after the manner in which states were then dismembered to provide for the offspring of the sovereign. As duke of Burgundy, Philip married Margaret, heiress of Louis, count of Flanders, and with that addition to his dominions he became as powerful, if not more so, than the kings of France themselves. He was succeeded by John the Fearless, whose son, Philip the Good, succeeded him in 1419. In 1421 Philip commenced an unjust war against Jacqueline, countess of Holland, his relative, who was compelled, in 1426, to declare Philip of Burgundy her successor; and in this way Holland and Hainault were joined to the already extensive possessions of the house of Burgundy. It was during the hopeless contest of Jacqueline with the superior power of Burgundy that Koster first began to busy himself with experiments concerning a more perfect and rapid method, than either that of the pen or the xylographic tablet, for the production of books.

To return to the subject immediately in hand, it may be stated that ideas analogous to that of printing books by means of moveable types may have occurred to many other minds than either those of Koster or Gutenberg, at a period when, as just shown in the preceding historical sketch, the mind of Europe was beginning to crave for fresh knowledge, and yet could not obtain access even to that which existed, on account of the great cost of manuscript books. At this

period a MS. Bible cost 500 gold crowns, and all other books were as small in number as they were great in price, and were as insufficient to slake the thirsty craving for religious and material knowledge which then prevailed, as a few rain-drops to quench the burning thirst of the traveller in the desert, who seeks for long deep draughts at a copious spring of living waters. Under such circumstances many may have sought, and *mentally* realized, some theory of printing, analogous to the one about to be described; but the names of Koster and Gutenberg will ever remain associated with its positive invention, as the first who succeeded in reducing their theories to a practical form; and to Koster, if we are to be guided by a vast mass of unanswerable evidence in his favour, must be assigned the glory of achieving the first actual steps in that art, of which Gutenberg was soon destined, not only to extend and solidify the basis, but to raise at once upon that basis a most noble superstructure. I have used the term "glory" advisedly, as we shall see that Koster's countrymen, almost in his own time, considered such "glory" to be, as the Dutch historian Junius expresses it, not only his, but that of his country. Holland, indeed, has not failed to make manifest her feeling and interest in this glory by memorials, statues, and even museums of relics, the establishment of which commenced soon after the times of Koster and his first band of primitive printers; nor have energetic native writers ever ceased from that time to the present hour to vindicate the claims of Koster as the earliest printer, against those of Gutenberg and his followers at Mayence.

Before narrating the facts connected with the efforts of Koster in the creation of moveable letter-types, it will be well to describe, very briefly, the nature of the authorities upon which his claims to being the first to make use of moveable types are founded. They are very numerous; in fact, so interesting had the story of the Printing Press become long before half its powers, as we now know them, were developed, that every old chronicle of the time, and of the epochs closely following the time of Koster, has been ransacked by persevering antiquaries for passages relating to its origin; and the harvest of information thus acquired has been abundant. Even memorandum-books and parish records have been hunted through, and every word bearing on the subject carefully extracted, and made the theme of essays without end, most of them full of curious and interesting matter.*

The following passages are a few selected from the mass, as among the most interesting of those which have immediate reference to Koster and his claims. And it is worthy of consideration that the first and most important authorities conceding to the *Dutch* the glory of being the originators of the art, occur in the works of *German* authors; which is, to some extent, an answer to the remark recently made by M. Weigel, of Leipzig, that those who entered into the Koster-Gutenberg controversy did not read the German books on the subject. Placing the authorities referred to in chronological order, the first to be cited is that contained in a German chronicle printed at Cologne in 1499, and thence known as the *Chronicle of Cologne*, though it does not refer especially to that city. It was printed by Ulrich Zell, originally of Mayence, a well-known follower of Gutenberg and his system, and by some considered a pupil of the great founder of the art in Germany. The passage referred to occurs in the body of the work, under a separate heading, as follows:—"Of the art of printing books, when and where, and by whom, was invented the inexpressibly useful art of printing books." The passage in which the case is summed up runs thus, as quoted by M. Wolf:†—"Although the art, as now practised, was discovered at Mayence, nevertheless the first idea came from Holland, and from the Donati‡ which had been previously printed there. Those books are therefore the origin of the art." The Chronicle goes on further in the

* The list of works printed at the beginning of this volume will convey some idea of the amount of literature to which the history of the Press has given rise; and further particulars will be found in the Appendix.

† Wolf's *Monumen. Typog.*, vol. I. p. 407.

‡ Small Latin Grammars, named after their author, Donatus; to be described farther on.

argument, in order to ensure to Gutenberg his proper share in the great discovery; some writers having claimed it for Jenson, the Frenchman, who printed books in Venice at a very early period, as we shall see in treating of Italian printing. The author of our Chronicle says, "Jenson has received the credit of being the first to practise the perfect art, but Gutenberg (whom he miscalls Guten*buch*, *good book*), a gentleman of Mayence, was the real *vinder*" (that is, finder or inventor). These facts had no doubt been partly gathered and corroborated by Ulrich Zell, himself a printer from Mayence, and who would, had there been just ground, have vindicated the claims of that city to the full. Zell was the first who established a press at Cologne.

These statements are corroborated in a singularly preserved memorandum made by one of the most acute critics of the first half of the 16th century, Mariangelus Accursius, a Neapolitan scholar of distinction. The memorandum in question is worth dwelling upon in some little detail, as it has led to many mistakes and misquotations, which ought to be pointed out *en passant*. In the first place, Coronelli, in his "Bibliotheca universalis," has, from an imperfect knowledge of this memorandum and its nature, been led into the grave statement that the Neapolitan author wrote "a work" upon "the invention of printing;" though the memorandum in question consists merely of a few words written on the blank leaf of an old Donatus once in his possession, and which afterwards passed into the family of the Aldi, the famous Venetian printers.

In the second place, the few words comprised in this brief memorandum have been misquoted in a manner that is so ridiculous as to approach the burlesque. For instance, in the excellent "Dictionnaire universelle, &c. &c., par une Société de Savans, français et étrangers," and in which one would not expect to find any glaring mistake, of any kind, we have the memorandum in question enriched with extraordinary amplifications and alterations, as follows:—"John Fust, *Burgomaster of Mayence, maternal uncle* of John Schœffer, invented the art of printing with *brass types, &c. &c.*" This strangely garbled passage reminds the reader of the itinerant preacher, who, mingling and misplacing Scripture passages in a by no means dissimilar manner, astonished his congregation by exclaiming, "And Moses, after he had been forty days and forty nights in the whale's belly, said, Verily thou almost persuadest me to become a Christian!"

Without referring to other misinterpretations to which this simple memorandum has been subjected by the advocates of the priority of Gutenberg, and the first founders of printing in Strasbourg and Mayence, let us turn to the original memorandum itself. It consists of these words:—"Impressus autem est hic Donatus et confessionalia primum omnium anno 1450. Admonitus certe fuit ex Donato Hollandiæ prius impresso in tabula incisa." The sense of which may be rendered as follows:—"This Donatus and confessional was the first one actually printed—in the year 1450. It was certainly imitated from those previously printed in Holland from engraved tablets."

With many other bibliophilists, Accursius was mistaken in thinking that the Dutch Donatus's were all printed from engraved tablets—that is to say, were xylographs; otherwise he is perfectly correct in stating that those printed at Mayence, which so closely resembled the Dutch ones, were evidently copied from them; those, however, from which they were copied being actually printed with moveable metal types; being also, in all probability, the work of Koster himself and his followers, as will be subsequently shown.

The next authority in favour of the claims of Koster is to be found in a work by John Van Zuyren, burgomaster of Haärlem, published about 1561, and entitled, "A Dialogue on the first Invention of the Art of Typography" ("Dialogus de prima artis typographicæ inventione"). Few fragments remain of this work, but enough has been preserved to show that the author unhesitatingly claims for his countryman the glory of having made the first rude steps in the art; stating

at the same time that he does not wish to detract from the credit of the great printers of Mayence, who first brought it to perfection and popularized it.

Theodore Volchart Coonhert makes a somewhat similar statement in the preface to his Dutch translation of Cicero's "Offices," printed by himself, or at all events at his house at Haärlem, in 1561. He says, "I have often been assured from well-informed persons that the art of printing* was originally invented in the town of Haärlem, although in a rude manner; the knowledge of the art having subsequently been treacherously carried to Mayence, by an unfaithful workman, and there brought to great perfection. As having first rendered it public,† that town has acquired the glory of the first invention, and hence our fellow-citizens obtain but little credence when they attribute to one of themselves the honour of being the real inventor." This last passage, as M. Bernard remarks in his "Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe," is very interesting, as showing that even at that time the controversy concerning the rival claims of Haärlem and Mayence was already in active existence.

As the next passage to be noted, we may select the one which occurs in the "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," by Braunius of Cologne, printed in 1570—1588, in four folio volumes, and this is another strictly German authority in favour of the claims of Holland. A map of Haärlem in this work is accompanied by an account of the city, to which Braunius unhesitatingly assigns the honour of having given birth to the art of printing. The claims of Haärlem as the cradle of the art are also set forth by Eytzinger in his great folio volume on the topography of the Low Countries, printed in 1583; while a much fuller statement occurs in Guicciardini's "Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi," a still earlier work, printed at Antwerp in 1567. The passage in question has been quoted both by Ottley and Meerman. It runs thus:—"According to the common tradition of the country, the evidence of several authors, and also of *ancient monuments*, the art of printing was first invented in this town, as well as that of casting letters (in moulds); and the inventor having died before he had carried his work to full perfection, one of his workmen went to Mayence, where he divulged the secret of practising the art: and in that place so much care and attention was bestowed upon it, that it was brought to great completeness; and hence arose the opinion that it originated there. I neither will nor can decide the question, &c. &c."

Guicciardini evidently shirked the responsibility and odium of deciding a question, which was evidently a ticklish one, even in his time, and he divided the contested apple—perhaps a wise plan; for it is plain that if, in the case of the original apple of discord, with its fatal inscription, "To the fairest," the appointed judge had bethought himself of dividing it into three equal parts, and awarding one to each of the fair claimants, an immense amount of Olympian wrath and heart-burning might have been spared.

That the story of the Haärlem invention by Koster had also found its way to England, we have proof in the otherwise worthless pamphlet published by Richard Atkyns in 1664, in order to prove that books had been printed at Oxford before the time of Caxton.‡ Although out of chronological order, we may glance at Atkyns's testimony here. He describes a MS. which he had received from a friend (whom he does not name), which purported to be a copy or extract from one preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. From this MS. he proceeds to quote a passage to the following effect:—"Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, having persuaded his sovereign, Henry VI., to use every possible means for introducing into England the new art of printing then practised at *Haärlem* by *Gutenberg*, the king charged one Robert

* He of course means from moveable types.

† Koster having kept his invention secret, as we shall see.

‡ The book at Oxford, with the erroneous date 1468, upon which Atkyns principally founded his argument, will be described and its date discussed in another place. For the passage in full, see Atkyns's pamphlet, entitled "The Origin and Growth of Printing, &c." 4to. Whitehall, 1664.

Turnour, his valet, with a secret mission for the purpose of abducting one of the workmen from the *Haärlem* establishment and bringing him to England. Turnour took with him Caxton, *a rich London merchant*, who had great dealings with *Holland*, and whose residence in the country would therefore be less suspicious. They went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, using every precaution, as several strangers had been already cast into prison for endeavouring to obtain the secret and carry it to their respective countries. At last they succeeded in carrying off Frederick Corsellis (Cornelius ?), and eventually got him to work at Oxford under strong guard."

Here, then, we have another name for the treacherous servant who stole Koster's secret; and though the passage is totally unworthy of credit, it serves to show that the story of the Haärlem Press must have had some foundation; while the strange mixing up of the names of Gutenberg and Fust, and Caxton and others, with the statement only arises from the ignorance of the narrator.

But I must retrace my steps, in order to describe the long anterior account of Junius, upon which the Kosterian claims are chiefly based, and upon whose testimony the advocates of Haärlem, as the seat of the first true Printing Press place their chief reliance.

Hadrian Junius, son of Peter of the same name, in his "History of Holland," states at great length, and with ample detail, all the facts upon which is founded the claim of Laurence Koster, of Haärlem, to be the first to contrive and make use of moveable metal letter-types. Hadrian Junius, born in 1511, was a man of position and education. His studies were commenced at the Latin Grammar School at Haärlem, and subsequently perfected at different European universities; and he became known as one of the most learned men of a period remarkable for its erudition. For a time he resided in England, as physician in ordinary to the Duke of Norfolk, and was afterwards appointed one of the physicians to the King of Denmark. Eventually, he settled in his native country, Holland, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits, and his history, written at the request of the Dutch Government, and which he entitled "Batavia," was completed in 1569. From various causes, however, it was not printed till 1588, thirteen years after his death, when it was published under the superintendence of his son Peter. The passages relating to Koster appear from internal evidence to have been written in 1568, and commence as follows :—

"About 128 years ago there lived at Haärlem, in a house of considerable size, on the *Place*, and facing the royal palace, one Laurence, son of John, surnamed Koster, or Sacristan,* a lucrative and honourable office, which was hereditary in his family. It is this man who merits a glory superior to that of all conquerors, and who can justly claim the honour of the invention of the typographic art, an honour at the present day usurped by others."

The period referred to by Junius, and stated by him to be that during which Koster was practising his art in the great house on the *Place*, opposite the king's palace, is pretty evidently the year 1440, when Koster was still living, though he appears to have died in that year.

On account of the Latinized name of Koster into Custos,† the opponents of his claim have asserted that he could not be the person intended by Junius; but this is a mere verbal quibble, and, even if sustained, would only shift the claim from Koster to some other citizen of Haärlem of the actual name of Custos, or Ædituus Custosve. Junius next proceeds, without circumlocution, to tell in what way the idea was first suggested to Koster of using moveable types instead of engraving a whole page on a block or tablet. "Walking one day in the

* An office of which the duties were the charge of the sacred books and other moveables of the church.

† In the Latin of Junius, *Custos*, "cognomento Ædituus Custosve;" all the proper names being, at that period, not Latinized by a Latin termination, but translated. For instance, the real name of Junius himself, the author of the history in question, was really Jonge (equivalent to our Young), Hadrian de Jonge; while Gutenberg's name (equivalent to Goodhill) is translated into Latin as Bonamontis, and his family name, Geinsfleisch (equivalent to our Gooseflesh), is Latinized as Ansicarus; to say nothing of the translation of Burgomaster into Cos, or Consul.

wood, near the town (as the citizens, in their leisure, are accustomed to do in the afternoon, or on festivals), Laurence Janszoon* occupied himself with cutting pieces of beech-bark into the form of letters." But the passage at this point must be given in the original Latin, as I am inclined to think that its meaning has not hitherto been accurately apprehended. "Cœpit faginos cortices principio in literarum typos conformare, quibus inversa ratione sigillatim chartæ impressis versiculum unum atque alterum animi gratia ducebat, nepotibus generi sui liberis exemplum futurum."

M. Bernard, one of the most recent supporters of the claims of Laurence Koster, translates, "Laurent se prit a façonner des écorces de Hêtre en forme de lettres, desquelles, en les renversant et imprimant successivement, une à une, sur une feuille de papier, il obtint, en s'amusant, des versets (ou petites sentences) destinés à servir d'exemple à ses petits fils, les enfants de son gendre." It appears to me that in this translation the precise meaning of Junius may not be entirely rendered. May he not mean by *sigillatim* that these letters, after being reversed, were *sealed*, or otherwise fixed, one after another, to a sheet of paper, in the order he wished, so as to form little verses, of which he was able to take impressions as he would from an engraved block? If this be the true meaning of the passage, we have clearly, according to the statement of Junius, the first hint of moveable types very naturally suggesting itself from the letters cut in bark. In the first place, the letters being cut in a detached form and in a thin material, the opportunity of *reversing* them, in the proper sense for printing from them, would most probably occur to the mind of an ingenious artisan like Koster, who was, there is every reason to suppose, a wood-engraver (as well as Custos), engaged in producing Block-books, which, as shown in the preceding chapter, were the first examples of books multiplied by impressions instead of being written by hand. Already skilful in carving letters in relief upon those blocks, he would find no difficulty in cutting out letters very neatly in bark, of which substance he may have met with a suitable piece in his walks; and no more natural amusement can be conceived for such a handicraftsman during his afternoon's stroll in the wood. Such letters, if sealed or pasted upon a sheet of stiff paper to keep them in their proper order, might easily be charged with ink by a careful application of the dabbing process without inking the surrounding paper; and that being done, nothing would be easier than to take an impression, by laying a piece of paper over the letters so charged and rubbing it evenly on the back, as is still done in taking experimental proofs from wood-engravings. That such was the method in which he would proceed to obtain his impression is tolerably certain, as it was the way in which the block-books were printed; for which reason, as previously stated, the leaves of such books were only printed on one side, and sometimes pasted together back to back to conceal the blanks, as stated by Junius; the rubbed back of the paper being made too glossy for the purpose of printing by the rubbing, as well as being, in most instances, slightly soiled.

If any be found sceptical about the possibility of obtaining impressions in this way, such a person must find much difficulty in believing in the new method of stereotyping, by means of papier-mâché moulds, of a page of set-up type, instead of casts in metal; and yet the system has been found perfectly successful. I have myself, while writing this passage, cut out some letters in thin pasteboard about the thickness of birch-bark, and after reversing them and sticking them on to a piece of paper to keep them in their proper places, have obtained impressions from them by dabbing them carefully with common ink stiffened with gum, and then rubbing the paper placed over them with the thumb-nail. I thus satisfied myself that the remark of M. Renouard, who asserts the impossibility of obtaining impressions from the letters of

* That is, Lawrence, son of John, or rather Laurens Janszoon, a common method of forming distinctive names at that period, when family names, except those derived from estates, had not yet become established.

beech-bark, is unfounded. But then, as should be noted, he is assuming that Junius describes the beech-bark letters in question as being used in actual work, and in a press similar to that used for metal types. He has, therefore, entirely mistaken the drift of the passage; in which the beech-bark letters are, in fact, only spoken of as having in the course of a sportive experiment led to the idea of those *practical* and eventual moveable types, which are afterwards spoken of as being of metal. And M. Renouard, though right in assuming that bark letters could not be used in the press, might have recollected that impressions of them could be easily obtained by the rubbing system, well understood by a xylographer, and then in general use for all kinds of printing from wood.

The date at which this first step by Koster in the direction of the art of printing with moveable types was achieved is the next point of interest in this investigation. Assuming that the story is not a mere myth, as some would assert, but a genuine tradition with a basis of truth, let us endeavour to assume, approximately, the epoch of the birth of Koster, which it would seem must have taken place about 1370. At all events, this date is a probable one; for if a later be taken, it is hardly likely that he would have found himself a grandfather between 1420 and 1426, and it was before the last-named period that his supposed walk in the wood with his grandchildren must have taken place; the Haärlem wood having been cut down during the siege of the town in that year, as described in my previous sketch of the political state of the country at the beginning of the 15th century; and it must have been many years re-establishing itself. We may take for granted, then, that it was a year or two before 1426 that the carving of the bark letters may have occurred; the story of which he was, no doubt, fond of relating, as being the foundation of a discovery which soon became a very important one to himself and his family. Reasoning from these data, the year 1423 was adopted by the inhabitants of Haärlem as the epoch of the eventful promenade, at the time when, four hundred years afterwards, they caused a tablet commemorative of the event to be erected in the wood, which now flourishes on the old site, and which tablet may still be seen by all curious in monuments of this kind. On the house where he lived and exercised his art an inscription was placed at a much earlier period, to the following effect:—

"Typography, of all other arts the preserver, was here first invented about the year 1440." The original Latin being—

MEMORIÆ SACRVM
TYPOGRAPHIA
ARS ARTIVM OMNIVM
CONSERVATRIX
HIC PRIMVM INVENTA
CIRCA ANNVM MCCCCXL.

This date of 1440 was arrived at by the erectors of the tablet from merely calculating the date that would necessarily result in deducting 128 years from the period at which Junius probably wrote the passages of his history which concern the invention of printing. When Junius speaks of Koster being still living, 128 years before the time at which he, Junius, was writing, he appears to have taken the shortest time he fairly could, which was the reputed year of Koster's death, which we shall find must have taken place about 1440. His first practical efforts in the art of printing with moveable types must, however, have taken place some considerable time before his death, seeing that, according to the advocates of his claims, the four first editions of the "Speculum" were all printed in his lifetime, or at all events three of them. I must now resume the account of the probable nature of his advances, after his discovery in the wood; in the course of which it will become apparent that the first edition

of the "Speculum" must have been printed eight or ten years before 1440, while even that epoch would give the work precedence in date over any known monument of the Mayence Press.

Having once perceived the convenience and advantages to be derived from separate characters that could be moved at will and formed into new sentences, Koster no doubt set himself to work to make similar characters in some material better suited to his purpose than beech-bark, or any other kind of bark; and it is very possible that he first tried wood. But if any faith can be placed in the statement of Junius, he soon resorted to metal; and as there were at that time very skilful casters, in sand, of small and delicate objects for jewellery and other similar purposes, it is highly probable that he resorted to their assistance; and his first metal casts were no doubt cast in sand, from his wooden models.* It is well known that, to obtain a cast from a sand mould, a model must first be made, which, being pressed into the sand, leaves in it the exact reverse of its own form; and if into this reverse melted lead or brass be skilfully poured, by a trained hand, an exact repetition of the original model is obviously obtained in the metal so cast; and by repeating the process any required number of metal letters might be produced from one of the original models carved by Koster. This view is little more than a natural inference drawn from the general tenour of the succeeding passage in Junius, who, like many others, thought the first moveable types were wooden ones,* though he afterwards distinctly states that Koster eventually used lead and tin, as being harder and better suited to the work. It is clear that Junius was but imperfectly acquainted with the technicalities of the Printing Press; but that does not invalidate his general statement, as clearly demonstrated by M. Bernard, himself a practical and practised printer, in his excellent work, entitled "De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie." Junius, in support of his statements, and in proof of their validity, goes on to tell us that in his time were still to be seen in the house inhabited by Gerard, a great-grandson of Koster, certain wine-vases curiously formed with the metal types formerly used by their first inventor; and he states further that in naming the grandson, Gerard, he does so in order to render him an homage, which he conceived to be his due. Passages of this kind could not have been addressed by Junius to his contemporaries concerning things then in existence and persons then alive, without rendering him liable to immediate contradiction, if they were unfounded, or in any way open to cavil. If only making a bare and unprovable assertion, he would merely have spoken of the characters as "still in existence;" but when he states in detail that these types had been curiously wrought into the form of wine-vases by the family who, no longer pursuing the trade of their ancestor, had thus formed his printing-types (the first ever used) into family ornaments for perpetuating their preservation, he must have felt that he was stating that which was well known to many people in Haärlem, or he would not have stated it at all.

Judging from the foregoing deductions, it has been assumed by the advocates of the Kosterian claims that he must have produced the first book in which he made use of his moveable metal types about the year 1430, or there would scarcely have been time to exhaust three subsequent editions previous to the year of his death in 1440. That he did issue such editions, and that those editions were of the well-known book, the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," is also borne witness to by Junius, who, after describing the nature of the process (evidently according to his own views concerning moveable types), proceeds:—"It was by this method that he produced impressions of engraved plates, to which he added (separate) letters. I have seen," he continues, "a book of this kind, the first rude effort of his invention, printed by him on *one side*

* Even recent writers have thought that the first moveable types actually used in the Printing Press were of wood, and have sought to prove that some of the earliest printed books bear evidence of being printed with moveable wooden types; but these opinions are not well supported.

only. It was a book composed in the language of the country by an anonymous author, and was entitled, 'The Mirror of our Salvation.'" Our author goes on to state that the book exhibited, in every respect, the evidences of an art still "in the cradle;" remarking that no art attains perfection at the moment of its discovery.

Here, then, we have, not any vague and general statement, but a series of facts carefully detailed by a man of learning, talent, and high character, who lived within 128 years of the time of Koster,—a statement which is terminated by a correct account of one of the products of the Kosterian press; a monument which is still in existence to bear testimony to the good faith and accuracy of Junius. It is true that bibliographers now consider the Dutch edition of the "Speculum" the last instead of the first; but it is printed in precisely the same manner as the Latin editions, which are now considered the earliest.

Junius concludes his interesting passages on the invention of printing by stating that Koster, after having perfected his system, and finding that the demand for his printed books rapidly increased, found the aid of the members of his own family no longer sufficient, and took foreign workmen into his employ, which eventually led to the abstraction of his secret, and to the credit of his invention being given to others. We are further informed that the treacherous workman in question was named John, and it is surmised that he may have been John Fust himself, the partner of Gutenberg; but here we find that Junius's general knowledge of the early history of printing, beyond Holland, was very imperfect, especially as regards the establishment of the art at Mayence, and more particularly as regards the character of Fust, as we shall see by-and-by. He next states that the treacherous John in question, a German, taking advantage of the absence of the family at the midnight service on Christmas Eve, entered the workshop alone, and stole therefrom a sufficient number of types and tools to serve as models for establishing the art in his own country. He is said by Junius to have escaped in the first instance to Amsterdam, travelling from thence to Cologne, and eventually establishing himself at Mayence, where, in the year 1442, about a year after the robbery, appeared the "*Doctrinal*," or Grammar of Alexander Gallus, a book then in great demand, and also the treatises of Peter of Spain, both printed with the types stolen by the workman of Koster. The legend of the treacherous workman, in that age of legend-making, grew quite naturally out of the facts; and it was adapted, as other similar legends have been, to other places and circumstances than those from which the original legend was invented; for instance, some early Italian writers persist in attributing the invention of printing to one of their own countrymen, and have distorted the legend of Koster's workman to suit their purpose. But the assertions of Junius, legendary as they may appear by the romantic details used in working out the story, are not founded on bare assertions only, like the Italian story just referred to, but are based upon the evidence of monuments which still exist. Fragments of the "Doctrinal" of Alexander Gallus can now be examined in the Bodleian Library, and the types bear the strongest possible resemblance to those of the Dutch "Speculum," and have very little affinity with the early types of Gutenberg and his followers. The seeming error of Junius consists in attributing this work, without hesitation, to the recreant workman, as it may very probably have been printed in Holland. Yet he may have had good evidence, at the time, to convince him that it was printed in Germany; and if so, there is considerable ground for the foundation of the story of the robbery, as the work is evidently of more primitive character than the earliest of those which are positively known to be printed at Mayence.

Junius, in order to give every possible support to his statements, winds up his account by informing his readers how he became acquainted with many of the details which he narrates concerning Laurence Koster and his invention. He states that old and trustworthy men had preserved the recital, and passed it from one to the other, "as a lighted torch is passed from hand to hand;" and especially refers to Nicholas Galius, his first preceptor, who was

at that time a very old man, and who remembered having heard many of the facts connected with the story of Koster's discovery from one Cornelius, when the latter was at least eighty years of age. Cornelius, it is stated, had been a "binder" in the establishment of Koster, and had often related, with great spirit and precision, to Nicholas Galius the origin and entire course and development of the invention, precisely as he, Cornelius, had frequently heard it from the lips of Koster himself; the old binder generally finishing his story by hearty execrations of the perfidy of the workman John, and wishing much that he might have been permitted to perform upon him the duties of the hangman, so richly deserved by a treacherous thief.

The story of Cornelius had also been heard by the burgomaster Quirinius Talesius, a contemporary of Junius. Lambinet, in his well-known work, treats these "aged witnesses" as "walking centuries" conjured up by Junius, and as being pure inventions of the fertile brain of the Dutch author; but, fortunately for Junius and his cause, the indefatigable Meerman (whose works on the origin of typography are full of interesting information) has recently disinterred a curious proof of the positive entity of the witness Cornelius; having discovered in the binding of an old book of accounts of a church of Haärlem, dated 1474, a piece of paper bearing a written memorandum, in Dutch, in the writing of the period, to the following effect:—"Item, I have given to Cornelius, the binder, six rose florins, on account of binding books."

The mere jokers in argument, such as Lambinet, are thus easily disposed of by a few facts, even when the jokes are good; but the present facetious attempt of Lambinet is mere nonsense; for what are any of those ancient records upon which all authentic records are founded but "walking centuries"? The advocates of Koster might indeed exclaim with Gratiano, when turning the tables upon Shylock, with an expression of his own; "I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word." It must be conceded that the claims of Laurence Koster to the invention of moveable types, in a practical form, is still hotly disputed, in spite of the vast accumulative evidence which modern research has brought to light in his favour; but it will be allowed that the position of his German opponents is becoming every day less tenable. It is, for instance, beyond dispute that the Dutch were the first to produce block-books, and so were virtually the first printers of books. Hence, what is more likely than that they were the first also to make the next step in advance,—the obvious one of substituting moveable types for entire carved pages of letters. It may also be observed, *en passant*, that it was in Holland (at a later period) that the art of stereotyping was first devised; and that John Miller and his son William employed that process, in their Dutch printing-office, as early as the close of the 17th century.

Before proceeding to examine those early monuments of the typographic art which have been assigned to Koster, a difficulty has to be met which has been set up by his opponents, to the effect that his name is not attached to them—an objection which may be at once set aside by reminding those who urge it, that the works of Gutenberg himself do not bear his name, although his claim to be their producer is not for a moment doubted. The work in which Koster's first great effort as a printer with moveable type seems to have appeared is a book consisting of fifty-three wood-engravings, with descriptive text, entitled, "The Mirror of Human Salvation," a book since become so famous, and better known by its Latin title, "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis." The engravings occur at the top of each leaf, and the rest of the page is filled with two columns of text, which, in the supposed first editions, is composed of Latin verse (or, rather, Latin prose with rhymed terminations to the lines, as the lines do not scan); and, in later editions, in Dutch prose. The "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis" had been a popular religious work, in manuscript, long before it made its appearance, either as

a purely xylographic book, or in the form in which it is now best known, as a book partly executed on the xylographic, or Block-book system, and partly with metallic moveable types; thus forming the positive link which connects the Block-books with their successors of the true Printing Press, and has thus formed the subject of more bibliographical essays than any other early monument of the art of printing books; in so much that Ottley justly speaks of it as the book "so celebrated in the annals of typographical controversy."

Of the literary character of the work entitled "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," M. Guichard gives an interesting account in his "Notice sur 'Le Speculum.'"* It will only be necessary here to describe its general form very briefly. Heinecken says, "Such was the repute of the composition among the Benedictines," that almost every monastery in Europe possessed copies of it; and the existence of many MS. copies at the present day is sufficient evidence that his statement was not unfounded: Zani describes the general scope and object of the work more tersely and completely than any other writer on the subject, and tells us that it was compiled for the assistance of poor preachers — "propter pauperes predicatores;" and the quotation with which he accompanies this observation will serve at the same time to exemplify the curious rhyming Latin lines in which the work was composed :—

Predictum prohemium hujus libri de contentis compilavi
Et propter pauperes predicatores hoc opponere curavi.

I have been induced to examine many MS. copies of the "Speculum" of various dates, from the 13th to the 15th century, both in England and on the Continent, from a feeling that the work possesses an unusual interest as having been one of the first selected for reproduction by a new power, gigantic even in its infancy—that of the Printing Press. I will briefly notice a few which are to be found in the Library of the British Museum, as most accessible to those of my readers who may wish to examine the "Speculum" in its MS. form. The first I shall describe was apparently executed in the 13th century, perhaps rather later. The illustrative drawings are in outline, slightly coloured; and the writing is of very cursive character for an early period, and is much ligated, and somewhat French in general style. This MS. is in the Arundel Collection, CLX. IV. C. The next is seemingly of the 14th century, with coloured vignette illustrations, slightly enriched with gold, the draperies being shaded with colour, but not bodily coloured. It is a MS. of the Harleian Collection, No. 3240.

Another of the Museum MSS. of the "Speculum" of similar date to the last is that of the Sloane Collection, 361. This copy has four double pictures or illustrations over two columns of text, arranged precisely as in Koster's printed book. Still another copy of this evidently popular composition, in the Museum, is to be found in the Additional MSS., No. 16,578, a work of the 14th century, which also resembles the printed "Speculum" in its general character; and as the illustrations appear to have been coloured by some mechanical process similar to stencilling, it is leading us on towards the time when the work, both of the illuminator and scribe, were on the eve of being superseded by some more rapid method of book-production.

A MS. copy of the "Speculum" in the Harleian Collection, No. 4,996, was, however, the one which interested me most, as exhibiting, in the most characteristic manner, the precise kind of manuscript which Koster had before him when reproducing the work by the xylographic and typographic processes, which he appears to have been the first, and, indeed, the only one, to combine. This MS. was found concealed between the wainscot and the wall in taking down a portion of Whitehall (the west gate), and is proof of the existence of popish practices

* Paris, 1840.

in secret, and the use of popish books by persons attached to the court of Charles I. The accompanying fac-simile of an entire page (Plate 8) of this book will demonstrate better than any description its near affinity in artistic and scriptorial treatment to the printed "Speculum." The illustrations, though inferior to Koster's woodcuts, are of similar arrangement, though without the decorative Gothic framework which separates, and at the same time binds together, the double illustrations of the xylographic artist. These double pictures of the "Speculum" illustrate first a passage in the New Testament, and, secondly, the corresponding subject of the Old, of which it is the antitype. In the present page we have Christ bearing His cross (Christus bajulat crucem) typified by Isaac carrying the wood for his own sacrifice (Isaac portat ligna sua). This specimen will enable the student to understand precisely the kind of manuscript book which Koster reproduced in a cheaper form by xylography, to which he eventually allied the still more important invention of moveable types.

There can be little doubt, from all the MSS. I have seen, that the Dutch xylographer, especially when aided by his types, succeeded in producing not only a cheaper, but also a far superior work to any of the cheap MSS.; which fully accounts for the great and immediate success of his work; and perhaps also led to the future perfecting of the typographic art by Gutenberg and his followers. It should be observed that in the Block-book the ninety-six double illustrations of the MS. are reduced to fifty-eight. The "Speculum," as first produced by Koster, has a certain number of pages produced entirely from wood blocks; the whole being engraved, text as well as illustrations, on a tablet of the size of the entire page, like all previous block-books. My first illustration of the "Speculum" (Plate 9) consists of one of these purely xylographic pages; and a wonderful piece of work it undoubtedly is. The cutting of that text, when we consider that it had to be engraved backwards, is truly marvellous. The double subject—the supposed presentation of the Virgin in the Temple—separated by the Gothic frame just alluded to, is, first, the Virgin Mary, as a child, "brought to the Lord into the Temple" (Maria oblata est Domino in Templo*). And for type, or prefiguration, none being found in the Bible for this legend, Fable is resorted to,—the offering of the golden table in the Temple of the Sun being made to supply its place. The execution of the subjects on this page is not equal to those of some of the pages with the typographic text, and there is no foliage in the architectural spandrils. This may serve to prove that the entirely xylographic pages were older than the typographic ones; and that only a few of the best of them were used in the edition which has typographic texts to most of the illustrations. The student should compare the style of the text of this xylographic page with the MS. one, and note how arduous were the efforts of the woodcutter to imitate the general character of the written text. It must be observed that the whole of the page just described is printed in the brown distemper colour always made use of in xylographic books.

My next illustration (Plate 10) is another fac-simile from the "Speculum," one of those ever famous pages, which exhibit the earliest known example of the art of printing with moveable types. Koster probably made a few previous experiments with those detached metallic letters, destined eventually to play so great a part in the spread of civilization; but their application to the small Latin Grammars or Doctrinals of the day cannot compete in any way with their introduction for printing the text of his *magnum opus*, the "Speculum"! These two columns of printed text should be looked upon with the deepest interest as the venerable parents of every one of those printed pages on our library shelves; from the most important down to those which form the solace of our leisure, as well as of every magazine that carries a monthly supply of fresh knowledge and entertainment to our homes, however distant or isolated; and even of that daily necessity the newspaper, that brings each morning

* The title in MS., in which the abbreviations are supplied, is in a hand of comparatively recent date.

A PAGE FROM A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF THE "SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS"
EXECUTED PREVIOUS TO THE PRINTED EDITION ATTRIBUTED TO KOSTER

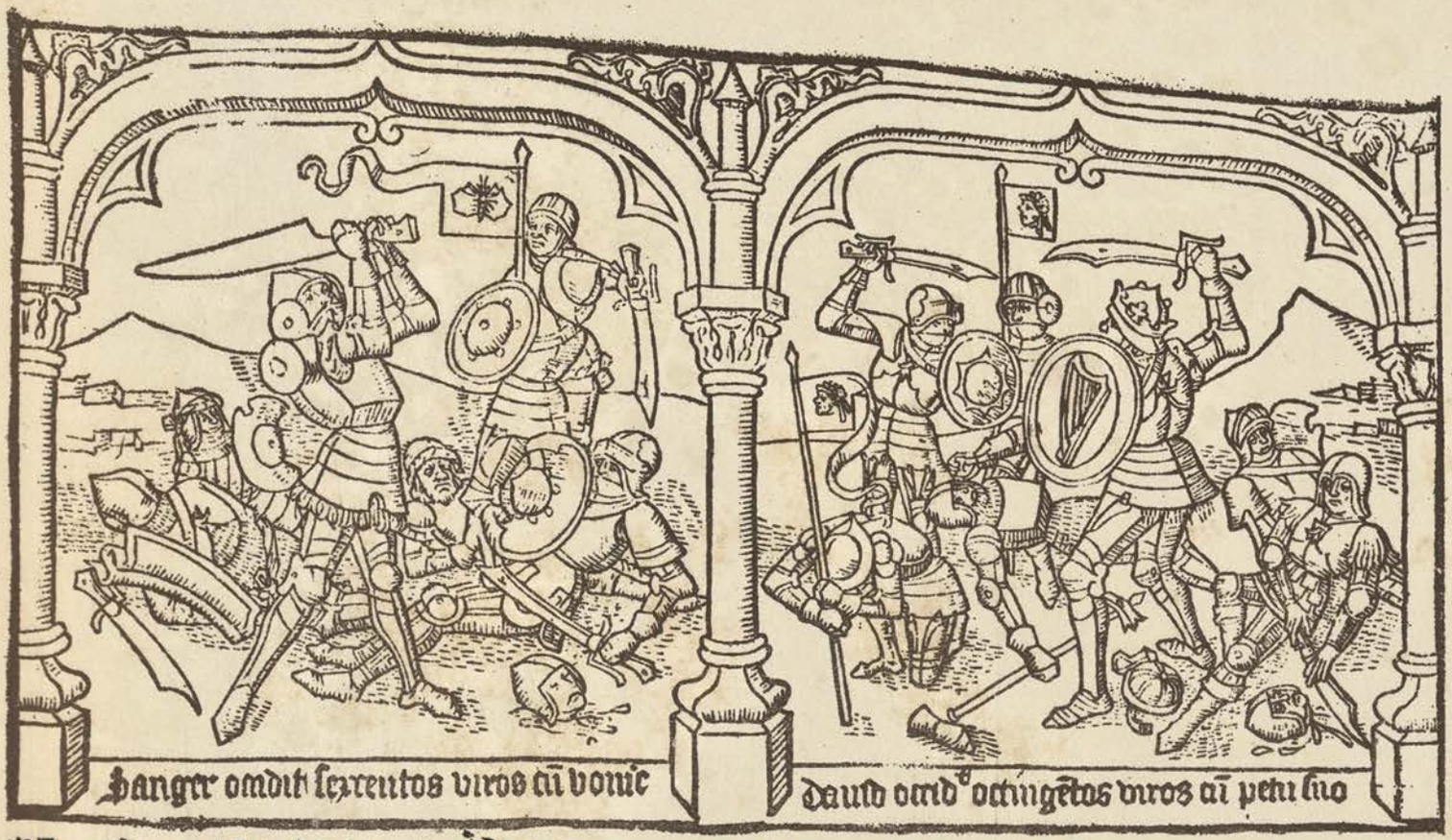
N°9 Maria oblata est domino in templo. Mensa aurea in sabulo oblate est in templo solis

Ꝑ ꝑtes tepl'o audiui? quō btā vgo fuit nata
Cōsurgē audiam? quō fuit ī tēplo oblata
Cūq; mūa ēt putes eā ad tēplū attulerūt
Et ut dño seruiret & lras discēt, pōtifex tradidert
Cui? oblato y mēsā ī solis sabulo pfigurabat
De qua ptmula hostie breuit audiamus
Piscatores qdē rethe suū ī mare ,pietrūt
Et casu mirabili mēsam auream ex mar erūt
Mēsa illa eāt tota de auro puro & multū pdola
Et videbat oīm oīt mirabilit speciosa
Ibidē ī littore maris tēplū qdā eāt edificatū
Et ī honore solis ꝑ gēs illa tempus tradebatū
Ad templū illud mensa illa est deportata
Et ipi solu tanq̄ deo q̄ colebat oblata
Mensa illa p totū mundū vsq est h̄ vocabl'o
Et cōiter dicebat mēsa solis in sabulo
Sabulū enī arenosa terra appellatur
Et ibi tēplū solis ī arenoso loco habebat
y mēsā igit solis maria ē pulchre pfigurata
Que vero soli.i. summo deo est oblata
Mensa solis oblata ē ī tēplo solis materialis
Maria oblata ē ī templo solis eternalis
Mensa sol' mkti et magni dñi affectabāt
Marie ortū tā angeli ꝙ homēs desiderabāt
Mensa solis facta fuit de materia pulchā

Luce ifc cap'o

Et maria fuit mītis et corpe mundissima
Pulchre maria ē p mēsā solis pfigurata
Quia p eā celestis esca nobis ē collata
Nā ipa filiū dei ihm xpm nobis genuit
Qui nos suo corpe et sanguine refocillauit
Beue dicta fuit ista beatissima mensa
y ꝙ collata ē nobis esca in salubs & tā imēsa
Bñdicti fuit patres q̄ eam genuerūt
Et eā p mrā salutis de dño obtulerūt
ī veti testamēto nullū legis filiā suā dō obtulisse
Nulli pepit q̄ legis eā īmolasse & occidisse
Pepit obtulit filiā suā dño sz īdiscrete & nō rte
Joachī & āna obtulerūt filiā suā dō rtē & pfē
Ipsi cāi filiā īmolauerūt neq; eā occiderūt
Sz mundā virginē ab dño diuinā desiderātē obtulerūt
Pepit ergo votū qd a lris doctoribz vituperat
Maria erat votuq; tā a deo ꝙ ab āgel' collaudata
filia pepit dicens ꝙ nullū ,plē post se rēligebat
Maria primo votū virginitatis īmebat
Illa delectat ꝙ nullū ,plē post se religebat
Dolēs ꝙ de sua posteritate xps nascitur? nō erat
Et qd illa ifelice reputans desiderat
Hoc maria felix & felicissima fore inuenit
Filia pepit oblata ē cū victoria ꝙ grā & dōe
Maria oblata post victoriā & victorie collatōe

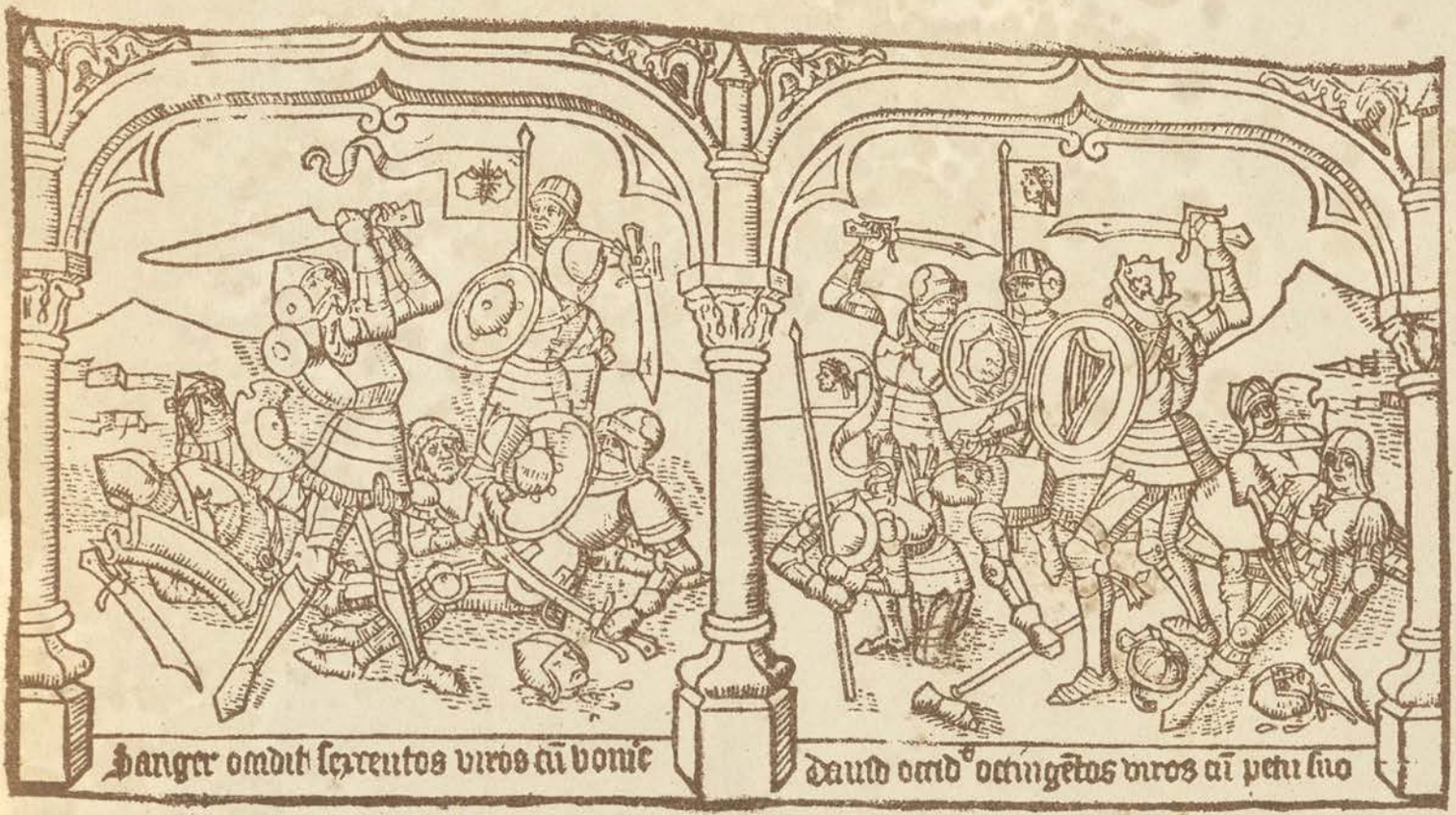
Venitur ī cap'm



Vt posset nutrē in vos ignitos serpētes
Sicut oli in ꝑcussoēs vrōs tibi ꝯ dicētes
Vt possꝫ vos mœrore ꝫ impios leones
Fecit oli i samaria ḣgis salutemalac colētes dēs
Vt possꝫ vos dilacerāre ꝫ rapidos vrsos rētes
Quart oli quadraginta pueros elizeū deridētes
Vt possꝫ vos rāꝯ elyodos flagellare ꝫ gaudaē
Vt rꝯ antiochꝰ putrefactiōe ꝫ vnub? necare
Vel posset vos pauere ꝫ subitā lepra
Sicut oli paulꝰ yechi ꝫ socrē moysi maria
Vt posset vos pauere cecitate et acrilia
Sicut sub elyzeo pauli? fuit exēcitus cecilia
Vt possꝫ oim vīm brachia arida facē ꝫ idumaē
Sicut oli ieroboā ī bethel mā altaē
Vt possꝫ oia vīa glumere tētib? vnius
Vt glupꝰ ī exēcitu tioꝝ dēs cordas arcū
Dīb? hijs ꝫ silibꝫ li vellꝫ possꝫ se defendere
Hꝫ nō valꝰ nisi ad modicū vōs prosternere
Hoc fāꝰ ut ostēdat se voluntarie morte sustinere
Vt si vellꝫ nō possetis esi cupe nec tenere
Cū igit ꝙ dēs ostendisset suā victoriā ꝫ potētiā
Dedit ei resurgēdi ꝫ se ascendi licentiā
Hec victoria hostiū ꝙ ī cōtata
Fuit oli ī saphoē ꝫ sangar ꝫ dauid ꝓfigurata
Saphon cū mādibulā prostrauit mille viros
Judicū iij° capto

Et sangar cū bouē iterfecit sexcētos viros
Hꝫ isti dei adiutorio tot hostes ꝓstrauerūt
nō igit mirꝫ q̄ cōtra ꝙ dēs hostes ei? concrepāt
Neptuā regē mud tenerrimū ligni vnctum di
Qui octingētos viros vno ictu occidit
Vernual? ligni dū tāgit mollissim? videt
Hꝫ dū tāgit humillimū lignū ꝓhibet
Sic dauid cū cēt mīc dēstricos null? eo mitior
Hꝫ i iudicio ꝫ q̄ hostes i ꝓlio null? eo durior
Sic ꝙs i ḣ mūdo eāt mitissim? ꝫ pacētissim?
In iudicio āt cōt hostes suos. erit districtiss?
Cōuersabat enī māsuete nec iactit iarmus
Et sustinuit ꝫ vilit tractarē ut vernus
Vt videt ḡnaliter deplāgere m psalmo
Ibi de se dicit ego sum vermis ꝫ nō homo
Dicit āt nō tm vmis hꝫ vnicul? ligni
Quia i ligno crucis occiderunt eum maligni
Cōueniēt ecīa tenerim? appellatur
ꝙa cuo sua tenerīa ꝫ nobilissima ē gphatur
Et ꝙto cuo sua nobilior erat ꝫ tenerior
Tāto pallio sua ēat grauior ꝫ aspior
Et iō damat i trenis ad oēs trānseuntes ꝙ vis
Vt attēdāt ꝫ videāt vmq̄ viderūt sil'em penā
O boē ihū da nob ita tuā amarā penā videre
Vt tecū mereamur i patria vitē ꝫ gaudere
.secūdi regū cxiij° capto

A PAGE FROM THE "SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS" ATTRIBUTED TO KOSTER OF HAARLEM, IN WHICH THE TEXT IS PRINTED FROM MOVEABLE TYPES. THIS SPECIMEN OF PRINTING FROM MOVEABLE TYPES WAS POSSIBLY ISSUED BEFORE 1430. 25 YEARS BEFORE ANY OTHER KNOWN PRODUCT OF THE PRINTING PRESS.



Vt posset nutrē vos ignitos serpētes
Sicut oli in ꝑdecessoꝝ vrōs tibi ꝙ dicētes
Vt possz vos mœrore ꝙ inuisos leones
Haut oli i samaria ẽgis salumanasar colētes oēo
Vt possz vos dilaceāre ꝙ rapidoꝝ velocꝫ tētes
Quasi oli quadraginta pueros elizeū deridētes
Et possz vos tāꝙ clypeoꝝ flagellare ꝛ gaudaē
Vt tꝝ antiochꝰ putrefactiõe ꝛ vnub? necare
Vel posset vos pauere ꝙ subitā lepā
Sicut oli paulisꝰ yerhi ꝛ socrꝫ moysi maciā
Vt posset vos pauere acetare et acrilla
Sicut sub elyzeo ymag? fuit exēcratus deicilla
Vt possz oim vīm brachia arida facē ꝛ idumē
Sicut oli ferit regi ieroboā i bethel mē altarē
Vt possz oia vtā glumere tētib? vnisi
Vt gnāꝰ i exēcitu tioꝝ oēs cordas arcisi
Vtb? hijs ꝛ silibz li velz possz se defendere
Hz nō wlt nisi ad modiū vōs prosternere
Hoc fāt ut ostdat se voluntarie morē sustiere
Vt si velz nō possetis ei cape nec tenere
Tū igit ẽgs ostdet suā victoriā ꝛ potēciā
Dedit ei re? regēdi ꝛ se ꝛpiēdi licenciā
Hec victoria hostiū ẽgi ita facta
Fuit oli i saꝛlose ꝛ sangar ꝛ dauid ꝛfigurata
Saꝛlon ei mādibla prostrauit nulle vtos
Judicū ijij° capto

¶ Et sangar ei vome iterfecit sexcētos viros
Hz illi dei adiutorio tot hostes ꝓstrauerūt
nō igit mirꝫ q̄ cotā ẽgo oēs hostes ei? corruerē
¶ Septuā regē dauid tenerrimū ligni vmbrā di
Qui octingētos viros vno ictu occidit
Dernual? ligni dū tāgit mollissim? vidit
Hz dū tāgit durissimū lignū ꝓfunare ꝓhibet
Sic dauid cū esset mit dextios null? eo micior
Hz i iudicio ꝛ gs hostes i filio null? eo durior
Sic ẽgs i hꝰ mūdo erat mansuetissim? ꝛ pacientissim?
In iudicio tū cōt hostes suos, erit districtissim?
Cōuersabat enī mānuete nec iesus iarnus
Et iustissimus ꝛ vilit tractaret ut vermis
Vt videt ꝙulose deplāgere in psalmo
Ibi de se dicit ego sum vermis ꝛ nō homo
Dicit ātt nō tm̄ vmis hz vmani? ligni
Quia i ligno crucis occiderunt eum maligni
Cōueniēt ecia teneritm? appellatur
ꝙa cuo sua teneritas ꝛ nobilitas ē ꝙphana
Et ẽgo cuo sua nobilior erat ꝛ tenerior
Tāto pallio sua eāt grauior ꝛ aspior
Et iō damat i trenis ad oēs ttilestes ꝙ vis
Vt attēdāt ꝛ videāt vmq̄ viderūt sic em penā
O boē ihū in nob ita tuā amatā penā vedere
Vt tecū mereamur i patria vmē ꝛ gaudere
Secūdi regū ẽgij° capto

A PAGE FROM THE "SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS" ATTRIBUTED TO KOSTER OF HAARLEM, IN WHICH THE TEXT IS PRINTED FROM MOVEABLE TYPES. THIS SPECIMEN OF PRINTING BY MOVEABLE TYPES WAS POSSIBLY ISSUED BEFORE 1430. 25 YEARS BEFORE ANY OTHER KNOWN PRODUCT OF THE PRINTING PRESS.

Facecie morales laurentij vallensis
als esopus grecus per dictum lauren
tiū transsatus incipiunt feliciter

~~Prologus epl'aris~~

Laurentius vallensis insigni
viro arnoldo fonelleda salutē
Promiserā nuper me tibi cō
turnices quas ipse venatus essem mis
surū. Eas capere vt homo venandi
insuetus cū nō possem. ad venatōnē
meā idest ad lrās me cōuerti Et forte
ad man⁹ venit libellus grecus ex pre
da nauali tres ⁊ trigīta esopi fabellas
cōtinēs. Has oīs bidui labore vena
tussū. Mitto igitur ad te siue fabellas
siue mauis cōturnices quib⁹ oblectare
te possis ac ludere. Eteni si octauianū
marcūq; anthoniū orbis terraꝝ prin
cipes ludo cōturnicū delcātos accepim⁹
ꝓfecto tu vir lrāꝝ amātissimus lrāto
hoc genē ludendi delcāteris. Et si quis
octauiano aut anthonio pugnacem
aliquā haꝝ auiū dono dedisset iocūdā
illis rem gratāq; fecisset. Ego quoq;
tibi iocūd⁹ ḡtusq; ero qui plēs trigīta

A PAGE FROM THE "FACECIE MORALES" OF LAURENTIUS VALLENSIS.
POSSIBLY PRINTED BY THE FOLLOWERS OF KOSTER IN HOLLAND.

ioseph keerde weder in egipten mit sine broe
ders eñ mit alle sijn geselschap doe hi sinen vad'
begrauen had. Eñ doe die vader doot was so
ontsagen sine broeders eñ spraken onderlinge
Dat hi machscien niet en voerdenke des ōrech
tes dat hi gedoget heeft. Eñ dat hi ons gelde alle
dat quaet dat wi daden. Daer om ontboden sy
hem eñ seiden. Dijn vader beual ons eer hij
sterf dat wi dit seggen sonden wt sinen woirdē
Ic bid dattu vergetes der misdaet van dinen bro
ders eñ der sonden eñ der quaetheit die si iegens
di daden. Eñ wi bidden oic dattu godes knech
dinen vader verlaetste dese quaetheit. Doe dit
ioseph hoirde so weende hi eñ sijn broders qua
men te hem eñ aenbeden hem langes optie eer
de eñ seiden wi sijn dijn knechte. Eñ hi antwoe
de en wilt niet ontsien mogen wi gods wille
wederstaen. Gi peinst quaet van mi mer god
verkeerde dat in goet om dat hi mi verheffen soude
als gi siet. Eñ dat hi veel volcs behoudē soude ma
ken. En wilt niet ontsien ic sal v voeden eñ v clei
ne kinder. Eñ hi troestese eñ sprac goedertierlic eñ
saftmodelic. Eñ hi woende in egipten mit al sijns
vaders huus. Eñ hi leuede C. iaer eñ x. Eñ hi sach ef
fraijms sonen totten derden geslacht. Eñ op iosephs
kinen worden oic geboren mathirs sonen die oick
manasses soen was. Als dese dingen geleden warē
so sprac hi tot sine broeders. Na mijnre doot so sal
v god visenterē eñ hi sal v doen gaen van lande tē
lande waert. daer hi op gesworen heeft abraham
ysaac eñ iacop. Eñ doe hise besworē had eñ gesei

PART OF A COLUMN FROM A MANUSCRIPT BIBLE IN DUTCH,
SHEWING THE SIMILARITY OF THE WRITTEN CHARACTER
WITH THE TYPE LETTERS OF KOSTER'S "SPECULUM",
AND THE TYPES OF HIS SUPPOSED FOLLOWERS.

to our breakfast-table the world's history of the previous day; as also of the exquisite little volume that conveys the charms of poetry to so many thousands of homes whenever our Tennyson intrusts the printer with a new instalment of his inspired verses.

This first essay in the great art of printing should be compared with the writing of a MS. Dutch Bible of about the same date, fac-similied in Plate 11 (No. 2), when it will be perceived that the new art rivalizes very successfully with the most practised efforts of the old one. The express task which the first printers set themselves was, the close imitation of the MS. books of the period, which had then full possession of the market; and in the present instance the palm will be conceded to the typography of Koster, though the Bible from which the specimen is taken was doubtless a very expensive one, and executed with considerable care, as it is filled with a profusion of highly-finished illuminations. It must be conceded, however, that the writing of some of the MSS. of the 14th and 15th centuries is executed with such neatness, precision, and beauty, as no mechanical process could approach. The ancient *black letters* of the text of the "Speculum," the first ever cast as moveable types, can be examined and studied with full confidence in the present illustration, which is an *absolute* fac-simile; not such as those *soi-disant* fac-similes which are but copies made by hand, but one produced by the unerring process of photography. It is true that, in the transfer to stone, the lines have very slightly thickened; but even with that drawback the general character is so nearly identical with the original, that no copy made by hand, however skilfully, can approach it in accuracy. The illustrations represent, in the first picture, "Shamgar, the son of Anath, which slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad;" and the second, David, &c. (*See* Appendix.)

I selected this page as exhibiting very accurately the plate armour of the beginning of the 15th century; the mediæval artists, as is well known, always clothing their historical figures of all epochs in the costume of their own time. We therefore have David represented with an European shield emblazoned in regular heraldic fashion, the blazon being, very appropriately, a harp. The Gothic framework in this plate is richer than in the preceding; and if the enrichments were constant on all the pages with type, it would greatly tend to prove that the xylographic pages belonged to a former edition entirely xylographic, and that the worn-out subjects were redrawn and enriched with additional ornament by a superior artist, or the former artist greatly improved, when the text was produced by the new process. However this may be, it is certain that, in the page under description, the illustrations are still printed from wood in brown distemper ink, such as was used in the xylographic books; the print or impression of them being produced by rubbing the back of the paper, when placed face downwards upon the engraved block; while the text was added by a separate process, being printed in black oleaginous ink, from moveable types, in some rude kind of press analogous in action to that of the subsequently perfected printing-press. An examination of the original is sufficient to prove these assertions, the back still showing the gloss caused by the rubbing process behind the impression from the wood-engraving, while at the back of the text no gloss of the kind is found. It is scarcely necessary to add that, at the back of the text of the entirely xylographic pages of the "Speculum," the same gloss is found as at the back of the illustrations. Many opponents of the Kosterian claim to priority have rashly asserted that the text of all the pages of the "Speculum" was printed from wood, either by means of an entire block or from detached wooden letters; but all assertions of that kind have now been so entirely disproved, that it is useless to dwell upon them. The slight roughness at the edges that has been observed in these letters may be caused by the original models for casting having been cut in wood instead of metal, or from the natural imperfections incidental to sand-casting,—imperfections which are obviated at the present day by cutting the original models in steel, and,

by their means punching a sunk matrix in brass, in which the types for use are cast. These plates are from the edition of the "Speculum" now generally considered the first; not only from the occurrence of several pages of entirely xylographic work, but also from many other causes unnecessary to enumerate here, as they are no longer points of serious discussion. The copy from which they are taken is the Grenville copy, in the British Museum, which it has been the custom to disparage as incomplete; but, with the exception of the loss of page 57, it is a genuine and complete copy of the edition now generally considered the first. Its only defects are that the leaves have been cut down by a binder, and each of them is mounted on a sheet of modern paper, but in such a manner as to enable a student to examine the backs, and test the accuracy of the statements I have made with regard to evidence of effects produced by the different processes of rubbing and press-work.

The entire book consists of,—first, a blank leaf, followed by five pages of preface or Procœmium, entirely printed from moveable types; the first printed page having a blank space left for the initial letter, a P, which has been boldly painted in by hand, in red, leaving a white device in the broad parts of the letter; the small printed capitals having a red dash struck through them by the same hand, or those of his assistants. It should be carefully observed that the leaves of the preface are only printed on one side, although there was no impediment to printing on both, as in the subsequent pages, on the back of which the act of rubbing with some saponaceous substance, rendered the backs so treated unfit for printing on. It may therefore be a question whether the preface to the "Speculum" be not a very positive evidence of its execution previous to any other work whatever, even if printed with the same type, as it is asserted the (so-called) Kosterian "Donatus," and other small elementary works are.

Junius states that the leaves of the early books which were only printed on one side were pasted back to back to conceal this defect, and it is possible that he may have seen copies so treated; but neither the Museum copy, nor the Bodleian copy, nor any other copy that I have examined, has the leaves so pasted, in order to show all faces and no backs, as in the regular book form.* The pages which follow the preface, in the body of the work occur, as regards the typographic and xylographic leaves, in the following order:—The page with "the creation of Eve," and the opposite page, "the commands given to Adam and Eve," are both Block-book pages,—that is, entirely xylographic; the third page, the "Temptation," has the text printed from moveable metal types, in full black ink, which contrasts strongly with the light brown distemper of the woodcuts. The fourth is again a block-page; as are the following pages, till page 12, the text of which is type. Then follow, in block, 13 and 14, 15 being type. The remaining block-pages are 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 46, and 55,—in all, twenty xylographic pages and forty-two typographic pages, including the preface.

The Oxford copy, from the Douce collection, is a precisely similar copy, except being in a much more desirable condition, having its full margin, not being remounted, and having plate 57, which is missing in the Museum copy. With such a monument in existence, which is undoubtedly of Dutch production, and which exhibits the very infancy of the art (even the pages of the preface being printed only on one side, where there was no real reason for leaving the back blank), it seems really absurd for the German advocates for the priority of the Moguntian press to continue the controversy. They have nothing to show in the shape of a book, earlier than Gutenberg's Bible, to which an earlier date than 1456 cannot be

* Nevertheless, in some of the first essays this may very naturally have been done. In the modern beginnings of chromo-lithography, when I was tempted to imitate, by that means, the richest borderings of illuminated missals in a little book which I published through the house of Longmans & Co., and which I entitled "The Parables of our Lord,"—so great was my fear of damaging the pages perfected on one side of the paper, that I did not venture to print on the backs, but printed the matter which was to come on the backs on separate sheets, and then pasted the first and second sheets back to back, just as Junius suggests with regard to the "Speculum."

assigned, and which, moreover, is not only printed on both sides of the leaves, but is a masterpiece of workmanship, exhibiting the art in a most perfect form, which only experience and many trials, failures, and conquests could have realized. This and a few fragments of "Donatus" are all the Germans have to show against the curious and interesting monument just described, which has, in all probability, a priority of near a quarter of a century. M. Renouard has attempted to prove that the "Speculum" could not be assigned to a date so early as that claimed by the advocates of Koster, because books existed, printed in a closely similar style of types, which were certainly posterior to 1440. But this only proves that the art developed by Koster did not die out with him; but that other Dutch printers followed in his track (as we shall see further on), some using his types, and others closely similar ones, which, like his, were imitations of the letters used in Dutch MS. books of the time.

Only about ten copies of the first edition of the "Speculum" are known, and they are, of course, of great value; that in the Spencer collection cost £300, with two imperfect leaves, and would probably sell now for double that sum. There are two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; one in the British Museum; one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and one in the Spencer library; which, with those in Holland, make up the number.

The second edition is (at present) distinguished from the first as having all the xylographic text cut away, and its place supplied by typography. In other respects it is the same as the first, and produced by the same double process. Only five copies of this more perfect, though less interesting edition, are known, and two only are complete. The first of these is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, though originally in the Celestins at Paris. It has been minutely described by Fourrier. The second is in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence, and has been described by Noordzick. The third, without a preface, is in the Town Hall at Haärlem; the fourth, with only forty pages left, is in the library at Hanover; and the fifth, with five pages lost, in the Royal Library at Brussels, from the Van Hulthem collection.

The third edition has a much more important character than the second, being a Dutch translation, in prose, printed by the same double process as the preceding, all the text being typographic, and only printed on one side of the paper. The issue of this edition (evidently from the same establishment), in the Dutch language, is an all-sufficient proof of the celebrated "Speculum" being, beyond doubt, the production of a Dutch artisan, or rather artist; and if so, why not of Koster? This is the edition seen and described by Junius.

The fourth edition is in Dutch prose, and differs in one respect very materially from its predecessors, the text being entirely printed in a smaller type. The execution of this edition is greatly inferior to that of the three first. Only three copies of this edition were ever known. One is in the Town Hall at Haärlem; the second, in the public library of that town; and the third is also in the Low Countries, in the library at Lille. This fourth edition, like the former ones, has the pages only printed on one side; two only of the Lille copy having an appearance of being printed on both sides, from the existence of a strong set-off, occurring, no doubt, in consequence of the general carelessness of the execution; for neither of those back pages correspond in order with those which precede or follow. In this edition another defect has been pointed out; namely, that, in the Lille copy and in that at Florence, the fifth leaf of the third gathering has the text pasted on beneath the illustration, plainly showing that it had been the custom, in getting up the "Speculum," to print the illustrations first;* the discovery that wood-blocks could be printed from with the same ink as type not having, at that time, been made.

The editions of the "Speculum" thus described as four, may have been, in fact, six or seven, as there are differences in the copies just classed together as the same edition, which may eventually prove them to have belonged to small separate editions; but that their

* The reason for pasting on the text probably was, that the leaf had been soiled beneath the illustration.

generally assumed order is correct, there can, however, be little doubt. As a proof, for instance, that the Dutch editions are not the first, as some have supposed, it will be sufficient to state that the proper names and sentences engraved in the wood blocks, to explain the purport of the picture more clearly, are all in Latin; and of course remain so, even in the Dutch editions, as the same blocks were used. As an additional proof that these editions of the "Speculum" were all produced in Holland, it may be stated that all the known copies can be traced to that country, which is still richer in them than any other. The library of M. Westreenen Von Tiellandt, for instance, possesses a copy of each of the four editions,—an amount of bibliographical luxury which none of the great European libraries can boast, and which could only have been brought together in Holland. The identity of the style of the letters with that of the Dutch MSS. of the period is another proof; one letter especially, the *t*, having a peculiarity in the Dutch hand never found in the German, as remarked by M. Laborde in his "Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Strasbourg."

It may also be added in this place, that, near half a century afterwards, when, in 1483, the old cuts of the "Speculum" were once more brought into use by a printer of another generation, —it is still in Holland that they are made use of,—by Veldener, who sawed the cuts in two up the middle of the Gothic column, to make them suit the octavo form of his new and cheaper edition. He had doubtless purchased the blocks from Koster's descendants, who were wealthy, and had probably given up the printing business after his death in 1440.

As to the letters, by means of which the text of the "Speculum" was printed, being moveable types, abundant evidence exists. Mr. Ottley pointed out a number of proofs; such as a letter with a particular defect occurring again and again; also, similarly-formed letters being occasionally taken in mistake one for the other; and, in one instance, a letter printed upside down, which, with other similar accidents, could only occur in the use of moveable types. That a kind of press was actually used by Koster appears also pretty evident, and in no way improbable, considering that presses of analogous character were already in use in various trades, for printing patterns on woven stuffs, and for other purposes.

From the evidence above detailed, it is pretty clear that the first edition of the "Speculum" might have appeared about 1430; while the earliest efforts of Gutenberg at Strasburg were only commenced in 1436, just about the time that might correspond with the treacherous flight of one of Koster's workmen, or, what some may deem more probable, just when the two first editions of the "Speculum" were appearing at the great German fairs of Aix-la-Chapelle and other places; when Gutenberg, with his acute powers of perception, detecting the effects of a method of production more rapid than either manuscript or block-work, saw therein the road to that wealth which seems to have been, from early youth, the pervading dream of his ambition.

It remains now to discuss briefly the question, whether Koster's types were used in the printing of any other works, in order to show that, if so, he may have been, and probably was, the printer of the "Speculum" also. We have seen it asserted by Junius, that the workman John, who stole the secret, also took away a packet of materials which he made use of at Mayence, and there printed with the stolen types two small works, which he names, the "Essays" of Peter of Spain and the "Doctrinal" of Alexander Gallus. Of the first-named work no remains are known; but of the last, several fragments have been found. Van Praet, in his catalogue of the vellum books of the Bibliothèque Nationale, describes one of these, the characters of which are unlike any of the early German books, while they bear a striking resemblance to those of the "Speculum." A few leaves of this "Doctrinal" are now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford: after having formed part of the library of Dr. Kloss, of Frankfort, they were purchased at his sale by the Messrs. Longman, who disposed of the chief purchases there made to Bishop Butler, at whose death they passed to the Bodleian Library. I have carefully

compared the type of this "Doctrinal" with that of the "Speculum," and find a remarkably close resemblance, but do not think it the same. The style is precisely the same, but the execution coarser,—precisely such as might have been the work of an imitator in copying either from printed impressions or positive models. All the lines commence with capitals, as in the Latin edition of the "Speculum;" and the capitals of both works closely resemble each other, those of the "Doctrinal" being, if anything, more essentially Dutch in character, having the short excrescent hair-lines of the black-letter characters somewhat larger and more conspicuous than in the type of the "Speculum;" and this is still more marked in the lower-case letters, especially in the *i*. The same remarks may be made on the fragments of "Donatus'," * with similar type, found at various times and in various places. Those at Oxford are less striking in the resemblance of their type to the "Speculum" than the "Doctrinal," in which we have the solid support of the assertion of Junius, which was at one time thought to be so utterly without foundation.

The "Catonis Disticha," said by some to be actually the "short sentences" printed by Koster for the instruction of his grandchildren, are extant, in fragments, four leaves of which are in the Spencer Library. These fragments are considered, beyond dispute, to be printed with the same types as the "Speculum;" and a remarkable with a mark of abbreviation, certainly occurs, which appears conclusive evidence.

"Laurentii Valensis Faceties Morales" is another small book, printed with what may be termed Kosterian types. I have given a photo-lithographic fac-simile of a page of this book (No. 1, Plate 11), in order to afford the means of comparing its type with that of the "Speculum." I think it evidently not the same type as that of the "Speculum," but of the same school, as bearing the same national stamp, and having no close resemblance whatever to any type of the Mayence school.

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a copy of the "Guillelmus de Saliceto, de Salute Corporis," printed as late as 1467, with types which also resemble those of the "Speculum."

There are also, last but not least, the famous leaves of the "Horarium," in the collection of M. Enschedé, the eminent printer of Haärlem, the type of which is said most strongly to resemble that of the "Speculum."

Thus it is proved, not only that Koster is not a myth, invented by the Dutch to glorify themselves, and that the "Speculum" is not an isolated and unauthentic monument; but that there was, in all probability, a Koster (and if not, some other native of Holland) who was the printer of at least three out of the four editions of the "Speculum," and that his family successors, or pupils and workmen, continued to print in the same style after his death. It should be steadily borne in mind that all the Kosterian books, except the four editions of the "Speculum," are printed on both sides, which may be accepted as evidence of the "Speculum" having been his first work with moveable types. At the same time, this peculiarity may be otherwise accounted for, and in this way:—The "Speculum" had, in all probability, been first published by Koster as a xylographic book, the leaves of which were, necessarily, only printed on one side; and, when he made use of type, it might have been deemed advisable, in order to avoid troublesome remarks, and not to check the sale, to maintain inviolate the established character of the book as far as possible; and, at the same time, preserve the secret of the new process. The "Donatus,'" &c. &c., were, on the other hand, imitations of manuscripts; and while it became desirable, on that score, to print their leaves on both sides, the task presented no insurmountable difficulties, as they contained no illustrations for the production of which it was necessary to rub the backs, and thus render them unfit to print on; so that, not reckoning the printing

* The Latin grammar of Donatus is properly entitled, "Donatus, de Octo Partibus Orationis."

on the backs of leaves as a step in the art, but as an almost inevitable result of the object in view, it is easy to conceive that Koster made use of his types in small works of that kind, while he was preparing the engravings, &c. &c., connected with a partly typographic edition of the "Speculum."

As another proof of the priority of the "Speculum" (whether printed by Koster or some other person), in point of date, over any work of the Mayence press, there is the fact that, at the time of the appearance of the "Speculum," it had not yet been discovered that woodcuts could be printed with the same thick, oleaginous ink as the type; while, in some of the earliest of the productions of Mayence, as early as 1460, and in all works printed by Gutenberg as early as 1455, as will be shown in the next chapter, the discovery had been made that it was not necessary to print from the wood blocks in distemper, a step in the general art of the printer which had not been made in Koster's time. A still more remarkable characteristic is the arbitrary division of words at the end of the lines, in a manner never found in later printed books, however rude; certainly not in any after the date of the first books of the Mayence presses.

It only remains to state that from a very early period after the time of Koster his name was greatly honoured in his native place, and his house and other relics of his career eagerly pointed out, as with us is the house of John Bunyan at Elston or that of Shakspeare at Stratford-on-Avon; and also, that his native town still continues to honour his memory, that the great glories of the town-hall are the monuments of the Kosterian press, and that a statue has also been erected in his honour.

In conclusion it may be well to show that in Holland and the Low Countries there exists other evidence, quite distinct from the aspect of the Kosterian type, of the existence of printing with moveable metal types before the earliest date pretended to by the advocates of the printers of Mayence as that of their earliest works. The evidence in question is found in the book of memoranda of Jean Robert, Abbé of Cambrai, a curious and valuable MS. now preserved in the archives of the city of Lille. Here is the passage, anglicised: "Item for a printed (*getté en molle*) Doctrinal that I sent for to Bruges by Macquart, who is a writer at Valenciennes, in the month of January, 1445, for Jacquet—20 sous Tournois. Little Alexander had one the same, that the church paid for." It is afterwards stated in the same record that one of the books (*getté en molle*) which had been purchased at Bruges was so full of faults that it had to be replaced by a written copy. This also proves that the imperfect method of Koster was at first very clumsily handled by his Flemish imitators, in so much that the establishment of a far more perfect system at Mayence soon obscured the repute of the Dutch or Flemish work, and caused our Caxton to refer to the first printing of books at Mayence as a great epoch in his art, though he does not say that it originated there. It was this feeling that caused him to go to Cologne to perfect his knowledge of it; being, no doubt, discontented with the rude processes in use in the Low Countries, after he had seen books printed by the improved German method.

In this memorandum of the Abbé Jean Robert we have positive proof that printed Doctrinals were commonly sold in Flanders in 1445; and M. Bernard was the first to elucidate the full value and bearing of this passage, of which M. Van Praet, who had already mentioned it, failed to see the drift, from not understanding the meaning of the term *getté*, or rather *jetté, en molle*, which simply means cast in a mould, in reference to the metallic types, which were so cast. That M. Bernard is correct in his explanation of the term is clearly proved by many passages having reference to the same subject, in which the term is used as one well understood. For instance, in the letters of naturalization accorded to the first printers with moveable types established in Paris, a document dated 1474 (old style), the terms *ecritore en molle*, or writing by means of moulds, or moulded letters, is used. Also, in 1496, on the occasion of the purchase of two books of prayer by the

Duke of Orleans, the Constable describes them as both *escrites en moule.* Also, in the list of furniture and books of Anne of Brittany about the same time, books are mentioned "*tant en parchemin que en papier, à la main et en molle;*" that is, both on vellum and on paper, both manuscript and printed.

Here then is ample proof of the existence of printed books in Holland and Flanders several years before their appearance in Germany; so, whether Koster as a rival to Gutenberg be considered by Germans a myth, or no, it has become quite evident that of the general priority of Holland and Flanders as the cradle of printing there can no longer be any doubt.

The real cause of the doubt thrown upon the invention of Koster was the secrecy with which he practised his art, the nature of which was never publicly divulged by two lawsuits, as in the case of Gutenberg, who, but for those vexatious proceedings, which eventually took from him all hope of deriving profit from the art he was endeavouring to keep secret, might have shared the fate of Koster, in having his just claims to celebrity long disputed by jealous rivals, for want of evidence of the reality and the nature of his persevering labour; the story of which will form the subject of the ensuing chapter.

In concluding this chapter, it should perhaps be noticed that the edition of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," which contains a certain number of entirely xylographic pages,* is by some writers considered the last edition, instead of the first; the presence of the earlier kind of work being accounted for by supposing that, after the robbery of a portion of the types, and the impossibility of replacing them in consequence of the death of Koster, which happened soon afterwards, it was found impracticable to complete an edition then in progress. Such being the case, some of the old and disused xylographic blocks were, it is suggested, raked up, and the edition completed, after a fashion, by their means. I am, however, inclined to consider the edition in question the first, during the preparation of which the new type process was perfected and made use of.

* It is to be regretted the beautiful fac-simile of this edition of the "Speculum" recently produced by Mr. Berjeau, was undertaken before the advent of photo-lithography, as the fac-similes executed by hand, though exceedingly good, are yet far below what the earnest student requires, and, without the means of referring to the original, would convey a very erroneous idea of the free and bold execution of the illustrations. But as an addition to a library, the possession of an original being hopeless, the work is very precious.

CHAPTER V.

Gutenberg and the earliest efforts of the Printing Press at Strasburg and Mayence, from 1436 *to* 1467.

IN tracing the story of Koster, and the claims of Haärlèm to be the true cradle of the printing press, it has been shown, from tradition, from authorities nearly contemporary, and from the evidence of the monuments themselves, said to be the works of Koster, that the first edition of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis" was printed, in all probability, as early as the year 1430. Supposing that fact to be fully established, there would be ample time to allow of a workman from Koster's establishment finding his way to Strasburg or Mayence, and there making known his master's secret; for that the art had been a secret one, and still remained one, most carefully guarded, even at the time that German artisans were endeavouring to introduce it at Strasburg, will be seen by passages about to be quoted from certain legal proceedings taken against Gutenberg while in the course of making his preparations to establish his printing press in that city, in the year 1439, which was that of the death of Koster. If the assertion be true that he obtained his first idea of moveable types from one of Koster's workmen, whether, or not, he carried away some of the characters to serve as models, it could scarcely have been after the death of Koster, as some have hastily asserted, but during the time when the Kosterian press was most busy in printing the successive editions of the "Speculum." And that this last version of the story is very probably founded on fact, though many of the details may be fabulous, we shall plainly see while following the events connected with the first efforts of Gutenberg to become a printer.

The family name of Gutenberg was Gensfleisch, or Gooseflesh, which some of the authors of the time, writing in Latin, translate into Ansicarus, just as the Greeks translated the name of Augustus into Sebastos (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ), in consequence of which a colony founded by Augustus on the shores of the Black Sea was called Sebastopolis, a city recently become so celebrated under the modern name of Sebastopol. The surname Gutenberg was adopted from that of a property brought into the family by Elsy* of Gutenberg, wife of Frielo,† the father of the first German printer. This property was situated at Mayence, where Jean, or Johann, Gutenberg was born shortly before the year 1400. The family was of acknowledged noble descent, or rather of what might be termed the equestrian order, as shown by M. Schaab, who has drawn up the Gensfleisch genealogies in great detail; and the fact of the nobility of Gutenberg has led many of the ardent advocates of Koster to endeavour to prove him also of noble, and even of princely descent; for which attempt there is not the slightest foundation. Johann Gutenberg, with many belonging to the upper classes of Mayence, was forced to quit the city in 1420, in consequence of democratic disturbances that then took place there; as an offshoot, most probably, of the Jacqueries, which had been making the round of Europe, and which were represented in England, about forty years before, by the insurrection led by Jack Straw in the reign of Richard II., as early as the year 1381.

It appears that he took refuge in Strasburg; and we shall find that he established himself there some time afterwards. He still, however, maintained relations with Mayence; as we find his mother, Elsy of Gutenberg, negotiating there certain documents in the name of her son, in 1430; while, in 1432, Kohler also proves that he must have gone to Mayence himself on family business. But that he did not remain, is certain, as we afterwards find him continuously residing at Strasburg from

* The abbreviation of Eliza, or Elizabeth.

† Frielo, abbreviation of Frederic.

1434 to 1443, as proved by various indisputable documents; such, for instance, as those published by Schœpflin. It appears that the authorities of Mayence still continued to throw difficulties in the way of paying to Gutenberg certain rents which were due to him; upon which, in the year 1434, hearing that one Nicholas, the town-clerk of Mayence, was in Strasburg on some municipal business, Gutenberg caused him to be arrested; and the documents relating to that arrest are still in existence. Another Strasburgian document refers to a matter of rather more serious nature, namely, a "Breach of Promise" case, in which, in 1436, a certain lady, described as Anne zur eisernen Thür (Anne of the Iron Door), claimed the fulfilment of a promise of marriage, which, as it appears, Johann Gensfleisch the younger, otherwise Gutenberg (Johann Gensfleisch* der junge, genannt Gutemberg), declined to ratify. The law, however, as it would seem, decided in favour of the lady, as the name of a certain Ennel† Gutenberg, who was, in all probability, the same lady become the wife of Gutenberg, soon afterwards appears on a list of certain municipal contributions. But we hear no more of her; and the union, if it took place, was possibly only a marriage of purely legal form, which may account for the lady's name appearing as an independent contributor on the list in question.

Little more is known of this portion of the private history of Johann Gutenberg; but it appears that it was about this time, 1436, that he first became actively engaged in certain ingenious inventions which he was endeavouring to make profitable in a commercial point of view; and it may be that the money required for these undertakings came partly from the iron chest of the lady of the Iron Door, the locks of which were opened to the fascinations of the enterprising young knight, who perhaps then made those very rash promises which led, as such promises often do, to proceedings of that unpleasant kind which faithless lovers have so often to submit to. However this may be, it is certain that Gutenberg required money for his projects, and that he subsequently contrived to find the means of procuring it without resorting any more to his influence over the feelings of the softer sex, even if the first supply were procured in that manner. It appears that he succeeded in forming a kind of association for working a new process for polishing stones, which turned out so profitable that those who had embarked with him in that undertaking were exceedingly anxious to join him in another and still greater undertaking in which he next engaged, and which was to be kept a profound secret. The prospects of this new invention were such as to promise infallible and rapidly-achieved results, from which the realization of a large fortune might be expected in a few years.

In this new undertaking Gutenberg induced Hans Riffe, a man of some property and position, to join him. Riffe was at the time Mayor of Litchetenow, and enjoyed considerable influence on account of his office, and as a man of energetic character. It was originally arranged that Hans Riffe should have one clear third of all the profits, while two-thirds were to go to Gutenberg, as the inventor and director of the work. Dritzehen, who had been engaged in the profitable stone works, on hearing that Gutenberg had another project on foot, begged that he might be admitted a partner, and proposed to advance certain sums of money in aid of the concern; while at the same time one Andrew Heilmann also applied for admission into the new association upon similar terms, and it was finally agreed to admit them both; and that certain corresponding modifications should be made in the division of the profits. Hans Riffe was to take one entire fourth of the clear profits, Dritzehen and Heilmann were to have another fourth between them, and Gutenberg, the originator of the project, was to have the remaining half.

Of the further details concerning the money arrangements, which are all on record, it is not necessary to enter into any detail; it will be sufficient to state that, in all, about 500 florins were originally furnished by the partners, and that the work commenced with great spirit and with all possible secrecy, the formal contract being signed in the year 1438. The great fair of

* More properly *Gansefleisch*, but generally written Gensfleisch. † The German diminutive of Anne.

Aix-la-Chapelle was to take place in the following year, and every nerve was to be strained by the partners in order to be ready with the merchandise they were endeavouring to produce by that period, as they expected a very extensive sale of the new article on that occasion. Gutenberg, the better to secure the inviolability of the secret, established his own private workshop in the old monastery of St. Arbogaste, outside the walls of the town; an edifice of which no trace now remains. The work then went busily on, Gutenberg keeping some branches of the secret art entirely to himself; a circumstance which eventually led to some dissatisfaction; and on one occasion this feeling broke forth in the following manner. Dritzehen and Heilmann had gone out to the monastery of Arbogaste, possibly to inform Gutenberg that the Holy Fair at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which period the most sacred relics were shown to all pilgrims, and during which religious books and relics of all kinds found a ready sale, was put off for a year. On being somewhat suddenly introduced to his workroom, they found him in the midst of a variety of tools and appliances, the uses of which they had not been fully informed of, and then and there they insisted upon their right, as partners, to be fully and completely initiated into the whole mystery. Gutenberg, who appears to have been very chary of giving away too much of his knowledge at once, felt now compelled to yield to their insistence, on the condition of a further advance of money on their part, as well as on the part of Riffe. The respective sums were to be 410 florins from Dritzehen and Heilmann and 410 from Riffe, making together 820 florins, which, in addition to what had been already sunk, proves that the preparations were of a costly and extensive nature.* It is on record, in a very interesting document to be subsequently referred to, that carpenter-work of a careful and expensive description was required, that large quantities of lead were used, and that goldsmith's work, in the way of engraving and chasing, was also required, the latter alone at the cost of more than 100 florins; while the instruments already prepared, and which entitled Gutenberg to half of the whole profits, must have been estimated, as it appears, at about 800 florins. After the new arrangement, the two new partners, Dritzehen and Heilmann remained almost constantly at Arbogaste, in order to be fully initiated in all the more secret branches of the required work; a revelation the more readily acceded to, as Gutenberg found himself unable to get forward single-handed with sufficient rapidity. It would appear that the materials for engaging finally in the actual production of the "new article" were all completed at St. Arbogaste; and it was determined that the necessary machinery for setting these materials in action should be secretly arranged in the house of Dritzehen at Strasburg; Gutenberg having perceived the great aptitude of this expert artisan, and his industry and enthusiasm in the undertaking.

It is not, however, to be supposed that, with all these precautions, the affair had been kept as secret as its promoters could have wished; especially as many of their friends had become very curious to know what all the mystery was about; the ladies, as usual, being the most irritably inquisitive; and Barbet de Zabern, a dealer in mercery, who appears to have lived in the same house as Dritzehen, was more eager than all the rest in reiterated questionings. To such interrogations, however, it would seem that plausible answers had been pre-arranged, and all questioners were told that the secret manufacturers were making "looking-glasses" to sell at the fair of Aix-la-Chapelle. This answer, though to a certain extent a conclusive one, sometimes only led to many other inquiries, and many other conjectures. Of what kind were these looking-glasses?—of what size?—what shape? Was the goldsmith's engraving-work employed on certain dies to be used for stamping metal frames for them? and were the "looking-glasses" for real use, or to place behind relics, or small images of saints? If real substantial looking-glasses—which are such pleasant accessories to the toilet-table—they were likely to create much interest among the ladies; and, no doubt, with such a prize in view, Barbet de Zabern stipulated with her friend Dritzehen, during some of their chats together on the subject, to have one of the

* All these details are to be found in the evidence adduced on a trial which ere-long ensued.

very first for herself. But perhaps she took still more interest in the earnest workman than in the work; for we find her cautioning her neighbour not to work quite so hard, for fear of his health, especially late at night; he was, in fact, labouring by night as well as day, taking no rest and hardly any food, but toiling ceaselessly to make those final preparations which would enable him to begin the mechanical and rapid production of the merchandise itself which was to make fortunes for all the partners, at the great Fair. Suddenly, as Barbet feared, and as might naturally have been expected, his over-taxed constitution gave way, collapsed, as it were, all at once, and Dritzehen, who had become latterly the mainspring, the very soul of the undertaking, died, literally at his post. On the sad event becoming known, the carpenter who had made the secret presses in Dritzehen's workshop was requested by one of the partners to hasten there and take them to pieces in such a way that no one should be able to guess what had been their purpose; for secrecy was still the thing uppermost in the minds of all the adventurers. The carpenter, thus directed, proceeded immediately to the house of Dritzehen, to carry his instructions into effect; and entered the now desolate workshop, so lately filled with bustle and movement by hands that were destined to move the secret presses no more. The place was silent and deserted; and, as if to add to the previous mystery that had surrounded all the proceedings of this secret commercial society, the carpenter, on his arrival to execute the order he had received, found that the very presses themselves had entirely disappeared. It would seem that Gutenberg, still more anxious than any of his partners to secure continued secrecy, had already sent his own servant to take the presses to pieces and remove them.

Such is the story of the first stage in the progress of the art of printing in Germany. Like the efforts of Koster at Haärlem, the story reads more like romance than reality; and yet, as we shall see, there are vouchers for all the facts of the Gutenberg drama, in every detail, still in existence; as also for a number of other circumstances connected with his general career and transactions. Every record, in short, connected, however remotely, with the life of Gutenberg, has been hunted up by bibliophilists with as much energy as, in England, every scrap of information connected with the life, the name, or the actions of Shakespeare, has been greedily sought for—in all unlikely as well as likely places.

It is now time to consider what the inferences are which may be fairly and naturally drawn from the facts just narrated concerning Gutenberg's secret company and their proceedings, and whether they are calculated to throw light on the special nature of the undertaking which they had then in hand. After careful consideration, it cannot fail to become apparent that the enterprise which Gutenberg and his associates were then engaged in, and by means of which they fully expected to make a rapid fortune, was neither more nor less than the art eventually carried to such perfection by the inventor, alone—that of printing books; books which could be sold at a price so much below that of written ones of a similar class, that the expected gains could scarcely be exaggerated. The goldsmith had been doubtless engaged as a skilful engraver, and chosen to prepare the models for casting the types; the purchases of lead were made for the purpose of casting the type; and the carpenter was employed to make the presses and forms for the actual printing. Then comes the question, but what were the "*looking-glasses*"? That this name, given by the co-partners to the articles they were manufacturing, was adopted by them as a mystification, is well known, but it now serves, by a curious kind of collateral evidence, to make the precise character of their work more clear than even the employment of the engraver, the purchases of lead, or the press-making of the carpenter. Fortunately, for the eventual divulging of their secret, the associates amused themselves by being facetious over the invention of a misleading title for their trade, and could not resist the temptation of a *double entendre*, which at last, after centuries of mystery, betrays them. Looking-glass makers certainly they were, but not of the kind suspected by Barbet de Zabern, and she would never have received from the hand of her neighbour

Dritzehen, had he lived to complete his work, a looking-glass of the kind she most desired and expected. The article about to be manufactured was, in fact, not a *glass* but a *book*, the famous "*Mirror* of Human Salvation,"—the "*Speculum* Humanæ Salvationis,"—which the press of Koster had already made popular and brought into such great demand that doubtless it would have found a ready sale at the Holy Fair of Aix-la-Chapelle in almost any numbers; and Gutenberg was, if I am right in my conjecture, preparing an edition of that work, either as a fac-simile of the original Latin one, or as a German translation. Though in the latter case we should have, most probably, heard something of the translator, who may, however, have been Hans Riffe, the Mayor of Litchetenow, or one of the monks of the convent of St. Arbogaste, for which purpose Gutenberg may have taken up his residence there. M. Bernard does not appear to attach much importance to the name which Gutenberg gave to the articles he was preparing; but M. Paul Lacroix (the bibliophile Jacob) detected the double meaning of the term, and perceived that the title of a book was inuendoed. He, however, supposed an entirely distinct work, and attributes to Gutenberg's Strasburg press the actual production of a book bearing the title "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, Latino-Germanicum, cum speculo Sanctæ Mariæ,*" the title of the well-known MS. "Speculum," with the addition of the "Mirror of the Virgin Mary," a work really issued some years later by Pfister of Bamberg. It appears, however, to be much more probable that the work in hand was an accurate reproduction of the Dutch "Speculum" of Koster, and that he possibly got the idea from a copy of Koster's book, which by some means or other had been brought under his notice. If so, why not by a workman of Koster's, along with some of the types and tools by means of which it had been produced, as suggested by the Dutch legend preserved by Junius; and who may have executed the rude Donatuses with the Kosterian type, fragments of which are only found at Mayence. At all events, these matters dovetail with the Kosterian story. It may, however, be urged against this view of the case, that the seller of the secret to Gutenberg never appears on the carpet. But M. De Vries suggests that the "treacherous workman," John, or Johann, may have been no other than Johann Gutenberg, the elder, the uncle of the great printer, who, it is well known, greatly assisted his nephew in perfecting the new art, when, after leaving Strasburg, he had re-established himself at Mayence. If such were the case, we were unlikely to hear of a purchase of the secret from a recreant workman, and it is almost the only kind of circumstance which would have kept such a transaction so entirely out of sight. M. Bernard ridicules the idea of a person occupying the social status of the elder Gutenberg being in the service of Koster. But the ready highway of the Rhine may easily account for his presence in Haärlem, and when there, a much talked-of new and secret process for producing books may have induced him to enter the establishment of Koster as a mere workman, for the express purpose of learning the art, which, as recorded by Junius, he may have carried back with him to his native city. The superadded accusation of theft may have been a mere angry exaggeration at the time. These views are to a great extent corroborated by the fact, as stated, that the uncle assisted in a very efficient manner in bringing the art to perfection, when his nephew left Strasburg and returned to Mayence. The probable dates also agree, as the elder Gutenburg took the house *zum jungen* (where he afterwards received his nephew) in 1443, which suggests a previous *absence* from Mayence, that may very probably have occurred between 1436 and 1438, the period of Gutenberg's first essays at Strasburg. In acquiring the art in Holland, the uncle may have had his banished nephew especially in view, as he knew him to be endowed with qualities which specially fitted him for working out and deriving profit from such an invention.

The trial previously referred to contains so many details concerning the first German essays in the art of printing, that a few extracts will be found exceedingly interesting. The cause of misunderstanding arose from legal pretensions set up by the brothers of the deceased Dritzehen, who claimed a certain sum of money under the terms of the agreement with

Gutenberg, in which Dritzehen had stipulated that, in case of the death of either of the partners, their representatives should receive 100 florins. This claim Gutenberg resisted, on the ground that Dritzehen had never completed his stipulated payments; and the Court decided in his favour, nonsuiting the brothers of Dritzehen in a judgment, which was delivered, as stated in the document itself, on the eve of Saints Lucia and Otilia, the 12th of December, in the year 1439.

Among the depositions made on the trial* by witnesses on both sides, are the following:— Barbet de Zabern deposes—"That, during a certain night, she had talked with Andrew Dritzehen about many things." They were apparently talking in his workshop, while he continued busily arranging his presses, and other matters. She recollected saying to him, "And are you not going to bed to-night?" To which he replied, "I must first finish all that I am about." When she continued saying, "But, God help me! what a sum of money you seem to be spending. Why, all these things must have cost, at least, 10 florins." And he replied, "You are a simpleton, Zabern! you think these things have cost 10 florins. Listen; if you had all they have cost above 300 florins, you would have enough to last you all your life. Why, they have cost over 500 florins! and they would be good for nothing if they were not to cost still more; and that is the reason why I have sunk both my own and my expected inheritance in the matter." "But," continued the witness in her deposition, "but if it should all turn out badly, what would you do then?" And he answered, "It can't turn out badly. Before a year is over, we shall have back again all our capital, and be well off for ever; unless, indeed, it should be the will of God to ruin us."

It is evident that he had full faith in the looking-glass trade, as shown also by the deposition of Anthony Heilmann, who states that, when his brother was taken into the partnership, Gutenberg expected great gains from the sale of "looking-glasses" during the time of the pilgrimage to the shrines of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The surprise of the carpenter on finding that the presses had disappeared is thus described in the deposition of Conrad Sahspach, who had made them, and who had no doubt been sworn to secrecy. He deposed—That, on the day of Andrew Dritzehen's death, one of the other partners, Andrew Heilmann, hurried to his house on the market-place, and said, "Dear Conrad, since Andrew Dritzehen is dead, as you made the presses, and are in the secret, go and take the press at Dritzehen's to pieces in such a way as that no one can tell what it is." But when he went to execute these orders everything had disappeared. How they disappeared is explained in the following deposition, in which it will be found that Gutenberg himself, acting still more promptly than Heilmann, had already caused them to be dismounted and taken away.

Ennel Schultheiss, the wife of Hans Schultheiss, the wood-merchant who had furnished wood to the association, deposed, that Laurence Beildeck, Gutenberg's servant, came to see Claus Dritzehen, her cousin, who lived in the same house, and said, "Dear Claus Dritzehen, the late Andrew Dritzehen, your brother, at the time of his death, had four 'pieces' fitted in a press, which Gutenberg now wishes you to separate in such a way as that no one shall be able to understand the use of them; for he would not wish them to be seen as they are." This witness, who, it will be seen, lived in the same house with Claus and Andrew Dritzehen, her cousins, further deposed that she often assisted her cousin Andrew, "night and day," in making his preparations.

Here we have direct information as to the nature of the machinery that had been prepared. It is distinctly termed a press; and the four "pieces" are elsewhere positively called *forms*

* The details of this trial were found among the old protocols of the law courts of Strasburg by M. Shœpflin, and published there in the original German, from which they have since been translated into several other languages.

(*formen*), the name still applied to the frame which holds in place the types when they are set up in order for printing; so that it would seem that all was ready to commence actual printing when the death of Dritzehen occurred.

The next deposition is that of the goldsmith, Hans Dünne, who stated that he had, about three years before, received 100 florins from Gutenberg for articles connected with printing (*drucken*). These were, doubtless, the model types, engraved in brass or copper, from which the casting-moulds were produced; so that we have, in the depositions of this curious trial, all the details necessary to prove how Gutenberg set about establishing the first German printing-press, and even the period at which his engraver cut the models for the types,—namely, three years before the date of the trial in 1439, which would take it to the period 1436, that of the greatest activity of the secret press of Koster, and when it was most likely that any one would attempt to make capital out of a disclosure of the secret to some other person. The secret having reached Mayence and Strasburg, by the highway of the Rhine, the enterprising young Gutenberg, who it has been seen was especially taken up with *establishing* improved or new forms of manufacture, was exceedingly likely to take up energetically an idea of that kind; while the subsequent disappearance of Koster's "workman" might be easily accounted for, especially in the manner just suggested. On the other hand, Gutenberg *may* have been led to his first trials at Strasburg through other means; perhaps from merely seeing a copy of the "Speculum" sent to him by his uncle, or some other person, and being assured that it was produced in a new manner. It may be further urged, that if he had received the knowledge from an experienced workman of Koster's, he would not have first adopted lead for his types, as he certainly did, for Koster had already abandoned the use of that metal in favour of tin.

That the death of Dritzehen, and even the delay caused by the trial, should have entirely put a stop, for a time, to a project commenced with so much enthusiasm, appears extraordinary. And yet, as no printed book can, with any show of probability, be assigned to the press which Gutenberg and his associates had endeavoured to establish at Strasburg, it would appear that, at that period, the effort was actually abandoned. The most probable cause is, that the first actual products of this press, which no doubt was put in action after Dritzehen's death, were failures, in consequence of the types being cast in lead, which, as we have seen, was purchased for that purpose, and which would spread so rapidly, under the action of the press, as to render the character, if not illegible, at all events so unsightly as to make books so printed unsaleable. M. Bernard, however, considers that a "Donatus," printed in characters very closely resembling those of the Bible afterwards printed by Gutenberg at Mayence, may *possibly* have been printed by him at Strasburg; and if he be right in his conjecture, it would tend to prove that the characters used were of lead, as in the "Donatus" in question the types show such symptoms of spreading and blurring as would be sufficient to deter a man of Gutenberg's taste and ambition from undertaking the printing of a more important work with them.

Whether still attempting to bring his Strasburg press to perfection or not, his name is found on the list of civic contributors till the year 1444, but not afterwards. His quitting Strasburg about this time may have been determined by the fact that the deed of partnership with Riffe and Heilmann, which had been made for five years, expired at that time, when he would feel himself at liberty to retire from a concern which had evidently not been successful, and try his fortune elsewhere. It is natural to suppose that he would select his native town, Mayence, as the scene of his next effort; the political excitement which had driven him away having subsided. That his means were exhausted, or very much reduced, may be inferred from the fact that he went to reside with his uncle Johann Gensfleisch, at whose residence was executed the first proof of his return to Mayence, namely, a legal document, dated in 1448; so that there are four years unaccounted for. At whatever time he may have returned to Mayence, it is certain

that he there recommenced his efforts to perfect a system of printing. He had most likely brought his tools with him, which he would have found no difficulty in purchasing, at a very low rate, from Riffe and Heilmann, who had probably lost all faith in them. After his re-establishment at Mayence—whether or not he had originally received the idea of moveable types directly from Koster's "workman"—he may have found a person in Mayence, who, according to the strict letter of the Dutch tradition, was engaged in producing rude "Donatuses" by means of printing with moveable types; and that person may have been his uncle, who had previously furnished him with the outline of the system while he was residing in Strasburg. With this new aid, he may have now determined, armed with his previous experiences, to aim far higher than an imitation of the "Speculum," and produce at once a work on such a scale and in such perfection as, it was thought, that handwriting alone could realize. With some such feeling, at all events, he conceived the bold project of producing, by means of his printing press, an entire Bible, of noble size, and fit to compare with the finest manuscripts of the period. This was an ambitious undertaking, for it was precisely the period in which manuscripts had reached the highest point of perfection, in the elaborate beauty of the writing and the profusion of rich illumination. But Gutenberg was not easily daunted, as we have seen by the perseverance displayed during his struggles to establish a printing press at Strasburg; and we soon find him negotiating a loan of 150 florins to commence his fresh attempt. This document is still in existence, setting forth how his kinsman, Arnulphus Gelthus, became security for him for that sum, which he borrowed from Reinhart Brömser and Johann Rodenstein, for which he was to pay a rent or interest of $8\frac{1}{2}$ florins. The sum they borrowed was, however, soon found inadequate to his wants. He had to find a harder and better-suited metal than lead for casting his characters, and, perhaps, a better method of preparing his model types, which some have thought he determined to make of soft steel, to be hardened, and then to serve as punches to form moulds in a somewhat softer metal, such as brass, in which his new characters were to be cast. However this may be, it is certain that he adopted a greatly improved system, as the eventual results plainly show. Arrived at this point, and more money—very much more—being required, he procured an introduction to Johann Fust, a capitalist and money-lender, being probably introduced to him by his brother, James Fust, a goldsmith, who may have been employed by Gutenberg to engrave the new type models, as goldsmiths of that day were all more or less expert engravers. Fust appears to have been at once struck with the boldness of the project, and the evident capacity of Gutenberg to carry it into execution; and, above all, by the prospect of the enormous profits which appeared certain of realization within a few years.

This application for a new loan occurred in 1450, when Fust determined to advance the money required—800 florins, at 6 per cent., all the tools and presses to be pledged to the lender as security; and the money was to be lent for five years, within which time it was calculated that the work would be completed. When all was ready to commence printing, Fust was to make further advances, at the rate of 300 florins per year, to carry out the printing and pay for parchment, paper, ink, &c. Fust was to have no risk beyond; and if the sums were insufficient, they were to be made up by Gutenberg; Fust, nevertheless, reserving to himself a large share of the profits. These were hard terms; but Gutenberg had met with so many disappointments and delays, that he was but too glad to find the necessary money power furnished to him at last, on any terms, however onerous.

Final preparations were now commenced in right earnest for the great undertaking, the printing of the entire Bible; the workshops being established in the house of his uncle, Johann Gensfleisch the elder, on the Platz of the Franciscans. Two years were consumed in the completion of the models and castings of the type, and with the erection of the presses and other

necessary machinery; and by that time, unfortunately, the whole of the 800 florins had been swallowed up in the preparations, and the 300 florins for the first year's printing were also found insufficient to make a fair start. Fust therefore agreed to furnish in advance the remaining 600 florins, but on condition of Gutenberg taking 800 florins instead of 900, as the price of paying down the whole sum at once; yet promising, verbally, not to claim the *interest*, which had been originally stipulated in the former contract. Thus again provided with cash, Gutenberg proceeded with his labours, greatly aided by *the advice and knowledge of his uncle Johann*, who, nevertheless, was blind, from old age, as Wimpheling, a nearly contemporary historian, tells us in his "Curious Chronicle of the Bishops of Mayence." He says that, "in the time of Bishop Robert, printing was first practised by several persons at Mayence, after being previously essayed rudely at Strasburg by Gutenberg, who, with the aid of his blind uncle, eventually carried it to great perfection at Mayence, to the eternal glory of Germany. We may imagine the vast difficulties that had to be contended with in the infancy of a new art applied to an undertaking of such magnitude as a folio edition of the Bible, in 1,282 pages, requiring, at least, a fount of 12,000 letters. To this number may be added the required varieties of each letter, several forms of each being then deemed necessary to imitate manuscript; besides another distinct set combined with all the marks of abbreviation then in use, to say nothing of a whole separate series of double letters.

This vast stock of types and presses being at last all ready, and the great work in the labour of its first start, it is supposed that Gutenberg made some essays with his types in printing two editions of "Donatuses," one in small folio and one in quarto. The first is described by Fischer and Van Praet, the second by Wetter. But, at the same time, it having been found impossible to keep the process secret, others also commenced printing on the same system; and the "Donatus" of 1451, the "Appeal against the Turcs," of 1454, and the "Letters of Indulgence," of 1454 and 1455, so well described by M. Léon de Laborde, all appeared before Gutenberg's Bible; and the annexed fac-simile (Plate 12) will show what advances either he or his rival printers had then made in Mayence.

The fac-simile (Plate 12), the original of which is now in our national collection, will serve to show that great improvements had taken place in the cutting of the types since the art had been taken up by German artisans. Whether this letter were printed by Gutenberg, or some other person, as by Pfister, for instance, who may have learnt the art in Gutenberg's service, and began to practise it during the great delays which occurred in bringing out the *magnum opus*, the entire Bible, is immaterial to the main story of the invention. It will be seen, on close observation, that the capitals are printed, as well as the main body of the type, and that they are probably cast or engraved in metal, and not cut in wood, as may be at once perceived from the sharpness of the outline. This is a point worthy of note, inasmuch as in the great Bible spaces are left for all the principal initials, to be executed by the hand of the illuminator. It may also be observed that the lines in larger type, of regular upright Gothic, resemble very closely the type used in Gutenberg's famous Bible, though a degree smaller. This would seem to lead to the inference that this "Letter" was, possibly, printed at the Gutenberg press, in the house *zum jungen*, and under the management of Gutenberg and his uncle.

That he really was printing small works of various kinds before the issue of the Bible is most probable on many accounts; among others, because such a man as Fust, a keen-sighted money-lender, requiring good security for a loan, would never have advanced the sums he did on the probable future results of an art entirely new to him, if he had not demonstrative proof that the art was a really practical one, as shown in actual productions, similar to the "Letter of Indulgence" in question, "Donatuses," and other elementary books. M. Fischer, in his remarkable pamphlet, has attempted to show, in fact, that several works of the kind, undoubtedly from the press of Gutenberg (as proved by the types), were still in existence in Mayence up to the time of the

Vniuersis Christifideliby pñtes lrãs inspecturis Paulinus Chappe Cõsiliarij Ambasiatoꝛ et pcuratoꝛ generalis Sere assimi Regis Cypri in hac parte Salm̃ dño Cũ Sãctissimo ĩ xpo pr̃ et dño nr̃ dño Nicolao diuina puidẽtia pp quĩto Afflictiõi Regni Cypri miserico:diter cõpatiẽs cõtra pfidissiõs crucis xpi hostes Theucros et Sarracenos gratis cõcessit oñiby xpifideliby v[illegible]stitutis ipos p aspsionẽ sanguis dñi nr̃i ihũ xpi pie exhortãdo qui infra triẽniũ a prima die Maij Anni dñi Mccccliij incipiẽdũ p defẽsiõe catholice fidei et regni pdicti de facultatiby suis magis uel miny put ipoꝛ videbitur ꝺ sñẽtijs pcũtoriby uel nũcijs substitutis pie erogauerint ut ꝺfessores pdonẽ segulares uel regulares p ipos eligẽdi ꝺfessioniby eoꝛ auditis p cõmissis etiã fedi aplice reseruatis excessiby crimíniby atq; delictis quãtũcũq; grauiby p vna vice tãtũ debitã absolutionẽ impẽdere et penitẽtiã salutarem iniũgere Necnõ simid hũiliter petierit ipos a quibuscũq; excõicationum suspensionũ et interdicti alĳsq; sentencijs cẽsuris et penis ecclesiasticis a iure uel ab hoĩe pmulgatis quiby forsan innodati existũt absoluere. Iniũcta p modo culpe penitẽtia salutari uel alĳs q̃ de iure fuerit iniũgẽda ac eis vere penitẽtiby et ꝺfessis. uel si forsan propter amissionẽ loq̃le ꝺfiteri nõ poterit signa ꝺtricõnis ostẽdẽdo pleniſſimã oĩm pcẽoꝛ suoꝛ de quiby ore ꝺfessi et corde ꝺtriti fuerint Indulgentiã ac plenariã remissionẽ semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo ipis aũcte aplica ꝺcedere valeãt. Satisfactione p eos facta si supuixerint aut p eoꝛ heredes si tũc trãsierit Dic tamẽ qp post indultũ ꝺcessum p vnũ annũ singulis sextis feriis uel quadã alia die ieiunẽt. legittimo impedimẽto ecclesie pcepto regulari obseruãtia pnĩa iniũcta voto uel alias nõ obstañ. Et ipis impeditis in dicto ãno uel eius parte. anno sequẽti uel alias quam primũ poterint ieiunabũt Et si in aliquo annoꝛ uel eoꝛ parte dictũ ieiuniũ cõmode adimplere nequiuerit Confessor ad id electus in alia ꝺmutare poterit caritatis opa q̃ ipi facere etiã teneãtur Dũmodo tũ ex ꝺfidentia remissionis hmõi quod absit pccã nõ psumãt alioquĩ dicta ꝺcessio quo ad plenariã remissionẽ in mortis articulo et remissio quo ad pcẽa ex ꝺfidentia ut pmittitur ꝺmissa nullius sint roboris uel momenti Et quia deuoti dñi Henricus Emanuel Erthe[illegible] soror Emma Luise cũ filĳs suis Helena et Conguda Guda Kruysen et Bela Klutẽ eius filia Juxta dictum indultum de facultatibus suis pie erogauerint merito huiusmodi indulgentijs gaudere debẽt. In veritatis testimoniũ sigillũ ad hoc ordinatũ pñtiby lrĩs testimonialiby est appensum Datũ in Oppido Mussheim Anno dñi Mccccliquito die vero penultima mensis Aprilis

Forma plenissime absolutionis et remissionis in vita

Misereatur tui Aĩ Dñs noster ihesus xps p suã sanctissimã et pissimã miaz te absoluat Et aũcte ipi beatoꝛũq; petri et pauli aploꝛ eiy ac aũcte aplica michi ꝺmissa et tibi ꝺcessa Ego te absoluo ab oñiby pccis tuis ꝺtritis ꝺfessis et oblitis Etiã ab oñiby casiby excessiby crimíniby atq; delictis quãtũcũq; grauiby sedi aplice reseruatis Necnõ a quibuscũq; excõicationũ suspensionũ et interdicti alĳsq; sentencijs censuris et penis ecclĳasticis ꝺiure uel ab hoĩe pmulgatis si quas incurristi dando tibi plenissimã oĩm pccoꝛ tuoꝛ indulgentiã et remissionẽ Inquãtũ claues sancte matris ecclie in hac parte se extendũt. In noĩe patris et filĳ et spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma plenarie remissionis in mortis articulo

Misereatur tui Aĩ Dñs noster ut supra Ego te absoluo ab oñiby pccis tuis cõtritis ꝺfessis et oblitis restituendo te vnitati fideliũ et sacramentis ecclesie Remittendo tibi penas purgatorĳ quas propter culpas et offensas incurristi dando tibi plenariã oĩm pccoꝛ tuoꝛ remissionẽ. Inquantũ claues sancte matris ecclie in hac parte se exteudũt. In noĩe patris et filĳ et spiritus sancti Amen.

6

FAC-SIMILE OF A PRINTED "LETTER OF INDULGENCE" POSSIBLY PRINTED BY GUTTENBERG BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF HIS BIBLE.

PL. 12.

rex iudeorum. Hunc ergo titulū multi legerunt iudeorū quia prope ciuitatē erat locus ubi crucifixus est iesus: et erat scriptū hebraice grece & latine. Dicebant ergo pilato pontifices iudeorū. Noli scribere rex iudeorū: sed quia ipe dixit. Rex sum iudeorū. Respondit pilatus. Quod scripsi scripsi. Milites ergo cū crucifixissent eū acceperūt vestimēta eius & fecerūt quatuor partes unicuiq; militi partē & tunicā. Erat autē tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta p totum. Dixerūt ergo ad inuicem. Non scindamus eā sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit: ut scriptura impleret dicens. Partiti sūt vestimēta mea sibi & in vestē meā miserūt sortem. Et milites quidē hec fecerunt. Stabat autē iuxta crucē iesu mater eius et soror matris eius maria cleophe & maria magdalene. Cum uidisset ergo iesus matrem & discipulū stantem quem diligebat: dixit matri sue. Mulier ecce filius tuus. Deinde dixit discipulo. Ecce mater tua. Et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua. Postea sciens iesus quia omnia consūmata sunt: ut consummaret scriptura dixit. Sitio. Vas autē positū erat aceto plenū. Illi autem spongiam plenā aceto

PART OF A PAGE FROM A MANUSCRIPT MISSAL WRITTEN IN GERMANY ABOUT THE PERIOD OF THE ISSUE OF GUTENBERG'S BIBLE.

Liber generationis ihesu xpi filij dauid: filij abraham. Abraham genuit ysaac: ysaac autē genuit iacob. Iacob aūt genuit iudā et fratres eius: iudas aūt genuit phares et zara de thamar. Phares aūt genuit esrom: esrom aūt genuit aram. Aram aūt genuit aminadab: aminadab aūt genuit naasō. Naason aūt genuit salmon: salomō aūt genuit booz de raab. Booz aūt genuit obeth ex ruth: obeth aūt genuit iesse. Iesse autē genuit dauid regē: dauid autē rex genuit salomonē ex ea q fuit vrie. Salomō aūt genuit roboam: roboam aūt genuit abyam. Abyas aūt genuit asa: asa aūt genuit iosaphat. Iosaphat aūt genuit ioram: ioram aūt genuit oziam. Ozias autē genuit ioathan: ioathan aūt genuit achar. Achar autē genuit ezechiam: ezechias aūt genuit manassen: manasses aūt genuit ammon. Ammon aūt genuit iosyam:

PART OF ONE OF THE ORDINARY COLUMNS OF GUTENBERG'S BIBLE. SHEWING THE CLOSE IMITATION OF THE TYPE FROM COTEMPORARY M.S.S BY COMPARISON WITH THE ANNEXED SPECIMEN.

PL. 13.

PARABOLE

Incipit prologus sancti ihoñis presbiteri ī parabolas salomonis

ungat epistola quos iūgit sacerdotium: immo carta non dividat: quos xpi nectit amor. Cōmentarios in oseam os·7 zachariā malachiā·quoq; possidis. Scripsisse: si licuisset prevalitudine. Mittis solacia sumptuum notarios nros et librarios sustentacionis: ut vobis possimū nām deludere ingeniū. Et ecce ex latere frequēs turba divisa poscentiū: quasi aut equū sit me vobis clericis alijs laborare: aut in racione dati et accepti·cuiq; prece vos obnoxi⁹ sim. Itaq; lōga egrotacione fractus·ne penitus hoc anno recidā·7 apud vos mutus essem·triduū opus nomini vro consecrauī·intercessionē videlicet tuū salomonis voluminū: masloth qđ hebrei pabolas vulgata editio pūbia vocat: coeleth quē greci ecclesiasten·latine ordinatorē possum⁹ dicere: siraticim·qđ ī linguā nām vertit canticū cāticoz. Fertur et panareton·ihu filij sirach liber: 7 alius pseudographus·qui sapientia salomonis inscribit. Quoz priorē hebraicum reperi·nō ecclesiasticū ut apud latinos: sed pabolas pnotatū. Cui iūcta erāt ecclesiastes·et canticū canticoz: ut similitudinē salomonis·nō solū numero librorū: sed ecām materiaz genere coequaret. Secūdus apud hebreos nullus est: quia et ipse stilus grecam eloquēciā redolet: et nōnulli scriptoz veteꝛ hūc esse iudei filomis affirmāt. Sicut ergo iudith 7 thobie 7 machabeoz libros·legit quidē eos eccliа·sed inter canonicas scripturas nō recipit: sic 7 hec duo volumina legat ad edificacionē plebis: nō ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticoz dogmatū confirmandam.

Si cui sane septuagīta interpretum magis editio placet: habet eā a nobis olim emēdatā. Neq; enī nova sit ut dicim⁹: ut vetera destruam⁹. Et tamē cū diligentissime legerit·sciat magis nra scripta intelligi: que nō in tercīū vas trāsfusa conservēt: sed tarim de prelo purissime emēdata reste: suū saporē servaverit. Incipiūt parabole salomonis

Parabole salomonis filij dauid regis isr: ad sciendā sapientiam 7 disciplinā: ad intelligenda verba prudentie et suscipiendā eruditionē doctrine: iustitiā et iudiciū 7 equitatē: ut detur parvulis astutia: et adolescenti scientia et intellectus. Audiēs sapiēs sapiēcioz erit: 7 intelligēs gubernacula possidebit. Animaduerret parabolam et interpretationem: verba sapientiū 7 enigmata eoz. Timoz dñi principiū sapiēte. Sapientiam aūq; doctrinam stulti despiciūt. Audi fili mi disciplinā pris tui et ne dimittas legem mris tue: ut addatur gracia capiti tuo: 7 torques collo tuo. Fili mi si te lactaverint pcōres: ne acquiescas eis. Si dixerit veni nobiscū·insidiemur sāguini·abscōdam⁹ tēdiculas ore insontem frustra·deglutiamus eū sicud infernus viventē 7 integrum·quasi descendentē in lacū: omnē preciosā substanciā reperiem⁹·implebim⁹ domus nras spoliis·sortem mitte nobiscum·marsupiū sit unum omniū nrm: fili mi ne ambules cū eis. Prohibe pedem tuū a semitis eoz. Pedes enī illoz ad malū currūt: 7 festināt ut effundant sāguinem. Frustra autem iacī rete ante oculos pēnatoz. Ipi qz contra sanguinē suū insidiantur: et

A PAGE FROM THE GUTENBERG BIBLE, THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLE, & THE EARLIEST COMPLETE PRINTED BOOK KNOWN.
PRINTED AT MAYENCE ABOUT 1455.

French invasion, but have since been lost. Some of these were ornamented with fine initials, printed in two colours,—a feature which I shall have occasion to refer to when speaking of Schoiffher's Psalter. If these initials, of which M. Fischer gives admirable fac-similes, were really executed under the direction of Gutenberg, they must of necessity greatly enhance the wonder and admiration felt for the author of the marvellously perfect workmanship of the first Bible; and also detract, to an equal extent, from the repute long enjoyed by Schoiffher as the printer of the famous Psalter, with its fine coloured initials, vaunted as the work of the press alone, and not produced by the illuminator's pencil; for, if M. Fischer be correct in attributing the work in question to Gutenberg, then the credit of the initials printed in colours in the Psalter must also be given to Gutenberg, as all the lesser initials in that noble specimen of the printer's art are the identical letters found by M. Fischer illustrating the "Donatus" attributed by him, without hesitation, to the press of Gutenberg, as being printed with the same type as the first Bible. The fine, free style of these letters and their perfect execution is very remarkable, as may be seen on reference to Plate 16, figs. 1 and 2, from Schoiffher's second Psalter. That the "Donatus" in question was printed, not only before Schoiffher's Psalter, but also before the Bible, appears incontrovertibly proved by the fact that the five leaves in question of this "Donatus" were found in the cover of a book of accounts, dated 1451. The testimony of M. Fischer is above suspicion; but it is to be regretted that this most important and interesting monument of the labours of Gutenberg is now no longer to be found. At the time that M. Fischer's examination and description were made, it was in the public library of Mayence; but at that time several national monuments were removed to Paris, and others lost in the general ransacking that took place; and the interesting "Donatus" described by M. Fischer is among the documents now no longer to be found either at Paris or Mayence. Although it would thus appear that the credit of the "Letters" in question is due to Gutenberg, I shall have some further remarks to make on the subject in describing the famous Psalter of Schoiffher. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses two leaves of a "Donatus" printed with Gutenberg's Bible type.

It was not, doubtless, till after the issue of many smaller essays of the above kind, that the great work, the first printed Bible, was at last completed; an event which probably took place in the year 1455, if the first copies were issued by Gutenberg himself; and certainly not later than 1456, or beginning of 1457, if published by Fust; as there is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in which a MS. note is to be found, indicating that the two volumes were illuminated and bound by Henry Albech, *alias* Cremer, vicar of the collegiate church of St. Stephen, at Mayence, in 1457. The work which thus at last appeared, to crown all Gutenberg's labours with eventual success, is a truly wonderful monument of art, especially as being the first attempt at printing on a large scale. Its general character may be described as follows:—It is printed in two Columns, with spaces left for the headings, to be filled by the rubricator, and also for large initials. Each column contains forty-two lines, which it is well to mention, as the number of lines alone distinguishes it from the editions printed soon afterwards, which were, respectively, of thirty-six and forty-five lines per column, both of which have been erroneously attributed to Gutenberg, while they are now considered to be subsequent issues by Fust and Schoiffher.

The news of the realization of Gutenberg's ambition to print the entire Bible seems to have reached Paris not very long afterwards, and it is satisfactory to find that *his* name alone was associated with the great achievement. It would appear that Charles VII., hearing of the new invention for the production of books by means of characters of metal, determined to despatch one of the most expert engravers of the mint, who were all well practised as letter-engravers for the inscriptions of the coins, to investigate the facts of the case. Nicholas Jenson, who is stated to have been previously appointed Master of the Mint at Tours, his native place, was

selected for this important service, as recorded in some valuable manuscript notes to a series of devices of the French coinage, preserved in the library of the Arsenal. The note commences thus,—"On the 3rd of October, 1458, the king having been informed that the Sieur Gutenberg, knight, living at Mayence, in Germany, a man dexterous in engraving and in making letter-punches, had brought to light an invention for printing with metal characters, &c. &c." Nicholas Jenson appears to have been in Mayence in 1459, and possibly saw Gutenberg himself on the subject, though the royal instructions seem to have directed him to obtain possession of the "secret" surreptitiously—"Secrètement s'informer de la dite *forme** et invention;" which he probably did by getting himself engaged as an engraver of letter-punches, in which business it was easy for him to prove that he was an adept.

The rubrics of the first issue of Gutenberg's Bible, as just stated, were left blank, to be written in by hand, and spaces were also left for the illuminator to introduce the capitals; so that the book had, when completed by hand, much the effect of an illuminated MS. of the period; but the text was less free, and even less distinct, and there was some awkwardness in the ends of the lines where blanks occur, when a word could not be got in; but, on the whole, it is perhaps the noblest *coup d'essai*, in a new and intricate art that ever was produced. It would be unfair to compare it with those elaborate MSS. which, in France, Jean Fouquet was illuminating at the time for the Duke of Berri, or the noble MS. books, filled with miniatures by the greatest artists of the day, that were then being produced at Bruges; or, to the MS. missals which were appearing in Italy, illuminated by Perrugino and the greatest of the precursors of Raphael. It was, however, superior in every respect to manuscripts of a second-rate order; for the text, though produced with the express purpose of imitating writing done by hand, was, as may be imagined, in many respects more regular than any but very first-rate work, executed by the most skilful caligraphers. In order to prove that all the first printed books were, as nearly as they could be made so, fac-similes of manuscripts, I have here appended (No. 1, Pl. 13) a fac-simile of part of a page from the Wurtzburg missal, a fine MS. of the middle of the 15th century, side by side with a fac-simile from a portion of a page of Gutenberg's Bible (No. 2, Pl. 13); from a comparison of which it will be seen that Gutenberg must have caused his types to be executed from the writing of just such a manuscript, though they do not quite equal it. The inferiority, however, does not lie in want of regularity, in which it is even superior to the manuscript; but rather in the fineness of the upstrokes, and a certain delicacy of finish, which betrays a mechanical instead of an artistic process. The Wurtzburg missal is now in the British Museum.

As a specimen of Gutenberg's great work, when complete, I have reproduced an entire page, with the super-added work of the rubricator and illuminator (Plate 14); in which state, the vellum copies might easily be mistaken for illuminated manuscripts; but the idle stories of their having been passed off as such are mere inventions of a subsequent period, as we shall see in the ensuing chapter. The present fac-simile is from the fine vellum copy formerly in the library of George III., and now in the British Museum.† It is illuminated on many of the pages in the fine bold style of the German art of the period. This, the first printed Bible, was long known as the Mazarin Bible, in consequence of the copy of it which first attracted attention in modern times being discovered in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. (*See* Appendix.)

Successful as the Gutenberg Bible was, and great as seemed its chances of success, yet its sale was, at first, slow and difficult; and, moreover, the moderate pecuniary results, even such as they were, were perhaps never shared by Gutenberg as the reward of his long-continued labours. He may, in fact, have gained no direct profit from it, as it is possible that no complete impressions were taken while the property remained his own, yet it is most

* Here is the same term as used on the trial at Strasburg, and again in the document executed at Mayence.

† The copies on paper are far less rare and valuable.

probable that a few copies were completed while he was still master of the establishment, which he had at last formed with such indomitable persistence.* In 1455, the very year before the first perfect copies of the book may have issued from the press, Johann Fust became a foreclosing mortgagee, claiming the whole of the utensils and plant as forfeited by the non-fulfilment of the clauses inserted in the agreement for the loan; and the Court of Mayence decided in his favour; the term having duly expired for which the money was lent. The claim against Gutenberg was 2,020 florins, which he was totally unprepared to pay; and the consequence was, that the entire plant, with the work in hand, was assigned to Johann Fust, who caused the whole to be removed to his own house; and then, securing the services of one of the workmen, a clever and enterprising young man, Schoiffher, he managed to put the finishing touch to the Gutenberg Bible, and bring it fairly into the market. Gutenberg, in the mean time, though seemingly ruined by the judgment (which some have, without justice, deemed a partial one, Nicholas Fust, a relation of Johann, being one of the judges), nevertheless did not abandon the art to which he had devoted twenty years of incessant toil, but managed, with his usual perseverance, to re-establish himself. It is thought that certain works can be assigned to his new press in Mayence, in the smaller house belonging to his family, to which he removed, and which bore the family name, which Wimpheling translates into corresponding Latin, when stating, in his Chronicle, that the art of printing was carried to perfection in that house,—"*in domo Bonimontis.*"

A work assigned to him in his new and independent Office is the "Tractatus de Celebratione Missarum," a copy of which was originally in the library of the Chartreux of Mayence, and eventually in the public library of the city, where M. Fischer, himself curator of the establishment, saw it and described it. It contained a memorandum in Latin to the following effect:—"The Chartreux of Mayence possesses this book through the liberality of Johann, called Gutenberg, the production of his art, and of the science of Johann Nummeister, completed (*confecta*) on the 19th of the kalends of July, in the year 1463." From this it would appear that Gutenberg had found another partner, who, in all probability, assisted him with money as well as skill. The titles of the chapters of this book, a small quarto, are in bold Gothic characters, very similar to those of the Bible; and the general text is in cursive semi-Roman characters, closely imitating a well-known class of writing of the period, when the extreme angularity of the old black-letter was beginning to give way to a more rounded style. M. Fischer also mentions another work which, he thinks, may fairly be attributed to the Gutenberg press. This is a Kalendar or Almanach for the year 1460, composed of a few leaves in quarto, printed in characters similar to those of the last-named work. These two books, described minutely by M. Fischer, but now lost, as is supposed during the confusion consequent on the occupation of Mayence by the French, and the removal of certain articles to the great French collection, are no longer available for comparison, except through the careful fac-simile of the first given by M. Fischer in his interesting work.

That Gutenberg did actually succeed in establishing a separate press in Mayence, after the seizure of his first establishment by Fust, appears certain from more reliable evidence than that of the works just cited; among other proofs is a passage in Philip de Lignamine's "History of the Pontiffs," printed at Rome in 1474, in which the author, himself exercising the new art of printing, writes as follows, when treating of the events of the year 1458:—"Jean Gutenberg, of Strasburg, and another, named Fust, skilful in the art of printing with characters of metal, on parchment, each print three hundred sheets per day at Mayence." This passage is very con-

* In the first issues of Gutenberg's Bible no printer's name appears. Was it that the importance of the new art was not yet felt, as it was when Fust and Schoiffher appended their names, with so much self-laudation? or, was it that Gutenberg, as a gentleman, did not wish his name to figure as that of an artisan? If the last, his misplaced patrician pride has been near losing for him a fame that might be envied by princes.

clusive; as the date of the book, 1474, is eighteen years after the dissolution of the partnership between Gutenberg and Fust, to which it therefore cannot refer; and consequently has reference to the period when Fust, aided by the skill of Schoiffher and the tools and presses of Gutenberg which he had seized, was printing on his own account; and when Gutenberg, aided by Nummeister, had also established a separate press, which it would seem was as important as that of Fust, though there are no extant works which have been hitherto attributed to it, except the two just named. M. Bernard, however, is inclined to assign to the Gutenberg and Nummeister press the following works, of which copies now exist in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and which appear to be printed with the same types as the two works described by M. Fischer. The first is entitled "Hermani de Saldis Speculum Sacerdoti;" and the second, a treatise in German, on Councils, &c.; also another work, entitled, "Dyalogus inter Hugonem Cathonem et Oliverium super Libertate Ecclesiastica;" all the works named being of small bulk.

Whether Gutenberg printed more extensive works or not, it is certain that he still held a good social position, notwithstanding the lawsuit that would seem to have been so utterly crushing. Either as a reward for the sacrifices he had made in bringing to perfection the art of printing, or for private services, it is certain that Adolph of Nassau, who became Bishop of Mayence in 1462, appointed Gutenberg a gentleman of his court by official diploma. This favour, it is true, may have been earned by our hero in the character of an energetic partisan, in addition to the distinction which was his due as an enterprising printer; for Johann Gutenberg may possibly have rendered active service during the struggle of the petty civil war which preceded the expulsion of the former bishop, Diether of Isemburg. All honour to Adolph of Nassau if he rewarded the man of genius and indomitable artisan rather than the supporter of a quasi-usurpation.

From the diploma, dated 1465, which confers this honorary title upon Gutenberg, and which has been published by Johannis* and also by Wolf, it appears not to have been entirely an empty honour that was thus bestowed, for we find included, the annual grant of twenty *matters* of corn and two barrels of wine for the use of his house, and also of an official court suit, which, from what we know of the costume of the time, must have been of somewhat gorgeous character. It is pleasant and satisfactory to find that Gutenberg thus found at last both honour and repose, and a moderate degree of material prosperity; for though he did not, in all probability, as a gentleman of the court, do any further work, even as a director, in the printing-office at the Gutenberg residence, still it appears that the establishment belonged to him to the end of his life, which was peacefully terminated at a good old age a few years afterwards; but not till a year after his oppressor, Jean Fust, had died of a pestilence in Paris, while there on the business of selling those Bibles which, with the means of reproducing them, he had wrung from the possession of Gutenberg with such grasping determination.

The proof that Gutenberg died possessed of a printing-office—which must have been an unspeakable gratification to the veteran printer, who had been one of the first laborious pioneers of the "art by which all other arts are preserved"—is very gratifying; and this possession is proved beyond doubt or cavil by the following document, which settled the claim to the types, tools, and presses in question after the death of their inventor. It is as follows:—

"I, Conrad Homery, doctor, make known by this letter that his Highness, my gracious and well-beloved Prince Adolph, Archbishop of Mayence, has graciously caused to be delivered to me the 'forms,' characters, tools, and other objects relating to printing, which Johann Gutenberg left at his death, and which belonged to me and belong to me still; but for the honour and for the pleasure of his Highness I have bound myself, and am so bound by this letter, never to use them in any other place than Mayence; and, moreover, only to sell them, in preference, to a citizen of this place, who shall offer an equal price with any other. In faith of

* Rer. Mogunt. Script., tom. iii. p. 424.

which declaration I have appended my seal to this present. Given in the year 1468, the Friday after the festival of St. Matthew (26th February)."

The Doctor Homery appears, by the terms of this deed, to have been either a relation of Gutenberg's who inherited the goods of his deceased kinsman, or a person with whom they had been deposited by Gutenberg as security for an advance of money, and to whom they were only finally awarded under certain stipulations, which show in what honour the relics of Gutenberg's art were already held, and also the jealous affection with which the Bishop Adolph sought to secure the entire glory of Gutenberg's career to the city of Mayence. We hear of no such honours bestowed on the banker Fust, though prospering far more greatly by the practice of the printing art; and it is evident that Gutenberg, if he did not reap the direct profits of his gigantic undertaking to print an entire Bible, in the very infancy of an art, which, in fact, he brought to perfection at its birth, at all events reaped a glory, which must have brightened his latter years with a gleam of proud satisfaction.

The remains of Johann Gutenberg were interred in the convent of the Franciscans, near his first residence, the house zum Jungen, where a suitable epitaph was placed. The original no longer exists, but its purport has been preserved by Wimpheling, as follows :—

D. O. M. S.
IOANNI GENSZFLEISCH
ARTIS IMPRESSORIE REPERTORI
DE OMNI NATIONE ET LINGUA OPTIME MERITO
IN NOMINIS SUI MEMORIAM IMMORTALEM
ADAM GELTHUS POSUIT.
OSSA EJUS IN ECCLESIA D. FRANCISCI MOGUNTINA FELICITER CUBANT.

Adam Gelthus, a relative of Gutenberg's, who caused this epitaph to be inscribed, gave to his kinsman the old family name of Gensfleisch, and one Wittick, who appears to have seen it in the beginning of the 16th century, fearing, it would seem, that the name of Gensfleisch might not be readily recognized as belonging to Gutenberg, set up another tablet in the house known by the name of Gutenberg, in which he is supposed to have died, taking care that the name by which he was best known to the public, as the printer of the Bible, should be prominently conspicuous. It is preserved by Serrarius, in his "Moguntiarum Rerum," as shown below :—

JO. GUTENBURGENSI MOGUNTINO,
QUI PRIMUS OMNIUM LITERAS AERE IMPRIMENDAS INVENIT,
HAC ARTE DE ORBE TOTO BENE MERENTI
IVO WITIGISIS HOC SAXUM
PRO MONUMENTO POSUIT M. D. VIII.

Another memento has been mistaken for a tribute to Gutenberg, which, however, belongs to John Gensberg, of Laudenbach, who, while in the service of Sweinheim and Pannartz, the first Roman printers, assumed the credit of having printed their first book, and the tribute in question, referring to this event runs,—

Hans von Laudenbach ist mein nam,
Die ersten bücher truckt ich zu Rom;
Bitt vor mein seel, Gott gibt dir lohn.

An ancient author, cited by Meermann, erroneously gave the first line "Hans von Gutenberg ist mein nom," which led to the mistake, which subsequent researches have explained.

The most eloquent contemporary tribute to Gutenberg is that of Wimpheling, one of the most learned men of his time, who narrowly escaped persecution for the Protestant tendency of

his writings, and who, among other things which proved him to have been a thinker in advance of his time, founded a literary society at Strasburg, which soon became celebrated, and the tendencies of which were afterwards praised even by the critical Erasmus. In the epigrammatic record in question, it will be seen that Wimpheling speaks of Gutenberg by his old family name of Gensfleisch,* but *translates* it into Latin as Ansicarus, which might have puzzled and misled posterity much more fatally than the old patronymic in its native German, which the good Wittick thought not plainly enough referring to the first printer of the Bible. The epigram of Whimpheling runs as follows :—

Fœlix Ansicare, per te Germania fœlix,
Omnibus in terris prœmia laudis habet.
Urbe Moguntina, divino fulte Joannes
Ingenio, primus imprimis aere notas.
Multum relligio, multum tibi Græca Sophia
Et multum debet lingua Latina tibi.

Thus is the glory of Gutenberg more clearly established than that of Koster, and his indomitable perseverance, crowned, as it was, with an eventual and striking success, of a kind so far beyond anything attempted by Koster, perhaps entitles him to a fuller reward. Even if, as I have conjectured, his first efforts were merely an attempt to reproduce the "Speculum" of the Dutch printer, and even if he had been guided in his first attempts by the sight of actual metal types brought to Mayence or Strasburg by the treacherous John, the servant of Koster, who may possibly have been no other than Gutenberg's uncle John, who is plainly stated to have greatly assisted him at Mayence; still, his improvements in the types themselves, and the mode of casting, and his bold application of the system to a work of such magnitude as the Bible, makes the process, as he used it, entirely his own. As Alexander Dumas said of the outline of a plot which he adopted from a poor novel to weave into one of his wonderful romances, "he did not steal it, he conquered it;" and so, if Gutenberg be not the absolute inventor of printing types, he was certainly their first conqueror. He is, therefore, entitled to rank as high, if not higher, than the inventor; and if he could have known that there would come a time when a copy of his Bible, as the first real monument of the art of printing, would command such sums as £800 or £1000, a greater price than could have been obtained for the most elaborately illuminated manuscripts, he would have deemed it an all-sufficient reward, and not have repined at the fact that the old system of writing books by hand was still preferred by the great bulk of his contemporaries, whose conservative spirit still clung to the things that were, rather than aspire towards the things that might be. But, as we have seen, there were not wanting those, even in his own time, who fully appreciated his services, and already declared him a glory to his native city, and to Germany.

* Goose-flesh.

CHAPTER VI.

The Works of Fust and Schoiffher, the Successors of Gutenberg.

JOHANN FUST, who had, as mortgagee, somewhat arbitrarily possessed himself of the whole plant of Gutenberg's printing-office, along with a stock of copies, nearly complete, of the celebrated Bible, was, nevertheless, a man of good general repute. He and his family were among the most respected of the citizens of Mayence, and had been honoured by appointments to some of the chief civil and ecclesiastical offices of the city. His name is irrevocably bound up with the early history of the printing press, and if he was rather too keenly alive to the safety of the good florins which he had embarked in the enterprise of Gutenberg, it must be recollected that without the timely aid which he afforded, the undertaking might not have been brought to bear, and Mayence would never have enjoyed the glory of being the original seat of the first practically perfect printing press; and all the genius and perseverance of Gutenberg might have been doomed to eternal obscurity, while the art of printing would have been eventually developed in some other place, most probably in the Low Countries, where the followers of Koster might perhaps have been the first to bring the art to perfection instead of Gutenberg. But the enterprise, and the gold, and the keen-sightedness of the Moguntian banker came in time to secure to Gutenberg his fame, if not his fortune; and the name John Fust, along with that of his young partner Schoiffher, and that of Gutenberg (a glorious triumvirate of civic worthies), will be for ever associated with the history of the art which they were the first to reduce to that practical form which has led to such marvellous results in the advancement of general civilization.

The family of Fust, in Gutenberg's time, consisted of three brothers, Johann Fust was probably born about the year 1395. His brother James a few years later. The latter was an eminent artist as well as a wealthy citizen. He had held the office of city architect, to which he afterwards added the lucrative business of goldsmith, in the artistic part of which craft he was esteemed very skilful. The third brother, Nicholas Fust, was a judge in one of the courts of law: and Johann, who by his connection with Gutenberg raised his family and its name from obscurity, and conferred upon them a kind of immortality, is said to have owed the success of his suit to the undue influence of his brother the judge; but this assertion is, doubtless, without foundation. Johann Fust appears to have married about 1420, his wife Margaret, whose name, thus coupled with that of Fust, or Faustus, is a rather singular coincidence, and one that may possibly have influenced Goethe in the adoption of the name of Margaret for the heroine of his celebrated drama, though Fust, or Faust, the banker of Mayence, is, as we know, quite a distinct personage from Dr. Faust, the mythical magician. The only child of Johann Fust of Mayence and his wife Margaret was Conrad Fust, who married in 1445, and whose daughter Christian was eventually bestowed in marriage upon Peter Schoiffher, to whose skill the press of Fust and Schoiffher owed its great and almost immediate success.

After the legal judgment had placed the presses and types of Gutenberg, with all the other printing utensils, and the stock of Bibles already printed or partially printed, in the hands of Johann Fust, as the foreclosing mortgagee, he wisely secured the services of Gutenberg's accomplished apprentice, Peter Schoiffher, a young man who had been educated at the University of Paris, and whose scholarship, as well as his artistic and mechanical skill, rendered his assistance in a printing-office highly valuable, and his immediate success was speedily rewarded with a partnership.

A few interesting memorials exist connected with Schoiffher's residence at the University of Paris; especially a book of notes, in which his name occurs, accompanied by a memorandum denoting the pride he felt in having belonged to the then first university in the world. It appears that he was known by the name of his native town, Gernszheim, or that of Mayence, which he afterwards adopted, rather than by his family name, as we find in the inscription in question, in his own handwriting:—"Hic est finis omnium librorum tam veteris quam nove logice, completi per me Petrum de Gernszheim, alias Moguncia, anno M°CCCC°XLIX, in *gloriosissima Universitate* Parisiensi." It would seem that this book was afterwards left with one Gerlach, a compatriot at this university, who appears to have used the remaining leaves. The book itself seems to have been purchased in Paris, after Peter Schoiffher's celebrity, by Johann Rot, in all probability the brother of Berthold Rot, who established the first printing press at Basle. The precise time of the return of Schoiffher from Paris is unknown; but that he had been some time in the printing establishment of Gutenberg at the time of the trial, at which he was summoned as a witness, is certain. The whole of the plant, and the stock of partially complete Bibles, were removed from Gutenberg's residence, after the judgment, and taken to the house of Fust, in the Schuster Gasse (Shoemakers' Street), which was eventually styled "The Printing-Office," as the house of Gutenberg had previously been.

After the removal, certain alterations were made in the form of the copies of the Bible, in order to give them the appearance of being entirely the work of the new printers. Each column of the first sheet was set up afresh, and compressed into forty lines instead of forty-two; the rubrics of this sheet being, in the new issue, PRINTED in *red*, instead of being written by hand. This was the first attempt of Schoiffher to supersede the labours of the caligrapher or illuminator, in the rubrics or capitals. He also printed in red the rubrics of the first sheet of the second volume, the rest, in both volumes, being written by hand; while the whole of the capitals were executed by a simple caligrapher, and in some cases by an illuminator; the first confining his work to what could be done with the pen, the second making use of the hair pencil and other implements. It is nearly certain that Fust went to Paris with a portion of this edition of the Gutenberg Bible, as several copies of it are known to have been there soon after their publication, especially the one alluded to in the previous chapter. The troubles of Mayence, indeed, which rendered a ready sale impossible at that time, possibly first forced this journey on Fust, who doubtless carried with him a certain number of the copies seized after the lawsuit, which had been rapidly completed by hand.

Extraordinary and utterly groundless fables were soon invented regarding these first printed Bibles, which could be sold at sixty crowns, while a MS. copy cost from four to five hundred. It was, in fact, stated by some of the earliest writers on the infancy of the art of printing, that Fust sold his books as manuscripts; and that when it was discovered that they were produced by some unknown art, and not by the hand and pen, people demanded back part of their money, as having had an inferior article palmed upon them; and that the mystification continuing to increase, "Faustus" was about to be tried for witchcraft, had he not contrived to effect a speedy escape by flying to Mayence, and thence to Strasburg. All this is without the slightest foundation. It is well known that the scribes, whose craft was a very lucrative one, had formed themselves into powerful corporations, and though they may at first have discouraged, as much as in them lay, the sale of books produced otherwise than by handwriting, they must soon have perceived that, so far from injuring them, the higher branches of their art, which were displayed in the ornamental and painted capitals, headings of chapters, and the execution of illustrative miniatures and borderings, was increased a hundredfold; inasmuch as fully one hundred books required those additions after printing was established, in place of a single volume before that event; while it was only the most inferior part of their calling, that of mere transcription, that was interfered with; a department which good printing performed much better than the scribe, while it remained greatly inferior in all attempts at ornament,

Dñicis diebꝫ post festū trinitatis · Inuitatorium,

Regē magnū dñm venite adoremus, p̄s Venite ·

Dñicis diebꝫ post festū ephie Inuitatoriū ·

Adoremꝰ dñm qui fecit nos, P̄s venite aū Seruite ·

Beatus vir qui non abijt in consilio impiorū et in via pccōꝝ nō stetit: ⁊ in cathedra pestilēcie nō sedit, Sed ī lege dñi volūtas eiꝰ: et in lege eius meditabit̄ die ac nocte, Et erit tanq̄ lignū qd̄ plātatū iste secus decursus aq̄ꝝ: qd̄ fructū suū dabit in tp̄e suo Et foliū eiꝰ nō defluet: ⁊ oīa q̄cūq̄ faciet ꝓsperabūt̄, Nō sic impij nō sic sed tanq̄ puluis quē ꝓicit ventus a facie terre, Ideo non resurgīt impij in iudicio: neq̄ pccōres in cōsilio iustoꝝ Qm̄ nouit dñs viā iustoꝝ: ⁊ iter impioꝝ peribit, Gl̄ia P

Evovae ·

A PAGE FROM FUST & SCHOIFFHERS 1ST PSALTER PRINTED IN 1457
THE FIRST PRINTED PSALTER, & THE 1ST PRINTED BOOK WITH A PRINTED DATE.

and even in the highest class of plain text also. Therefore, so far from Fust experiencing anything like persecution, it appears far more probable that he would be in the main encouraged, notwithstanding any little jealousies that might very naturally arise on the part of the corporation of transcribers and book-decorators of Paris, who had made their craft a very important one, and manufactured such a number of books as appears almost incredible when the method of their fabrication is considered. Supposing, however, for a moment, that a little mystification took place in regard to the Gutenberg Bible, of the first edition of which Fust took a few copies to Paris, it is not credible that any real deception was intended, especially in the matter of the large edition subsequently issued by Fust and Schoiffher; for, far from wishing to palm off that book as one written by hand, it is somewhat pompously stated, at considerable length, in the imprint, that the book had been produced by an entirely new process of printing, "without the use of the pen"—as we shall see when describing the work in detail.

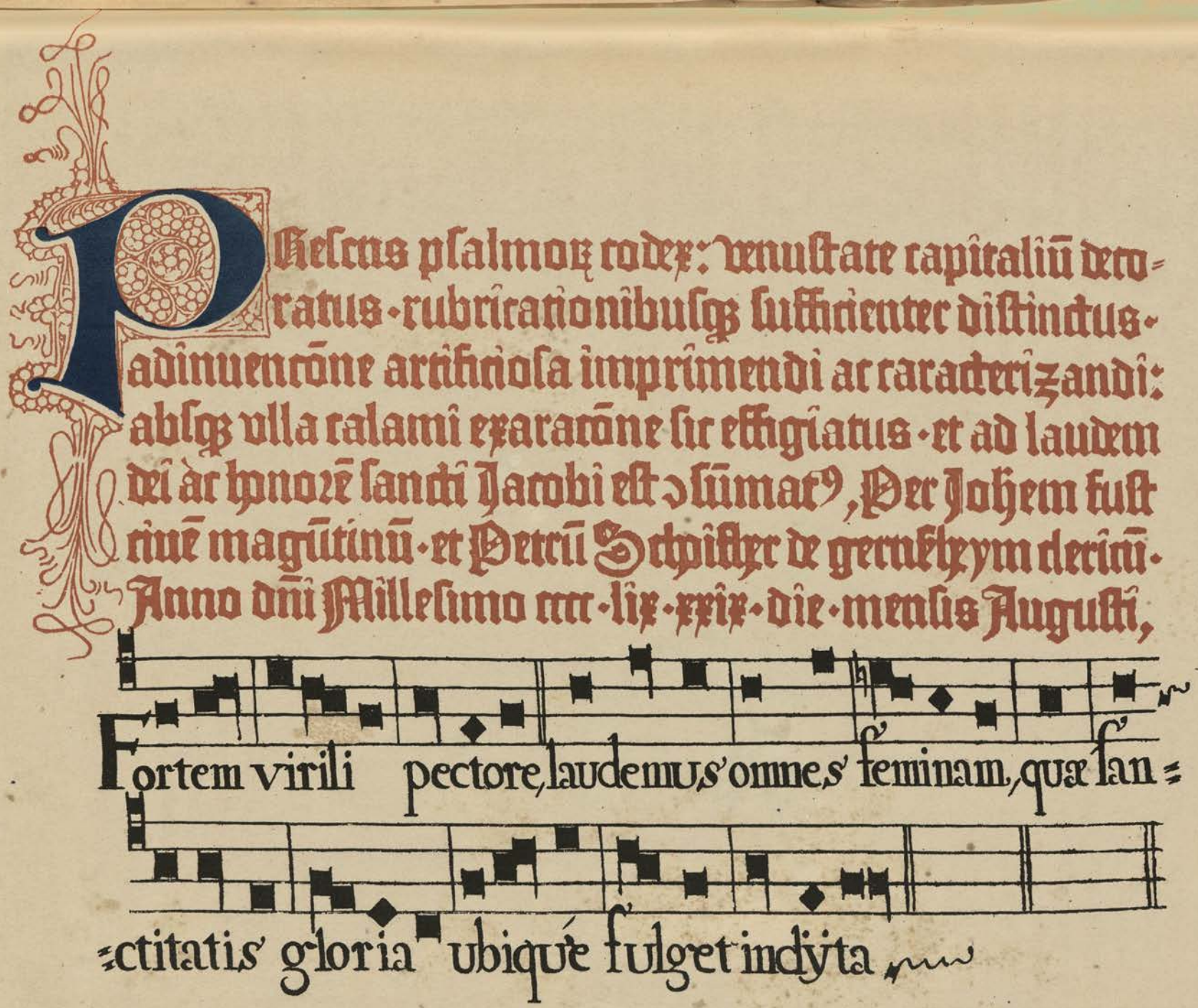
Gutenberg, in addition to the types cast for his Bible, had also caused to be engraved and cast a set of large Gothic characters, intended for a psalter, of the kind used in church-chanting; and these types were made use of by Fust and Schoiffher for the purpose originally intended by Gutenberg. It has been asserted that the Psalter planned by Schoiffher carried the intricacies of printing much farther than had been dreamt of by its first projector; and that not only were the rubrics all printed in a fine solid colour, but a vast number of red letters were introduced by the same second printing in the body of the text, while the grand Initial at the beginning, and a series of lesser initials, all full of that graceful play of design that characterizes the works of the best illuminators of the time, were also produced entirely by the press, without any retouch by hand. These beautiful letters, whether printed from wood engravings or metal castings, were made use of by some process securing great accuracy (the precise nature of which is not even now thoroughly understood), the register of the colours being extremely exact. It is probable that the parts for the different colours were made to fit one within the other, so that, after being charged with colour, and adjusted, they could be printed at a single pressure, all the colours being thus printed at once. This appears the more likely as in the last edition these letters, with all their parts, are printed in one colour only; which would have been no economy if the parts for the different colours had been arranged to print separately. The Psalter appeared as early as 1457, and is in small folio. The most beautifully preserved copy of this interesting monument of the early days of printing is that in the Imperial Library of Vienna. There is also a copy in the British Museum, of the first page of which the annexed plate (No. 14) is a fac-simile. It was bequeathed to our national collection by Mr. Grenville. This copy has, however, some few lines of the text supplied by hand, which imperfection greatly detracts from its value, though it does not in the least interfere with the beauty of other portions of the work. The filling-in of certain lines by hand may have been done, at the time of the original publication, in order to make a partially defective copy perfect enough for sale. If recently done, one may easily conceive the temptation to complete the book in that manner, as the price of an entirely perfect copy of this noble piece of primeval printing is almost fabulous. The copy in the French National Library cost £480, and would now command at least £2,000; prices which, even though not received by himself, would have consoled Gutenberg for all his disappointments; for he would have seen in them a proof of the high estimation in which the early specimens of the art which he laboured so hard to establish at Mayence were held, long centuries after he slept the long sleep in the convent of the Franciscans.

This famous Psalter is terminated by an imprint, colophon, or subscription, conceived in nearly the same terms as the one afterwards used for the Bible of 1462. It reads as follows:—"Presens spalmorum [misprint for psalmorum] codex, venustate capitulium decoratus, rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus, adinventione artificiosa imprimendi ac caracterizandi absque calami ulla

exaratione sic effigiatus, et ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consommatus per Johannem Fust, civem Moguntinum, et Petrum Schoffer de Gernszheim, anno Domini Millesimo cccc lvii in vigilia assumpcionis." Above are two shields, with the arms of Fust and those of Schoiffher, those of Fust being continued long after his death, having become the badge of the office, and continuing in use by Schoiffher's son and also his grandson. This was the first of all those celebrated badges, or printing-marks, of which so fine a series was subsequently created by the successive practitioners of the art in the various countries of Europe. It will have been seen by the wording of the Latin subscription just quoted, that, so far from wishing to pass off their work as manuscript, these printers were justly proud of the success of the new method, which enabled them, as their subscription states, to write, without the help of the pen, and solely by the aid of this new art, their noble "Book of Psalms, decorated with beautiful capitals, and sufficiently distinguished by its printed rubrics." It should be noted here that the credit so long accorded to Schoiffher as the inventor and producer of the initials printed in colours, which render this volume so remarkable, may after all belong, like the glory of printing the first Bible, to Gutenberg alone; for, as previously stated, it is known that he had been preparing a large Gothic type for the purpose of producing a great church-service Psalter; and it appears probable, after the discovery of M. Fischer before alluded to, that he prepared at the same time a series of coloured initials, which he used by way of essay in the "Donatus" described by that archæologist. There would not have been time, in fact, for the carrying out of such a difficult experiment so early in the career of Fust and Schoiffher, unless they had found all the materials ready to hand, among those which had been claimed and seized by Fust as the stock and materials created by Gutenberg, and adjudged to him at the close of the lawsuit. But even allowing this to be the case, the perfect manner in which the printing itself is executed, in this very first serious attempt (it is the first printed book with a date) to rivalize with the books richly adorned by the hand of the illuminator, is sufficient to secure to Schoiffher's name a place among the greatest masters of his art. On Plate 16 will be found two specimens from the subsequent larger-sized edition of the Psalter, in which the coloured initials, which I attribute to Gutenberg rather than Schoiffher, again appear, as in the first edition. Four subsequent editions of this noble book were printed with the same types—those of 1459, 1490, 1502, and 1566; the last having been printed after the death of Schoiffher by his son Johann. This decisive success and rapid sale of this early masterpiece of the art drove Schoiffher to work immediately upon the new and larger edition just alluded to, which was completed in 1459, and in the subscription at the end of which the mistake of "spalmorum" for "psalmorum" is corrected. Specimens from the large folio Psalter will be found in Plate 16.

Only a few months after the appearance of the second edition of the Psalter, in October, 1459, we find Schoiffher engaged on an entirely new work; and this time not with types prepared by Gutenberg, as heretofore, but with letters of a distinct character, having much less of the Gothic angularity about them, being more like the ordinary writing of the time, than that of the stiff upright style used by scribes for ecclesiastical works.* The volume for which this new character was prepared is known as the "Rationale Durandi," a folio of 160 leaves, the text of which is in two columns of sixty-three lines each. (See Plate 18.) This work has the same subscription as the Psalter, but with the date altered to 6th October, 1459. The capitals of some copies of this work are the same as those of the Psalter, and bear out the boast of the subscription; but other copies were printed, leaving spaces for the capitals to be executed by hand, to which a subscription boasting of printed capitals is also appended, though the boast is falsified by the execution of the capitals by the illuminator, for which much larger spaces are left than are occupied by the printed capitals; the setting-up having been slightly altered for this purpose.

* These new characters, however, resemble those of the "Tractatus de Celebratione Missarum," attributed by some to Gutenberg.


Prescns psalmorꝫ codex: venustate capitaliū deco-
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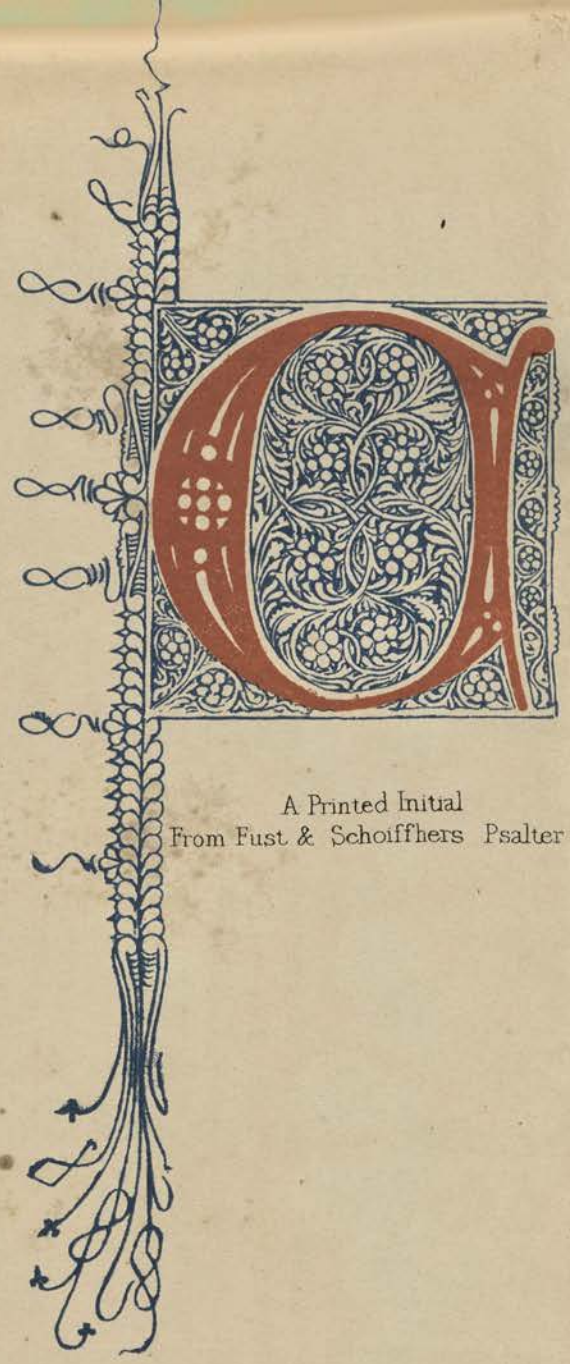
adinuencōne artificiosa imprimendi ac caracterizandi:
absqꝫ vlla calami exaracōne sic effigiatus · et ad laudem
dei ac honorē sancti Jacobi est ꝯsūmatꝰ, Per Johem fust
ciuē magūtinū · et Petrū Schoifher de gernsheym clericū ·
Anno dñi Millesimo cccc · lix · xxix · die · mensis Augusti,
Fortem virili pectore, laudemus omnes feminam, quæ san-
-ctitatis gloria ubique fulget indyta

PART OF A PAGE FROM FUST & SCHOIFFHERS SECOND PSALTER.



A Printed Initial
From Fust & Schoiffhers Psalter

filiū suū saluatorez mūdi. Quisquis confessus fuerit qm̄ ihesus est filius dei: deus in eo manet et ip̄e in deo. Et nos cognouimus: et credidimus caritati quā habet deus in nob̄. Deus caritas est: et qui manet in caritate in deo manet: et deus in eo. In hoc pfecta ē caritas nobiscū. ut fiduciā habeamus in die iudicij: quia sicut ille est: et nos sumus in hoc mūdo. Timor nō est in caritate: sed pfecta caritas foras mittit timorē: qm̄ timor penam habet. Qui aūt timet: nō est pfectus in caritate. Nos ergo diligamus deum: qm̄ deus prior dilexit nos. Si quis dixerit quoniaz diligo deū et fratrē suū oderit: mendax est. Qui enim non diligit fratrē suū quē videt: deum quem non videt quomodo potest diligere? Et hoc mandatum habemus a deo: ut qui diligit deum: diligat et fratrem suum.

Omnis qui credit qm̄ ihesus ē cristus: ex deo natus ē. Et omnis qui diligit eū qui genuit: diligit et eū qui natus est ex eo. In hoc cognoscimus quoniā diligimus natos dei: cū deū diligamus. et mandata eius faciamus. Hec est enim caritas dei ut mandata eius custodiamus: et mandata eius grauia nō sūt. Quoniā omne qd̄ natū est ex deo vincit mūdū: et hec ē victoria que vincit mūdū: fides nr̄a. Quis ē aūt qui vincit mūdū: nisi qui credit qm̄ ihesus ē filius dei? Hic ē qui venit per aquā et sanguinē ihesus cristus. Non in aqua solū: sz in aqua et sanguine. Et spūs est qui testificatur: qm̄ cristus ē veritas. Quoniā tres sūt qui testimoniū dant in celo. pater. verbū. et spiritus sanctus: et hij tres vnū sūt. Et tres sūt qui testimoniū dāt in terra. spūs. aqua. et sanguis: et tres vnū sūt. Si testimoniū hominū accipimus: testimoniū dei maius est. Quoniā hoc ē testimoniū dei qd̄ maius est: qm̄ testificatus ē de filio suo. Qui credit in filiū dei: habet testimoniū dei in se. Qui non credit filio mendacē facit eū: quia non credit in testimoniū qd̄ testificatus est deus de filio suo. Et hoc est testimoniū: qm̄ vitā eternā dedit nobis deus: et hec vita in filio eius est. Qui habet filiū habet vitā: qui nō habet filiū dei: vitā nō habet. Hec scribo vobis: ut sciatis qm̄ vitam habetis eternā: qui creditis in noīe filij dei. Et hec ē fiducia quā habemus ad deū: qz quecūqz petierimus secundū volūtatē eius audit nos. Et scimus quia audit nos: quicquid petierimus. Scimus: qm̄ habemus peticōnes quas postulamus ab eo. Qui scit fratrē suū peccare peccatū non ad mortē: petat ⁊ dabit ei vita peccanti nō ad mortē. Et peccatū ad mortē: nō pro illo dico ut roget quis. Omnis iniquitas peccatū ē: et ē peccatū ad mortē. Scim⁹ qz omis qui natus ē ex deo nō peccat: sz gn̄acō dei conseruat eū: et malign⁹ nō tanget eū. Scimus qm̄ ex deo sumus: et mūdus totus in maligno positus ē. Et scim⁹ qm̄ filius dei venit ⁊ dedit nobis sensū: ut cognoscamus verū deū: et sim⁹ in vero filio eius. Hic ē verus deus: et vita eterna. Filioli: custodite vos a simlacris.

Explicit epl̄a prima beati iohānis Incip. argumentum in epistolam secūdaz.

Usqz adeo ad sanctam feminam scribit ut eandē dn̄am non dubitet lr̄is appellare: eiusdēqz filijs testimoniū qz ambulēt in veritate phibeat.

Explic argumentum Incip. epistola beati Iohannis apli secūda.

Senior: electe dn̄e ⁊ natis eius quos ego diligo in veritate: et non ego solus sed ⁊ omes qui cognouerūt veritatem: ꝓpter veritatē que pmanet in vobis: et vobiscū erit in eternū. Sit vobiscū gratia misericordia pax a deo patre: et axp̄o ihesu filio patris in veritate et caritate. Gauisus sū valde qm̄ inueni de filijs tuis ambulātes in veritate: sicut mādatū accepimus a patre. Et nūc rogo te domina nō tanq̄ mandatū nouū scribēs tibi: sed qd̄ habuimus ab inicio: ut diligamus alterutrū. Et hec est caritas: ut ambulemus scd̄m mādata eius. Hoc enim ē mandatū: ut quēadmodū audistis ab inicio in eo ambuletis: quoniā multi seductores exierūt in mundū qui nō ꝯfitent ihesum cristū venisse in carnē. Hic est seductor ⁊ anticristus. Videte vosmetip̄os ne pdatis q̄ operati estis: sed ut mercedē plenā accipiatis. Omis qui

A PAGE FROM FUST & SCHOIFFHERS BIBLE, PRINTED AT MAYENCE IN 1462, BEING THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLE WITH A DATE.

Some idea of the current value of these early printed books may be conceived from the fact that a copy of the "Rationale" was sold in Venice, in 1460, for eighteen ducats, which amount to the approximate value of £10 modern English money. It has been estimated by M. Bernard, himself a printer, that Schoiffher must have cast at least 300,000 letters of his new type for this work.

The next book executed by the new partners was the "Constitutiones Clementis Papæ V.," &c., printed with that part of the new type of large size used in the subscription of the last-named work, while the smaller type of the text was used for the surrounding commentary—a difficult piece of "setting-up," most successfully executed in a truly workmanlike manner. Three successive editions of this work appeared; in Plate 18 is a specimen from the last edition, printed as late as 1471. The original from which it is taken is in the British Museum. This elaborate work is a wonderful monument (considering the infancy of the art) of skilful setting-up; the manner in which the original text is surrounded by a mass of commentary, of ten times its own bulk, being very wonderfully and symmetrically managed. A number of small and unimportant works were simultaneously issued about this time, especially manifestoes, both for and against the Bishop Diether of Isemburg, the latest being in favour of Diether, and against Adolph of Nassau, who may, on taking the city in October, 1462, have taken a gentle revenge on the Fust and Schoiffher press by the honours he bestowed upon Gutenberg, who, as we have seen, after the seizure of his entire plant by Fust, was yet enabled to organize another and independent establishment.

A large work was in progress at the same period, namely, another Bible, printed with the types used for the "Constitutiones." This Bible consists of 1,001 pages, each having two columns of forty-eight lines. This is the first Bible that bears a date (1462), and is known as the Mayence Bible, to distinguish it from the Gutenberg Bible, or that with the Gutenberg types altered in the first pages by Fust and Schoiffher. It has nearly the same imprint as the Psalter, printed in red. At the time of the completion of the Bible, in October, 1462, nothing could be done with the book in foreign markets, as Mayence was then closely besieged by Adolph of Nassau; but no sooner was the siege terminated, than Fust repaired to Paris with a large number of his new Bibles, that city being then, undoubtedly, the first book-market in the world; in which evidently he achieved a great commercial success with his new edition, notwithstanding any cabal that may have been got up by the scribes. It has been reported, as previously stated, by authors writing shortly after the time of this visit to Paris, that he was prosecuted for witchcraft, and had to fly the city to escape imprisonment; all which is doubtless without foundation, for the book has a similar imprint to that of the Psalter, in which a positive boast is made that it was executed by a new art, without the aid of the pen, that art being termed "printing." This imprint runs as follows:—"Presens hoc opusculum artificiosa adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi *absque calami* exaratione, in civitate Moguntia, sic effigiatum, et ad eusebiam Dei industrie per Johannem Fust civem et Petrum Schoiffher* de Gernszheym clericum diœcesis ejusdem, est consummatum, &c. &c." It is true that the phrase "artificiosa adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi absque calami exaratione" is not found in all the copies; and it is possible that it may have been added by Fust, on hearing it reported again that he wished to pass the books off as manuscripts; when, in order to bid open defiance to such reports, he caused the same passage to be introduced which his scholarly partner Schoiffher had previously inserted in the subscription to the celebrated Psalter.

But, independently of all this, there is sufficient evidence to show that such an imposition must have been, from the first, impossible. Latin Bibles were not purchased by the ignorant, but only by learned churchmen and the highly-educated classes; and from the fact of Jenson having been

* As the printer has here introduced his name in the German form of orthography, the spelling may be taken as the one he deliberately considered most correct; though as a young student at the University of Paris, he signed it Schoiffer, or Schœffer. The *h* is omitted in some colophons subsequent to the Bible of 1462. Schoiffher, which means Shepherd, is sometimes Latinized as Opolio.

dispatched to Mayence to learn the new art, we have proof that those classes, in the French capital, were well acquainted with the existence of the new art, and would know that a person arriving from Mayence, with a large stock of Bibles offered at one-tenth of the price of manuscript ones, must have produced them by the new process of printing.

So far from Fust having any serious difficulties to contend with of the kind alluded to, it is on record that he was well received by eminent persons; and a book printed by him is still in existence, with an inscription denoting that it was presented by Fust to the Seigneur Louis de Lavernade, a gentleman of distinction of the province of Fores, at that time residing in Paris.

Van Praet mentions a copy of the "Bible of Mayence" in which a Latin entry, in a contemporary hand, and dated 5th April, 1470,* shows that a copy was sold to Guillaume de Tourneville, Canon of Angers, for 40 crowns, which appears to have been about the current price, varying according to the illuminations by hand and the binding, &c. It would have gladdened the heart of the keen banker, Fust, if he could have known of the prices which his Bible would command in future times. As an example of such prices, I may mention that the Fust and Schoiffher Bible, in the Gaignat Collection, sold for 3,200 livres to the Duke de la Vallière; and at the sale of the De la Vallière Collection, for 4,086 livres. Plate 17 consists of an entire page from the "Mayence Bible," with fac-similes of the illuminations by hand with which it is enriched. The fine copy on vellum from which this page is taken was formerly in the library of George III., and is now in the British Museum. The illuminations are by an Italian hand, the volume having been most probably finished at Venice, possibly for the reigning Doge. Mittorelli describes a fine copy of the Fust and Schoiffher Bible as being in the monastery of St. Michael, at Venice, in 1779, which was beautifully illuminated, and which may have found its way to the library of George III., and be, in fact, the very book from which the present specimen is taken. The copy on paper in the British Museum, bequeathed by Mr. Cracherode, is of but moderate value in comparison with the one above described.

Between 1462 and 1465, Fust and Schoiffher appear only to have issued works of small importance as to bulk, such as the Papal Bull fulminated against the Turks in 1463. But no sooner had the town recovered from the effects of the contentions between the rival bishops, than their press was again busy upon important work. Two books, both well-known and highly-prized specimens of early printing, appeared in rapid succession,—the "Offices of Cicero" and the "Decretals of Boniface VIII." The "Offices of Cicero" (of this edition) forms a handsome quarto volume of twenty-eight leaves, and serves to mark a decisive step in the mechanical development of the technical niceties of the art; as it is the first example of *leading;* that is, separating the lines of characters by a thin strip of lead, which establishes a clear and equal space between each line of characters. This was the fourth great step made beyond the point attained by Gutenberg, that Schoiffher had now achieved: first, the printing of the rubrics in coloured ink, instead of writing them by hand, as in the remodelled edition of Gutenberg's Bible; secondly, the successful printing of decorative capitals in several colours, as in the famous Psalter; thirdly, the printing of marginal notes, as in the "Constitutiones Clementis"; and fourthly, the introduction of leading between the lines of characters, to give greater clearness to them, and to enable the eye to follow each line with greater facility. The "Offices of Cicero" are also remarkable, as exhibiting the first example of Greek characters in print. It is true that they are not neatly-cast types, being only roughly engraved wooden letters;† still they are the first, and, with the other advances just signalized, mark out Schoiffher as one of the true founders of the art of printing, and the first to invent and develop several of its most important features.

* 1471, new style.

† Maittaire has pointed out several errors in these Greek characters; and it will be seen by reference to the illustrative plate that those of the passage there given are almost undecipherable.

¶ Ad id. nō sufficit ꝯ citari nisi exp̄mat id qđ ad sn̄iam audiē-
dam. ff. q̄ sen. sine ap. rescin. l. i. ꝯ. Itē cū ex edcō. fa. đ testi. cū oli.
in fi. de do. et ꝯtu. eū qui. li. vi. nā si ꝫ in sūmarijs fortius in alijs
ut sepius dixi. :ar. ꝙ in alijs causꝫ in q̄bꝫ ꝯuat̄ iudiciorꝫ figu-
¶ Nō pēptorie- ra sit nccē pēptoriū exp̄mi. ubi nō fit trina cita
cio ad sn̄iaz audiēdā. qđ vidr̄ tenere Jo. xxiiij. q. iij. de illicita. s.
de of. del. ꝯ suluit. Jnno. đ accu. ad peticōz. guil. in spe. de cita. ꝯ.
viso de tpe. v. al's aūt.
et in. v. quid si lata.
¶ In scp̄tis. ꝓferat qđ
est. j. et huius ꝯtrariuz
tenebat egi. in dec. no-
uit. etiā solū ex vi illius
vbi de plano. et ꝑ hoc
no. duo in quibꝫ ꝯueni-
unt iste et alie cause. s.
ꝙ in hijs nccē sit diffi-
nitiam in scp̄to ꝓferri.
Itē ꝙ iudex sic in alijs
ita in hijs hz illam ꝑse-
ipsū ꝓferre. et de utro-
qz satis no. de sen. et re
iudi. c. fi. li. vi. ubi vide-
as. noluit ꝯ scripturaz
q̄ in sentētijs req̄ritur
ꝑ ꝓlacōnem iudicis in
hijs causꝫ p̄termitti. ne
ꝑ id ꝯtingēt occultari
veritatē ꝓpalatā. et in
iudicio diffinitā. et ꝑ ꝯn̄s victorē ridiculose ⁊ frustra in tali ꝓ-
cessus iudicio laborasse. :est ius in hijs causꝫ ad alias que req̄
¶ Stans. in hoc diuersū- runt figurā iudiciorꝫ que ferri debēt
a iudice sedente. de quo vide no. in p̄đ. dec. fi. de re iudi. li. vi. in
glo. penl. Et vidr̄ q̄busdā hoc induci etiā ꝑ solum illud vbū de
plano ut dixi in pn̄. huius ꝑtis. et ꝫ tenebat egi. in dec. nouit.
¶ Coclusione. ista lr̄a vidr̄ velle ꝙ in alijs causis requirentibꝫ
figurā iudiciorꝫ necessaria sit ꝯclusio. Et de ꝯclone habetur. s.
de ꝓcu. auditis. de causa pos. pastoralis. et in cōstitutione cle-

¶ Sentētiam vero diffini-
tiuā citatis ad id licet non
ꝑemptorie ꝑtibꝫ in scriptis
et ꝓ ut magis sibi placue-
rit. et stās uel sedēs ꝓferat
etiam si ei videbitur ꝯclusi-
one nō fcā ꝓ ut ex peticōe
et ꝓbatis. et alias actitatis
in causa fuerit faciendum.
¶ Que om̄ia etiam in illis
casibꝫ in quibꝫ ꝑ aliā ꝯstōz

3 A PORTION OF A PAGE THE "CLEMENT V. CONSTITUTIONES" PRINTED AT MAYENCE. 1471.

Marci Tulij Ciceronis Arpmatis. ꝯsulisqz
romani. ac oratorū maximi. Ad M Tuliū
Ciceronem filiū suū. Officiorꝫ liber incipit. 1
Prefacio generalis in libros omnes.

Quanq̄z te marce fili. annum
iam audiētem cratippū. idqz
athenis. abundare oportet. p̄-
ceptis. institutisqz phie. ꝓpt̄
summā ⁊ doctoris aūctatē. et
vtbis. quorꝫ alterū te sciētia
augere potest. altera exēplis.
tamen ut ipe. ad meā vtilitatē semꝑ cū grecis latina
ꝯiūxi. neqz id in phia solū. ꝫ etiaz in dicēdi exercita-
tione feci. id tibi censeo faciendū. ut par sis in vtri-
usqz orōnis facultate. Quā quidē ad rē. nos ut vi-
demur. magnū adiumentū attulimus hominibꝫ nr̄is.
vt non modo grecarꝫ lr̄arꝫ rudes. ꝫ etiam docti. ali-

2

sede ⁊ statu dimouet. ꝓfecto nil est aliud bene et
beate viuere. nisi honeste et recte viuere.

ΟΤΙΝΟΝΟΝ ΤΟΚΑΑ ΟΝΑΤΑΘΟΝ.

In quo virtus sit. ci nichil deesse ad beate viuendum.
Nec vero ego M regulū erumnosū. nec infelicem.
nec miserū vnq̄z putaui. Nō enī magnitudo animi
eius cruciabatur a poenis. non grauitas. non fides.
non ꝯstantia. nō vlla virtus. nō deniqz animus ipe.
qui tot virtutū p̄sidio. tantoqz comitatu septus. cū
corpus eius capetur. capi certe ipe nō potuit. G vero
mariū vidimus. qui michi scđis rebꝫ vnus ex for-
tunatis hominibꝫ. in aduersis vnus ex sūmis viris
videbat̄. quo beatius esse mortali nichil potest. Ne-
scis insane. nescis quātas vires virtus hēat. nomē

1. A PART OF THE "CICERO" PRINTED BY FUST & SCHOIFFER AT MAYENCE. 1466.
2. A PART OF ANOTHER PAGE OF THE SAME WORK SHEWING A SPECIMEN OF THE FIRST GREEK CHARACTERS EVER USED IN THE PRINTING PRESS.

The Subscription of this book expresses the confidence and pride that the printers were beginning to feel in the art:—

"Presens Marci Tulii clarissimum opus Johannis Fust, moguntinus civis, non atramento, plumali cana, neque aerea, sed arte quadam perpulcra, Petri manu pueri mei feliciter effeci. Finitum anno MCCCCLXV."

Specimens from this book will be found in Plate 18, from a copy in the British Museum, which possesses another copy of this book, which is invested with a special interest on account of being decorated with borders, evidently by the same hand as the noble copy of the Gutenberg Bible, of which a full-page fac-simile is shown at Plate 14. A fac-simile of a page from this illuminated copy of the "Cicero" will be found in Plate 19, in which the characteristic manner of the German illuminations in question will be at once recognized.

The "Decretals of Boniface VIII.," forming a folio volume of 280 pages, must also be alluded to in this place as one of the works produced by the Fust and Schoiffher press. The subscription of this book, partly adopted from that of the "Catholicon" (of which see fac-simile in Plate 22), printed shortly before by Pfister, of Bamberg, is much fuller and more enthusiastic than that of the "Offices." The "Grammatica Vetus Rithmica," a sort of grammar in verse, and "S. Augustini Liber de Arte Predicandi," also appeared at this time. Fust, on the completion of the works just described, made another journey to Paris, in 1466, to push them in the French market. And it was at this time that he presented a copy of the "Offices" to Louis de Lavernade, first President of the Parliament of Languedoc. It was during this last residence in Paris that Fust was taken ill, and died there, as some have said, of a pestilence that prevailed at that time, and as others assert of an ordinary illness, to which, being an old man of seventy-one years of age, he rapidly succumbed. As showing how very far he was from being persecuted as a magician, it may be mentioned that he was interred with due honour in the Church of St. Victor, where an anniversary mass was afterwards appointed to be said for the repose of his soul, on the presentation by Peter Schoiffher and Conrad Fust of a copy of the "Epistles of Jerome," printed on parchment, and considered so important a work that the Abbé of St. Victor deemed it right to pay back the sum of twelve gold crowns, the work exceeding by that sum the value of the fees due for the annual masses. This fact is contained in an entry in the "Necrology of St. Victor," which is preserved at Paris, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MSS. fonds St. Victor). The copy of the "Epistles of St. Jerome" here alluded to is now in the library of the Arsenal.

Schoiffher also founded another anniversary mass in honour of Fust and his wife Margaret, in the Church of the Dominicans of Mayence, which, as appears from a record mentioned by Johannis, Schoiffher paid for also with a copy of the "Epistles of St. Jerome," to which he was compelled, however, to add another book, as shown by the entry quoted by Johannis:—"Anniversarium Johannis Fusti et Margaretæ uxoris, et suorum, pro quo conventus recepit Epistolare Jeronimi et Clementinas a venerabili Petro Gernsheim, impressore, suo genero, anno MCCCCLXXII." The addition of the extra book, while in Paris he had received money back from the first-named book alone, shows that the rapidly increasing facilities of printing, and the rivalry of other printers since established in Mayence, were very rapidly reducing the price of books. This anniversary, as established by Schoiffher, appears by the date to have been founded on the occasion of the death of Margaret, the wife of Fust, who survived her husband seven years. Fust died full of years and honours, having filled several important and honourable offices in his native city, in some of which he was succeeded by his son Conrad. And though he may have driven a hard bargain with Gutenberg, and have insisted upon the severe fulfilment of the conditions to the very letter, yet as a banker it must in fairness be allowed that it was his duty to recover his lent money; especially as he had been, perhaps, as a banker, rather rash in lending it upon the security of an unrealized invention. To his honour be it said, he had sufficient of enterprise to do so, and

perseverance enough to carry out the invention when the doing so appeared the only means of recovering the capital he had sunk. These last qualities, and the nature of the invention itself, which his enterprise and capital served to foster, have made Johann Fust one of the chief worthies in the history of modern civilization; in the ranks of whose pioneers his figure stands out, as that of a sturdy citizen of mediæval Mayence, who, together with Gutenberg and Schoiffher, mainly aided in imparting a glory to his native city which the greatest capitals of Europe may well envy. It was not in Paris, nor in London, nor in Vienna, nor in Naples, nor in Madrid, that the great art of printing was first brought to practical perfection, but in Mayence, where the very street, and the house in which Gutenberg lived, on the Place of the Franciscans, and the house of Fust in the Shuster Gasse, are shrines to which the lovers of literature have flocked ever since, as to the very source of the great new power that has fertilized the fields of modern knowledge. Every scrap of information—the most minute that could be raked up by persevering research connected with the names of Gutenberg, and Fust, and Schoiffher—has been published over and over again by enthusiastic seekers for all that could be learnt respecting the birth of the printing-press, and the lives and families of those who were its direct parents.

Schoiffher, after the death of Fust, continued the business of the printing-office in partnership with Conrad Fust, his father-in-law, who, however, took no part in the immediate direction of the works. The first book of importance which he issued was the "St. Thomas Aquinas," a folio volume of 516 pages, a part of the edition of which he himself took to Paris to dispose of; and a receipt in his handwriting is still in existence* which shows that the current price of the work was about fifteen gold crowns, that being the sum he received from the College of Autun. He styles himself, in the receipt, a printer of books—impressor librorum,—a title of which the early printers appear to have been not a little proud. His name appears, for the first time, alone in the imprint, without that of Fust, as Petrus Schoiffher de Gernsheim. The date is March 6th, 1467.

In the following year he published "The Institutes of Justinian," a folio volume of 206 pages, at the end of which, by way of addition to the imprint, are some Latin verses in praise of the art of printing and its founders in Mayence. These verses are of very indifferent composition, and were evidently not the production of Schoiffher, who was, as we have seen, a tolerable scholar; nor can they be assigned to Master Francis, who is alluded to in the poem, and who was celebrated at that time as an expert corrector of the press in Schoiffher's service. The following is a translation of the poem, which though very poor is yet an interesting record of the esteem in which the art of printing and its first practitioners were held, almost immediately after its invention, and before, as we might imagine, its real power could have been thoroughly felt or understood:—

"Moses, by the plan of the Tabernacle, Solomon by that of the Temple, only produced works of ingenuity; the Church shines with a brighter light. Greater than Solomon, she has renewed and renews Beselehel and Hiram. He who is pleased to create high talents has given us two great masters of the art of engraving, both bearing the name of John,† both being natives of the city of Mayence, and both having become illustrious as the first printers of books. Peter‡ advanced with them towards the desired goal, and, starting the last, arrived first, having been rendered the most skilful in the art of engraving by Him who alone bestows light and genius. Every nation can now procure its own kind of letters, for he (Peter) excels in the engraving of types of all kinds. It is difficult to believe the prices which he pays to learned men to correct his editions. He has in his service Master Francis, the grammarian, whose Methodic Science is celebrated all over the world. I also am attached to him, not so much for the sake of vile gain, as for the love of the general good, and the glory of my country. Oh, if they could succeed in purging the texts

* Among the "Archives Générales de la République."

† Gutenberg is doubtless one of those of the name of John here alluded to, and John Fust the other.

‡ Peter Schoiffher.

·Marci Tulii Ciceronis Arpmatis·oſuliſq; romani·ac oratorū maxīmi· Ad M Tullū Ciceronem filū ſuu·Officiorū liber incipit. Prefatio generalis in libros omnes.

Quanq; te marce fili·annum iam audientem cratippū·idq; athenis·abundare oportet·p̄ceptis·inſtitutiſq; philie·tpe ſumma·tu doctoris auctoritate·et vrbis·quoq; alterū te ſcientia augere poteſt·altera exēpliſ. tamē utipe·ad meā vtilitatē ſemp cū grecis latina dixi·neq; id in philia ſolū·ſ etiā in dicēdi exercitatione feci·id tibi cenſeo faciendū·ut par his in vtriuſq; oīonis facultate· Quā quidē ad rē·nos vt videmur·magnū adiumentū attulimus hominibz nr̄is· ut non modo grecaz lr̄az rudes·ſ etiam docti·aliquantū ſe arbitrētur adeptoſ·et ad diſcendū et ad iudicādū· Quāobrē diſces tu quidē a p̄ncipe huiuſ etatis philoz·et diſces quādiu voles·tādiu autem velle debebis·quoad te quātū philoſophia nō pemittet. Sed tamē nr̄a legēs·nō multū a peripatheticis diſſidentia·qm vtriq; ſocratici·t platonici volumus eſſe. De rebus ipis vtere tuo iudicio·Nichil enim impedio·Oīonem autē latinā·efficies profecto legendis nr̄is plenoz·Nec vero arroganter hoc dictū exiſtimari velim·Nā philoſophandi docendēs ſcientiā multis qđ eſt oratoris propriū·apte·diſtincte·ornate dicere·qm

Incipit Criſoſtomus ſup p̄ſ ad ſeuerū nicū dō·Et primo liber primus.

Pictores imitantur arte natura·t colores coloribz pmiſcētes viſibiles corpm depingūt ymagines et faciunt homines·t animalia·t arbores·t reges·t ruſticos·t barbaros·t pugnas et viras·et currentes ſanguinū et lāceas·t ſcuta et ſedēs regales·et imperatoriē ſedētē·t barbaz ſibi ditū et gladiū acutū et fluuios decurrētes et cāpos variis floribz adornatos·et oīa que videntur p artē imitātes mirabilē hyſtoriā videntibz preſtāt. Sicq; propheteve lud quid pictores fūt virtutis ac malicie·Deſcribūt enī et illi peccatorem·iuſtū·pententē·ſtātē·cadētē·ſurgentē·tutū antē·et ſicut faciunt pictores occidētes·et occiſos·ſic propheteſ faciunt·aliqn quid inſurgētia peccata·aliqn etiā alliſa demonibz et demones impugnātes·t homines flētes·t

No 1. A PAGE FROM THE "CICERO" PRINTED BY FUST AND SCHOIFFHER AT MAYENCE IN 1466. ILLUMINATED BY THE SAME HAND AS THE GUTENBERG BIBLE.

No 2. PORTION OF A PAGE FROM THE "CHRYSOSTOM" PRINTED BY ULRICH ZELL AT COLOGNE, 1466

of all their faults!—those who arrange the characters, as well as of those who read the proofs, the friends of literature would then infallibly award to them a crown of glory, who thus come in aid by their books to thousands of seats of learning."

In the somewhat unintelligible piece of versification of which the foregoing is a prose translation, we have yet the feeling of the time well and strongly reflected. The Temple of the Old Testament is described as crumbling before the erection of the Christian Church, which arose on the principles of the New. This is an idea often pictorially expressed in the illuminations of the period, especially in kalendars, in which the prophets of the Old Testament are seen handing the bricks of the Temple to the Apostles, who are constructing with them the Church of Christ, until in the last picture the Temple has disappeared and the Christian Church is completed. Beselehel, the nephew of Moses, an architect and metal-worker employed on the ornaments of the Temple, and Hiram, King of Tyre, who furnished materials to David for his palace and to Solomon for his Temple, are said to be called into a new existence (as though by the influence of the Christian Church) in the persons of the two Johns—John Gutenberg and John Fust,—as well as Peter Schoiffher, who is said to have surpassed his two coadjutors. The exclamation in regard to Peter, starting last and arriving first, is an ingenious paraphrase of a well-known passage in the Gospel of St. John.* The verses referring to the learned men engaged in the corrections of the press at that early period of its history is very instructive, and shows how soon its vast importance began to be appreciated. Some of the early printers who quickly followed in the tracks of Gutenberg and Schoiffher were indeed men remarkable for their classical learning and general literary accomplishments. The verses just described were, as it will have been perceived, the production of one of the correctors of the press engaged in Schoiffher's office at the same time as Master Francis; but his name is unknown, and his production shows him to have been a scholar of a very inferior order.

The last page of a new edition of the "Epistles of St. Jerome," printed by Schoiffher in 1470, is also filled with verses in praise of the art of printing similar to those which we have just examined, and did space allow a translation of them, even at the risk of some repetition of ideas, would be far from uninteresting. The same reason—want of space—renders it impossible to enumerate all the new editions and successive works which the unceasing energy of Schoiffher continued to pour from his press, stimulated by the rivalry which had sprung up immediately around him, and that of the numerous printers who had already established the art in other parts of Germany, and in other countries. Many of these, taking advantage of Schoiffher's well-established relations with Paris, made him their general agent in that city, where he appointed a constantly resident agent to take charge of the stock of books there warehoused. Hermann de Stathoen, the agent he had thus appointed, having died in Paris, in 1474, as an unnaturalized foreigner, all the books then in stock were seized for the king, in virtue of the droit d'Aubaine; but on the subsequent reclamation of Schoiffher, Louis the Eleventh caused a sum of 2,425 crowns to be paid to him as the value of the confiscated property.† Among other particulars connected with the history of Schoiffher, we learn from M. Kohler‡ that by a deed bearing date 7th June, 1479, Schoiffher and his wife Dyna (Christina) undertook to dispose of 200 copies of the "Decretals" belonging to Johann Fust, the brother of his wife, and grandson of Johann Fust the elder.§ Of these copies, 180 were printed on paper, and only 20 on vellum, showing that since the establishment of the printing-press paper had already become the leading material for books, while in the latest MSS. few are found not written on vellum. After 1480, the energy of Peter Schoiffher began to decline, and instead of issuing something like an average of four important editions in each year, he did not always issue one. In 1479 he became, as the town record shows, a burgher of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, in which place he had important business

* St. John xx. 3—6.

† The Royal Act enforcing this restoration is still in existence.

‡ Köhler, "Ehrenrettung Guttenberg's," p. 99.

§ His father, Conrad, having died about this time.

relations; and in 1489 he reached the highest civic dignity to which he could aspire, becoming one of the secular judges of the tribunal of Mayence, in the archives of which his signature and seal are still to be found. He was then scarcely sixty years of age; but either the wealth he had already acquired, or the exercise of his magisterial duties, appear to have prevented his occupying himself seriously with the printing business after that time; and his rivals went beyond him in many of the technical processes of the art,—improvements which, though once so great an innovator, he was now the last to adopt, clinging to the methods by means of which he had acquired his early and lasting repute. For instance, many of the recently established printers had adopted the Roman letter, destined eventually to supersede the Gothic in almost every country of Europe; yet Schoiffher still persisted in his Gothic types, and his persistence may be one among the many causes which have led to the continued prevalence of the Gothic letters in Germany, notwithstanding the early introduction of characters of the Italian form by several of the first German printers, and their almost universal adoption in other countries. Schoiffher terminated his career as a printer by a fourth and last edition of his celebrated Psalter, which he issued in 1502, nearly half a century after the appearance of the first edition. It is probable that he died early in 1503, as we find that in that year his son published his "Mercurius Trismegistus," which the imprint declares to be his first work.

Having more than completed his allotted threescore years and ten, the last of the great trio of the first German printers—Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoiffher—passed away. The precise date of his death is not known, nor the place of his interment. His wife, as a rich and possibly still comely widow, appears to have survived her husband some fifteen years, for she had married very young; the marriage, though apparently arranged on Schoiffher's admittance to partnership with Fust, having been postponed till 1465, on account of her extreme youth. One could have wished to find that, sensible of the glory of being the wife of one of the great founders of the printing-press, the importance of which was already most fully appreciated, she had continued to preserve the name of Christina Schoiffher of Gernsheim, and left it to be eventually inscribed upon their common tomb, by the side of that of her justly celebrated husband; but there is reason to believe that her wealth and remaining good looks procured her so many admirers that in favour of one of them she yielded a, perhaps, reluctant consent to give up that name, and receive in exchange one never destined to emerge from its original obscurity. These little matters of marriages and husbands are inscrutable affairs in feminine biography. Even Anne Hathaway, the chosen bride of the immortal poet whose works will endure as long as the English language, consented to take the name of some obscure suitor of her widowhood, after her great William Shakespeare was laid in his well-known tomb in Stratford Church—and this, too, after those passionate sonnets in which the poet declares that he only valued his gift of poetry that he might by its means confer immortality upon his love. But the step she then took has been effaced by time and our sympathies; we refuse to know her by an obscure name, and accept the immortality conferred upon her by her poet husband as his own Anne Hathaway; while we picture her in those summer twilights long ago tripping impatiently along the narrow footpath from her house across the fields to meet her lover, and counting the flight of the sluggard moments till she should see him at the stile, and hear his fluent tongue pour forth the "old, old story," as perhaps no other mortal tongue ever did or could. And so with Dyna Schoiffher, we instinctively refuse to acknowledge her self-chosen obscurity, and continue to picture her hanging lovingly over her husband's shoulder at that magic press from which the matchless Psalter issued, as by enchantment, ready written and illuminated, though neither pen or pencil had ever touched the paper or parchment thus made precious by the skill of the printer who was one of the first great pioneers of the Press. It is as Christina Fust, the granddaughter of Margaret, and as Schoiffher's Dyna, that she will be remembered. She could not divorce herself from the names that alone have secured to her a literary immortality.

Johann Schoiffher—Peter's son—succeeded his father as a printer. He had, no doubt, been named after his grandfather, the banker, whose good florins, which he was perhaps rather too fond of, furnished the thews and sinews by means of which Gutenberg's press was finally set in motion, and the first printed Bible triumphantly produced. John Schoiffher used at first as his print-mark the double shields and ciphers of the firm of Fust and Schoiffher, but at a later period he adopted a personal one, founded on the family name Schoiffher, or *Shepherd*,* which was pictorially represented by a flock of sheep with their shepherd, accompanied by two shields, with the arms respectively of Schoiffher and Fust. This is to be found in his "Quatuor Evangeliorum Consonantia," printed in 1524, and other books. This mark was also used by his son and successor in the old printing-office, of whose books M. Schaab has given a very complete list. Thus the family of Schoiffher, as I have shown, continued to print in the office first founded with the materials obtained from Gutenberg for several generations; but after the time of Peter Schoiffher, the establishment ceased to rank as the first and greatest, though a reflex of its early celebrity and glory always seemed to hang about it.

It is not without interest to note that John Schoiffher, in his Epilogue at the end of the Livy printed in 1505, directly alludes to Gutenberg, as the inventor of the art of printing. The allusion occurs in the dedication of the work to the Emperor Maximilian, in German verses, and may be thus translated:—"May your Majesty deign to accept this book, which was printed at Mayence, the town in which the admirable art of typography was invented, in the year 1450, by John Gutenberg, and afterwards brought to perfection at the expense, and by the labour, of John Fust and Peter Schoiffher." This short paragraph (with the exception of the erroneous date) comprises in fact a true epitome of the early history of German printing.

* Latinized by Trithemius ("Chron. Sphonheim," 1601) as Petrus Opilionis.

CHAPTER VII.

The immediate followers of Gutenberg in Germany.

THE original pioneers of the printing-press and its great destinies, though by no means unaware of the importance of their art, as we have seen by the somewhat boastful colophons which they frequently appended to the volumes issuing from their respective presses, had yet no idea of the intense and insatiable curiosity which the minutest steps made by them, while establishing their art, would excite in future generations. They little thought, for instance, that the waste proofs which they were daily casting aside would be one day sought as inestimable archæological treasures, and that the rich bindings which they were sometimes used to stiffen internally, in the mere character of waste paper, would be torn open and destroyed, on the faintest chance of discovering some rejected essays of one or other of the early printers. Yet such things have been done over and over again, with a similar kind of unscrupulous recklessness to that which led Arab marauders to profane the sacred repose of ancient tombs on the mere chance of discovering buried treasure. The first bibliographic treasure-seekers were sufficiently successful to tempt others to the same course, and, in fact, many of the most interesting documents connected with the early history of printing have been recovered by means of the destruction of curious ancient bindings of almost equal interest and value. Such sacrifices cannot, however, be regretted, when it is considered that they have added to our knowledge concerning the early days of the printing-press.

Seeing, then, the interest attaching to everything connected with the history of an art which has proved itself the mainspring of modern civilization, a brief survey of the careers and works of a few of the immediate followers of Gutenberg cannot fail to find an acceptable place in this volume, though not absolutely necessary in order to elucidate the manner in which the new art travelled to other countries from its first-established practical centre at Mayence.

It has been stated, that while Gutenberg was still engaged in the preparation of the types for his Bible, the secrets of his *atelier* had oozed out, as it were, and that several rivals were already making use of the new art in the production of small books or pamphlets, and especially Letters of Indulgence, and other documents not requiring a vast number of types; and very soon after the dissolution of partnership between Gutenberg and Fust, works of a more important character were executed in other printing-offices in Mayence. There is reason to believe that Gutenberg himself furnished some of these new printers with the types with which they worked. For instance, it is hardly possible to conceive that Bechtermuntze could have printed the famous "Catholicon" with the same types as those of Gutenberg's Bible, during the lifetime of the latter, unless with his full consent and knowledge. The "Catholicon" of Bechtermuntze (printed as early as 1460) has, indeed, been by many attributed to the press of Gutenberg himself, and also to that of Pfister; but evidence has recently come to light entirely disproving this suggestion. The book in question, bearing the title of "Catholicon," consists of a Latin Grammar and Dictionary, the work of John of Genoa, a volume in great repute at the time, and really a remarkable production in many respects, especially on account of the method of tracing the derivation of words, in the Lexicon. The imprint states that the book was printed in Mayence in 1460, and goes on to give the glory to Germany of having invented the art of producing books without the aid of the reed pen, the stylus, or the quill; but the name of the printer is not given, which led to the supposition that the book was printed by Gutenberg himself. The remarkable colophon of this book, which was

afterwards partially copied in Schoiffher's colophon to his Psalter, is reproduced in fac-simile in Plate 22, where it will be examined with interest by the student as a most interesting monument connected with the early days of the printing-press. The body of the work was enriched, in appropriate places, with graceful though somewhat rude ornaments; of which I would willingly have exhibited a sample had my space permitted.

In 1465 a vellum copy of the "Catholicon" was sold by its publisher to the Monastery of St. Mary of Altenburg, for forty-one silver crowns; while, in 1475, that is to say, in the short space of ten years, a copy of the same work was sold for only thirteen crowns, so rapidly had the progress of the art, and the rivalry of new printers, increased the supply of books and reduced their cost.

Eltvil appears next after Mayence as one of the earliest seats of the printer's art; for, after printing the "Catholicon," Bechtermuntze appears to have removed from Mayence to that place, probably between 1460 and 1465,—as he is known to have been established there in 1467, when the "Vocabularium ex quo" was printed by him with the same characters as the "Catholicon." The "Vocabularium, ex quo" was so called from the first words of the book, "*ex quo*," in order to distinguish it from other works of the same class. The imprint of this work begins, "Presens hoc opusculum,"—the term "opusculum" appearing scarcely appropriate in the present instance, as applied to a volume containing 330 pages, as it more fitly expresses a diminutive work; being formed in the same way as homunculus, a dwarf or diminutive man. It could hardly, therefore, one would think, apply to a book of 300 pages of large type, unless by comparison with some of the truly gigantic folio volumes which had recently issued from the printing-press. Several other works were also printed by Heinrich Bechtermuntze and his brother Nicholas with the same types; and one book printed with the types in question contains a memorandum which has been attributed to Keppfer, a workman of Gutenberg's, who gave evidence on the trial with Fust; so that he also may have had a set of the famous Bible types. It is probable also that Keppfer was originally in partnership with Bechtermuntze, before he left Mayence and the neighbourhood to establish himself at Nuremberg with Sensenschmidt, another pupil, and possibly partner, of Gutenberg. Nummeister, another printer who appears to have been connected with Gutenberg, eventually established himself in Italy. There was also Meyderbach, the printer of the "Hortus Sanitatis, or Herb Garden,"—a grand folio book, with wood-cut illustrations of plants, printed in 1491,—who is likewise considered to have been a pupil of Gutenberg's; while among the independent printers who sprang up in the neighbourhood of Mayence are the monks of Marienthal, in the Rheingau, to whom several well-printed books are attributed; and Hans Pedersheim, who established himself at Frankfort-on-the-Main as early as 1459, where he is described as Brieffdrucker on the city rolls, but no work of his is known.

At Bamberg we find a printer early established, whose credentials as one of the pioneers of the press have only recently become known. Albrecht Pfister printed several works in 1461 with large Gothic characters, similar to those of the Letters of Indulgence, of thirty-one lines, which are considered among the earliest examples of the art. This *quasi* identity of character has led to the assertion that those Letters were the work of Pfister, and that he was in fact the first discoverer of the art of printing books, about 1440. That this pretension cannot be sustained matters little, as we have seen that Koster had already printed with moveable types even before that date; and in fact it is evident that the natural transition from the block book to books printed with moveable types was an idea that must have presented itself, more or less perfectly, to several ingenious artisans engaged in or connected with the xylographic process. Among the lesser works attributed, by some, to Pfister, of which the date can be proximately ascertained, are the "Donatus," 1451 (?); the Letters of Indulgence, of 1454-5; the "Appeal against the Turks," of 1455; and the Calendar of 1457. This last monument is probably the first sheet almanack ever printed with moveable types; at all events, the first at present known. It was printed only on one side, like our present sheet almanacks, evidently with the intention of its being fixed against a wall, for convenient and continual

reference. Only a fragment of this unique specimen remains, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; but a sufficient portion remains to show that in the neighbourhood of Mayence it was customary to commence the year with the month of January, according to the Roman system, instead of at Easter, as was then usual in France and many other countries, or at Christmas, as in some other places. The four last-named productions are considered by M. Bernard and other recent bibliophilists not to be the work of Pfister. They have been supposed by some to be the work of Gutenberg himself; but if the production of some rival printer, and even supposing the date of the "Donatus" (1451) to be indisputable, they do not detract from the priority of Gutenberg as being the first to produce a really important work by the process of printing, a claim which his magnificent Bible will always secure to him. Pfister, however, appears to have followed him very closely in an equally ambitious attempt, but without the same high claims to inventive art, inasmuch as the types he used for his Bible must evidently have been procured from Gutenberg. This celebrated Bible is sometimes termed the Schelhorn Bible, as having been first discovered and described by that savant; and is also known as the Bible of thirty-six lines, on account of the number of lines contained in each column. When it first became known to modern archæologists, it was unhesitatingly attributed to the press of Gutenberg. The copy in the British Museum and the one in the French National Library are printed on paper, in three volumes, the arrangement of the type and other details being apparently copied from those of Gutenberg's Bible. It is unnecessary to give an entire fac-simile page of this fine book, as it so closely resembles that of Gutenberg. It appears to have been issued about 1460; and that it was printed at Bamberg is also pretty certain, as copies have been generally found in the vicinity of that locality. Its proximate date is ascertained by an entry on one of its leaves, dated 1461, and other memoranda; and as it is printed with the same types which this printer or other persons employed for the smaller works just cited, the evidence for its attribution, as to date and place, appears complete. A fac-simile of part of a column of this work will be found in Plate 22, fig. 2, a careful examination of which may lead the student, as it has done the writer of these remarks, to doubt whether the learned bibliophilists who have deemed the type the *same* as that used for the Gutenberg Bible, may not after all have been mistaken. The type, in fact, does not appear identical, though very closely copied, like the whole style of the work, from the production of Gutenberg.

The "Liber Similitudinis" is another work of Pfister's, printed with the (so-called) same types as Gutenberg's Bible. It is a book containing thirty-five fables, each accompanied by a rude illustration, the personages in which are represented by apes. Heinecken and Falkenstein have both given fac-similes from this curious volume. It was at one time considered a xylographic book; but the date having been deciphered in the subscription, and it having become known that there was a press established at Bamberg at this time, has placed that point beyond further dispute. The somewhat ambiguous subscription, being translated, runs,

> At Bamberg this little book was completed,
> After the nativity of Jesus Christ,
> When we reckon one thousand four hundred years
> And sixty-one, that is true,
> On the day of St. Valentine (14 February),
> From whose sufferings God preserve us.

This book is now in the library at Wolfenbüttel, bound up with the "Complaint against Death," and the "Book of the Four Histories," containing the stories of Joseph, Daniel, Esther, and Judith,* by the same printer. It was the Subscription of this last-named book that afforded the clue to the name of Pfister, the first printer who established a press at Bamberg, and made use of types which it has been considered that he obtained from Gutenberg; it runs as follows: "Every man desires

* Camus has given a fac-simile of an illustration and text from this book.

PART OF A PAGE OF A M.S. MISSAL (THE WURTZBURG MISSAL WRITTEN ABOUT 1470. OR 1480.)

CXLVIII

Per ✠ ipm Et cū ✠ ipo Et
in ✠ ipso est tibi deo ✠ patri
ommpotēti. i vnitate ✠ sps
sācti. omis honor et gloria
Per omnia secula seculoꝝ Amen Oremus Preceptis
salutaribus moniti et diuina institutione formati audem⁹ di-
cere Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuū Ad
ueniat regnū tuum Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra
Panem nostrū cotidianum da nobis hodie Et dimitte nobis
debita nostra sicut et nos dimittim⁹ debitoribus nostris Et ne
nos inducas in temptationē Sed libera nos a malo Amen

PART OF A PAGE OF A PRINTED MISSAL, (THE BAMBERG MISSAL) 1481.

in his heart to be wise and well instructed; but without a master and without books this cannot be. Moreover, we do not all understand Latin. These reflections having occupied me for some time, I revised and united the four histories of Joseph, Daniel, Judith, and Esther. God granted his protection to these four, as he always does to the good. This little book, of which the object is to lead us to amend our lives, was completed in Bamberg; and in the same town Albrecht Pfister printed it, in the year in which we count one thousand four hundred and sixty, such is the truth, a short time after the festival of St. Walpurgis, who is able to obtain for us abundant grace, peace, and eternal life. May God bestow it upon all of us! Amen." Brunet speaks of a copy of the "Liber Similitudinis," having the cuts illuminated, and which was offered to the National Library for 3,000 francs. "Belial, or the Consolation of the Sinner," by James of Therano, is another work of this class, also printed by Pfister, of which the copy in the Spencer Library has been described by Dibdin. The subscription bears the name of the printer, and also the place of publication (Bamberg), but no date.

The "Biblia Pauperum," which we have seen figure among the earliest xylographic books, was also reproduced in moveable types by Pfister both in German and in Latin, and has been described by Dibdin, Ebert, Sprenger, and others. Dibdin also attributes a psalter to the press of Pfister. But more interesting are two other works which are also attributed to him,—"The Seven Joys of Mary" and "The Passion of Jesus Christ,"—both having abundant though coarse illustrations engraved in metal, so as to leave the lines of the composition in white. These works are among the earliest examples of the use of metal plates for illustrating printed books. Though printed in type closely resembling that of Pfister, both examples are possibly the work of another artist. It is conjectured that Pfister bought Gutenberg's large characters only, or more probably *imitated* them, as the type of his Bible appears new, and in the works which can with certainty be attributed to him he used no smaller character, such as is found n the works just cited. Whether Pfister, who had probably been an engraver and xylographic printer, actually obtained his type direct from Gutenberg, or produced a close imitation of it, is unimportant. It appears sufficiently certain, at all events, that he is the printer of the Bible of thirty-six lines and of several of the other works named, and that he is also the "printer of Bamberg" referred to in a work by Paul of Prague written soon afterwards, who declared, with that exaggeration which the wonders of the printing-press gave rise to, "that while he was at Bamberg, a man had executed the metallic letters and printed an entire Bible in four weeks."

Albrecht Pfister, some of whose works we have just been considering, was probably the father of Sebastian Pfister, who, about 1470, printed at Bamberg a book called "The Twenty-four Old Men; or, 'the Golden Throne' of Brother Otho of Passau;" after which work no book issued from a Bamberg press till Sensenschmidt, a capitalist, established himself as a publisher there in 1481.

In order not to recur again to Bamberg, it will be better to describe here, though somewhat out of chronological order, the finest of the works attributed to Sensenschmidt,—the celebrated Bamberg Missal. This noble volume was possibly issued as a rival production to Schoiffher's famous Psalter; at all events, with the exception of having its initials produced by the hand of the illuminator instead of in the printing-press, it is fully equal to Schoiffher's work; and, indeed, in the unrivalled size and grandeur of style of some of the type it is, in fact, superior. The work is a close imitation of the large MS. Church-Service books of the period, and in some respects superior even to the finest of them. The special work which was adopted as a model by Sensenschmidt appears to have been a noble missal executed for the church of Wurtzburg a short time previous, and which is now preserved in the library of the British Museum. A portion of one of the noble pages of that fine manuscript will be found in Plate 20 (fig. 1), and immediately below it a similar portion of a page from Sensenschmidt's magnificently-printed volume. A comparison of the two will be at once sufficient to prove, that if

the MS. in question be not the actual model, the type is a close imitation of one of precisely the same class. Plate 21 is a fac-simile of an entire page of the same book, with one of the large but coarsely-executed initials added by an illuminator, who may have been the painter, also, of the large illumination of the Crucifixion occupying the entire of the opposite page.

The birthplace of the art of printing has been, as we have already seen, hotly disputed, and there are partisans for the claims even of Bamberg, who have endeavoured to prove that Pfister was the first printer with moveable types, just as the claimants on the part of Strasburg, as the original seat of the invention, assert that Mentelin was the real inventor of the art, and describe Gutenberg as the robber of his priceless secret; which seems something like a garbled repetition of the story of Koster and his faithless workman. The principal ground for the pretensions in favour of Strasburg is the passage in the Chronicle of Specklin, written in the last half of the 16th century,—a passage which bears within itself its own refutation in a series of errors and contradictions of the most glaring kind, as carefully quoted by Meerman. It reads thus:—"In the year 1440 the admirable art of printing was discovered in Strasburg by John Mentel, living on the Fronhof, in the House of the *Thiergarten*. His *son-in-law*, Peter Shoiffher, and Martin Flach afterwards forwarded the invention. But a servant of Mentel, named John *Gensfleisch*, after having stolen his secret, fled secretly to Mayence, and there carried the art to still greater perfection, thanks to the help of *Gutenberg*, a very rich man. Mentel felt so keenly the sorrow caused by this perfidy that he died of grief, and was interred, for the honour of the art, in the monastery, or cathedral church, and on his tomb was represented his press. God eventually punished the servant Gensfleisch in striking him blind for the rest of his days." The mass of ignorance, absurdity, and contradiction compressed into this short passage could not be surpassed. Here we have Gutenberg in the double character of the perfidious servant and the very rich man, and Peter Schoiffher, who married the granddaughter of Fust, figuring as the son-in-law of Mentelin. Moreover, there was a real Mentelin; but as he is known to have lived till 1478, one cannot easily conceive his perishing of grief for the perfidy of Gensfleisch in 1440. The data concerning Mentelin himself as the inventor of printing are equally worthless; he appears, however, to have actually established a press at Strasburg while Gutenberg was printing his Bible at Mayence, and may have been one of those who were originally engaged in the atelier of Gutenberg at Strasburg, when, as we have seen, he was so near bringing his great invention to bear, had not the death of his most effective coadjutor, combined with the lawsuit which followed, led to his return to his native Mayence. The date (1440) appears to show that the garbled statement of Specklin is entirely founded upon the Dutch traditions respecting Koster, who is generally supposed to have issued his famous "Speculum" in that year.

The name of Mentelin is found on the town roll of Strasburg as early as 1447; he must therefore have been established there before that epoch. He is described as a gulden-schriber, or gold-writer, in other words, an illuminator, as proved by his subsequent admission as a burgess in the guild of "Painters." Up to this period there is no mention of his connection with the art of printing, which he is said to have invented in 1440! In the character of caligrapher and miniaturist he may in some way have become associated with Gutenberg in his first struggles to bring the great invention into practice, as it is evident, from the first edition of Gutenberg's Bible having the rubrics written by hand, and the places for the capitals left blank, that he must have looked forward to employing an illuminator for the completion of the work; or Mentelin's curiosity may have been very naturally awakened by the Gutenberg trial; for we have seen that Gutenberg dreaded the prying of certain persons not named, when the death of Dritzehen led to the partial exposure of the secret during the trial; and who so likely to be on the watch as one of the guild of Writers? That in some way Mentelin became possessed of the secret at a very early period after Gutenberg quitted Strasburg, is proved by a passage in the Chronicles

of the Popes and Emperors printed at Rome in 1474; in which it is stated that Mentelin had, in 1458, a printing-office in Strasburg, where he printed three hundred sheets per day. Whether or not the chronicler may have been mistaken in assigning so early a date, it is at all events certain that Mentelin was established as a printer before 1467, as a Bible, in German, can with certainty be attributed to his press, which bears the date of 1466. A copy of this Bible is preserved in the Royal Library of Munich, which bears on the last leaf the arms and name of the original purchaser, Hector Mülech, with the date of the purchase; by which inscription we learn that the book was bought, unbound, for twelve florins, on the 27th of June, 1466; and the date of 1467 occurs in a subsequent inscription made by the rubricator to mark the period at which he executed his task, as it would appear that the book was printed, like Gutenberg's Bible, with the places left blank for the rubrics. There is also a Latin Bible of Mentelin's printed about the same time. Both are without his name, and both exhibit the general characteristics of the earliest specimens of the Mayence presses, which naturally leads to the conviction that his knowledge of the art came from that source. Van Praet mentions a work of the same printer, issued about this time, in which the rubricator has signed his name, "Johannes Bamler de Augusta, rubricator, &c., 1468." Among other important works printed by Mentelin is a Concordance of the Bible ("Fratris Conradi de Allemania Concordantiæ Bibliorum"), of which he presented a copy of the second edition to the Chartreuse of Strasburg. The Epistles of St. Jerome form another folio volume by this printer. A fine copy exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the binding of which is cotemporary, and bears an inscription terminating with the name of the binder:—"Illigatus est anno Domini 1469, per me, Johannem Richenbach, Capellanum, in Gyslingen." Gyslingen is now little more than a straggling village a few leagues from Stuttgardt, where ivory-turning appears to be the staple of the place, and where a few years ago I purchased a miniature set of travelling chessmen. John Bamler, who from being a rubricator and illuminator, like Mentelin, afterwards became a printer, appears to have been the rubricator and illuminator of a copy of St. Augustine's "City of God," by Mentelin, now in the Althorp library, in which the rubricator's signature stands,—"Illuminator hujus libri fuit Johannes Bamler, &c. &c." From an entry in another copy of this work, dated 1469, it appears that the price charged for it was nine florins. But the chief work of Mentelin is his collection of the "Specula" of St. Vincent of Beauvais, in eight volumes in folio, printed in 1473. This fine specimen of the art is printed in a type entirely differing in character from the sharp Gothic black-letter of the German books of the period, being of the rounded character adopted in Italy by the printers already settled there, to be referred to hereafter. That Mentelin was in this respect in advance of the other German printers of the day, and, indeed, of German printers of the present day, who still persist in using the confused old Gothic black letter, is shown in his preference for the far clearer Roman letter as used in Italy; his decided taste for which is shown in the inscription of the tomb of his second wife, Elizabeth of Mantzenheim, now preserved in the vestibule of the Strasburg Library, and which is in pure Roman capitals, while the Gothic letter was still the only one in general use.

M. Bernard, in his "Origines de l'Imprimerie," remarks that it was in printing these great ecclesiastical works, which were in accordance with the taste of the reading public of his day, that Mentelin made a large and rapid fortune, while others ruined themselves in reproducing the Latin classics, the taste for which was not sufficiently developed in the middle of the 15th century to insure a remunerative sale. Mentelin also well understood the craft of the publisher. He issued printed catalogues of all his books, in which attention was called to their careful execution; and the public was addressed at the head of the catalogue in words to the following effect:—"Those who wish to possess any of these books have only to

address themselves to the Sign of . . . . . ." Here a blank was left, in order that each retail bookseller to whom the catalogue was sent might fill in his own name and that of his Sign.

A long list of the books issued by this printer is given in Panzer's "Annales Typographicæ." Mentelin died in 1478, full of years and honours, and whether ennobled by Frederick II. on account of his remarkable services in the new art of printing, or as its inventor, as asserted by his descendants, is unimportant. His death took place on the 12th December, and he was interred in the great church, as shown by an entry in the ringer's book, by which it appears that the great bell was tolled in his honour on the following Sunday evening ("et factus est ei pulsus cum campana magna dominica sequente de sero"). Almost the only books to which Mentelin attached his name were the before-mentioned "Specula."

Eggestein appears (from a passage in Gebwiler's panegyric of Charles V.) to have been originally associated with Mentelin in the development of some "secret," which was probably the art of printing. But he soon separated himself from his associate, and established a press in Strasburg on his own account, using types of his own. Among the books printed by him are the "Decretum Gratiani," and the "Institutes," issued in 1472;—his celebrated Bible, of which two or more editions are known, from 1468 to 1470;—and another in a larger character a few years later. In the Chronicle of Cologne it is stated, on the faith of Ulric Zell, one of the first Mayence printers who carried the new art to that place, that a workman of Schoiffher's introduced the art of printing at Strasburg; and the first types of Mentelin and Eggestein would appear to favour this assertion, as they bear a strong resemblance to both those of Gutenberg and Schoiffher. Some have thought that John Beckenhul, describing himself as a clerk of Mayence, and who afterwards printed books in association with a citizen of Strasburg, named George. Husner, may have been the person alluded to; but no books of his are known that can safely be assigned to an earlier period than 1473; so that the statement of the Chronicler is possibly an ill-understood blending of several facts which the author may have heard of. However this may be, Strasburg no doubt played a distinguished part in the development of the art, and especially in its dissemination, as its artisans were the first to plant it in many places where it was not known before.

As Strasburg and Bamberg were the first cities to follow Mayence in the development of the art which, more than any other, was destined to extend the advance of civilization, Cologne may be esteemed the third in succession after Mayence; for though there is every reason to believe that Koster did actually invent the art of printing with moveable types, and execute his famous "Speculum" before Gutenberg had commenced his efforts in the same walk, yet as the invention of Koster was not prolific, and as it did not develop itself in an improved form either at Haärlem or any other place in Holland till after the fame of the far more perfected art, as developed by Gutenberg, had resounded through Europe like the report of some new miracle, Mayence must be considered the birthplace of printing in the true acceptation of the term; and in the spread from that original centre, Bamberg, Strasburg, Cologne, and several other towns, must rank in chronological order before any place in Holland. Ulric Zell was the first Cologne printer. He is known to have brought the art from Mayence, and appears to have been a workman of Schoiffher's, whose types and general system he imitated. His earliest dated book is the "Joannis Chrisostomi super Psalmo quinquagesimo, &c.," dated 1466; but the "Offices" of Cicero were perhaps printed still earlier.

In Plate 19 (No. 2) will be found a fac-simile of one of the pages of the "St. Chrysostom," in which the main characteristics of the Mayence school will be perceived, though a well-marked original character is displayed in this, as in all the works of Zell. A knowledge of these characteristics has enabled collectors to assign a large number of works without a name to the press of Ulric Zell, who also stands out as an interesting figure in the history of printing as the authority on which the

CXLII

Eigit clemē-
tissime pater
per ihm xpm
filiū tuū dñz
nostrum supplices rogam⁹
ac petim⁹. uti accepta habe-
as et bñdicas hec ✠ dona hec
mu✠nera hec scā ✠ sacrifi
cia illibata ✠ n primis que
tibi offerim⁹ pro ecclesia tua
scā catholica. quā pacificare
custodire. adunare et regere

well-known passage in the Cologne Chronicle is founded, which assigns the proper respective shares of merit in the original invention, to Holland and to Mayence.

But to English readers the career of Zell is rendered still more interesting from his having been, in all probability, the chief instructor of William Caxton, whose residence at Cologne is attested by himself in several of his interesting prefaces and colophons. Many critics have also considered that he was the actual printer of the celebrated Trojan histories, by others attributed to Caxton himself. If so, he certainly did not use his own type; but it is possible that he caused new type to be cast at the expense, and for the sole use, of the Duke of Burgundy, whose agent Caxton then was, and under whose superintendence the Trojan histories were possibly printed at Cologne, in the office of Zell, as I shall have occasion to describe in the chapter devoted to Caxton and his works. It is certain that Caxton himself used the same types at Cologne, probably after a course of instruction in the office of Zell, and printed with them his celebrated "Playe of the Chesse."

Rivals to Ulric Zell established themselves in Cologne as early as 1470. Among these were Arnoldus Ther Hoernen and Helie Louffen; the honour of having first printed Arabic characters being ascribed to the last-named printer.

Nuremberg ranks next among the early seats of the printing-press in Germany; the art having been carried thither by Heinrich Keffer, whom we have met before as a witness on the Fust and Gutenberg trial. Like his old employer, Keffer had to seek the aid of a wealthy partner, and, like him too, found that the capitalist wanted, not only the largest share of the profits, but also of the fame, which should have been due to the talent, rather than the money-box, of the establishment. But we must not expect capital to abdicate its seat of power, nor should we judge the conduct of its master too harshly. Without Sensenschmidt, Keffer would not have been able to establish his press at Nuremberg at all; and although the name of Sensenschmidt alone is found in nearly all the works issuing from that press, yet in one book, and that one the most important, the name of the real producer actually appears. It is the "Pantheologia of Rainerius of Pisa," dated 1473, and it is sufficient to prove that all the earlier specimens of the printing-press in Nuremberg are also the work of Keffer. The earliest dated book printed in that city was the "Codex Egregius Comestorii Viciorum" of Francis de Retz (1470). This work, of which there is a fine copy in the Spencer Library, sold at the time of its issue for eight and a half gold florins. Keffer was followed at Nuremberg by Antonio Koburger and Frederic Creussner. Koburger established a very extensive business, and is said by Lichtenberger to have published twelve or more editions of the Bible, keeping twenty presses in a state of constant activity in Nuremberg alone, besides other establishments which he founded at Basle, Lyons, and other places. It was at Nuremberg that the first edition of the celebrated book entitled "Theurdanck" appeared, in the year 1517, the printing of which is so singular and so free in style that many bibliophilists have thought it a block book, as stated by M. Laborde in his "Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Mayence." But these and other works, and the later works of Koburger and Schoensperger, will be described and illustrated in a chapter treating of the somewhat later developments of the art in Germany.

Another of Gutenberg's workmen, who, like Keffer, was a witness in the suit with Fust, founded the first printing-press at Basle. This was Berthold Rot. His works, however, cannot be ranged in anything like chronological order, as he dated none of them, and only one bears his name. The single work bearing his name is a kind of dictionary, by Conrad de Mure. It may be unmistakably assigned to Berthold Rot on the strength of the following line, which occurs in some Latin verses on the back of the first leaf:—

Bertholdus nitide hunc impresserat in Basilea.

From an entry in one of Berthold's books, respecting its acquisition, and bearing date 1468, it is evident that he had commenced printing before that period. The time of his death is unknown,

£0120

but it probably occurred about 1474, when several other printers were already established at Basle. Among his immediate followers, who were many, Bernhard Richel stands conspicuous. Of his Latin Bible, printed in 1474, an example will be found in Plate 22 (No. 3). It is a fine specimen of the art, the large initials printed from wood-engravings being especially remarkable. The dark marks on the capitals at the beginning of sentences, in my fac-simile, represent the dashes of red added by a rubricator, and which in the photographic fac-simile show as black. The example from which this specimen is taken was formerly in the old Royal Library of the kings of England, and was presented to the British Museum, four years after its foundation, by George II., with the rest of the library to which it belonged.

The earliest book printed at Augsburg was probably Bonaventure's "Meditationes Vitæ Christi," dated the 4th of the ides of March, 1468, being the work of Gunther Zainer. In 1469 the same printer issued another edition of the celebrated "Catholicon,"* a work which sold at the high price of thirty-two ducats. At first, Zainer, like many of his contemporaries, used types of transition style, like Schoiffher's later characters, but eventually adopted the more rounded letters of the Italian printers, especially those of the Venetian school, the origin of which I shall endeavour to trace in describing the rise of printing in Italy. Dr. Kloss has engraved fac-similes of both the characters of Zainer, and has also given, *in extenso*, Zainer's catalogue of his works, which is similar to that of Mentelin (?) previously described. Among the productions of Gunther Zainer, I have selected as an example (Plate 24) part of a page from his "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," which, notwithstanding the great improvements in the art of printing, as practised in Germany, is yet, as will be at once admitted (even by advocates of the German claims to the glory of inventing the art), in all respects inferior to the truly noble, though primitive, and, in some respects, rude essay of Koster. The printed copies of the "Biblia Pauperum" are as inferior to the works of the xylographers as Zainer's copy of Koster's "Speculum," which may be considered the work of a xylographer, though of one who invented a metallic type for a more ready and perfect execution of text. The inferiority of the illustrations of the first works of the type-printers may be to some extent explained by supposing that the wood-engravers, finding the sale of their block books interfered with by the works of the type-printers, refused for some time their aid in furnishing the pictorial illustrations.

Zainer was followed at Augsburg by Schüssler, who, among other works, issued a finely-printed Latin translation of Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews." There were also presses established in different convents in that and other cities. The Abbot Stanheim (for instance), of the monastery of St. Ulric, having in 1472 established a plant for printing in that monastery, which occupied more than a year in preparation, purchased five presses from Schüssler, for which he paid seventy-three Rhenish florins; and several works were subsequently produced in the establishment. It may be mentioned here that one of the handsomest of the early Bibles in German was printed at Augsburg, *without a printer's name*, in 1473: the Church not favouring the printing of Bibles in the vulgar tongue may perhaps account for this intentional omission.

Basle was not the only town in the Germanic portion of Switzerland to give an early welcome to the printing-press. At Munster, in Argau, a canon of the monastery of that place produced several works of importance, but printed in a tall, stiff, and rude Gothic character, so coarse of execution that the types might be taken for castings in sand, or even carved wood types, if such things were possible. The principal work of this press is the "Mammotrectus, seu Expositio Vocabulorum quæ in Bibliis . . . . occurrunt," published in 1470, at precisely the same period that Schoiffher published his edition of the same work.

Spires, a considerable town on the Rhine between Strasburg and Mayence, could scarcely be very long in adopting the new art; and though no books printed there happen to bear a positive

* The composition of John of Genoa—otherwise John Balbi.

1

Altissimi presidio cuius nutu infantium lingue fi
unt diserte. Qui q̄ nūo sepe puulis reuelat quod
sapientibus celat. Hic liber egregius. catholicon.
dñice incarnacionis annis M cccc lx Alma in ur
be maguntina nacionis inclite germanice. Quam
dei clemencia tam alto ingenij lumine. dono q̄ g̃
tuito. ceteris terrarū nacionibus preferre. illustrare
q̄ dignatus est Non calami. stili. aut penne suffra
gio. ꝫ mira patronarū formarū q̄ concordia ꝓpor
cione et modulo. impressus atq̄ confectus est.
Hinc tibi sancte pater nato cū flamine sacro. Laus
et honor dño trino tribuatur et uno Ecclesie lau
de libro hoc catholice plaude Qui laudare piam
semper non linque mariam DEO. GRACIAS

2

uerūt in dño: adiutor eorū et ꝓ-
tector eorū est. Dominꝰ memor
fuit nr̄i: ⁊ benedixit nobis. Be-
nedixit domui isrl̄: benedixit do-
mui aaron. Benedixit om̄ibꝫ
q̄ timēt dñm: pusillis cū maio-
ribꝫ. Adiciat dñs sup vos: su-
p vos ⁊ sup filios vr̄os. Bene-
dicti vos a dño: q̄ fecit celū ⁊ t̄rā
Celū celi dño: terrā autē dedit
filijs hoīm. Nō mortui lauda-
būt te dñe: neq̄ om̄es q̄ descen-
dunt in infernū. Sed nos q̄ vi-
uimus benedicimꝰ dño: ex hoc
nunc et usq̄ in scl̄m. Alleluia.

Dilexi: qm̄ Allelicia
exaudiet dñs vocē ora-
tionis mee Quia incli-
nauit aurem suam michi: ⁊ in
diebus meis inuocabo. Circū-
dederunt me dolores mortis:
et pericula inferni inuenerunt
me. Tribulationem et dolorē
inueni: et nomen domī inuoca-
ui. O dñe libera aīam meā: mi-
sericors dñs et iustus: et deꝰ no-
ster miseret. Custodiens par
uulos dñs: humiliatꝰ sum ⁊ li-
berauit me. Conuertere aīa me-
a in requiem tuā: q̄a dñs bene-
fecit tibi Quia eripuit aīam me-
ā de morte: ocl̄os meos a lacri-
mis: pedes meos a lapsu. Pla-
cebo dño: in regione viuorum.
Alleluia. Alleluia

3

Incipit liber prouerbiorum

Parabl̄e salomo
nis filij dd̄ r̄gis
isrl̄: ad sciendā
sapienciā ⁊ disci
plinā: ad intelli
gēdā v̄ba pru-
dencie et suscipi
ēdā eruditacōz
doctrine: iusticiā
et iudiciū et eq̄-
tatē: vt detꝰ puulꝰ astucia: ⁊ adolescēti sciēcia
et intellectꝰ. Audiēs sapiēs sapienciō erit: ⁊
intelligēs gubnacula possidebit. Aīadūtet
parabolā et iterp̄tacionē: v̄ba sapiēciū et enig
mata eorū. Timor dñi p̄ncipiū sapiēcie. Sa
piēciā atq̄ doctrinā stulti d̄spiciūt. Audi fili
mi disciplinā patris tui ⁊ ne dimittas legē ma
tris tue: vt addatꝰ g̃cia capiti tuo: et torques
collo tuo. Fili mi si te lactauerint peccatores:
ne acq̄escas eis. Si dixerit veni nobiscū. in
sidiem sāguini. abscōdamꝰ tēdicl̄as ꝯt insō-
tē frustra. d̄glutiamꝰ eū sicut infernꝰ viuē-
tē et integrū. q̄si descēdentem in lacū: om̄em
p̄ciosā sb̄stāciā reperiemꝰ. implebimꝰ domꝰ
nr̄as spolijs. sortē mitte nobiscū. mā sup̄iū sit
vnū oīm nr̄m: fili mi ne ābules cū eis. Pro-
hibe pedē tuū a semitis eorū. Pedes eni illo
rū ad malū currūt: et festināt vt effūdāt sāg
uinem. Frustra autē iacitꝰ rete ante oculos
pēnatorū. Ipsi q̄ꝫ cont̄ sanguinē suū insidiā
tur: et moliūtur fraudes cont̄ aīas suas. Sic
semite oīs auari. aīas possidēciū rapiūt. Sa-

1 THE COLOPHON OF THE CELEBRATED CATHOLICON PRINTED IN 1460.

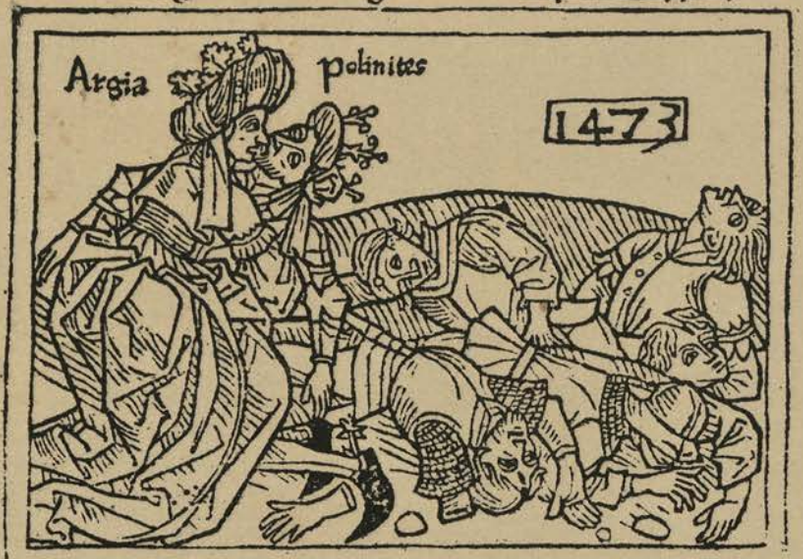
2. A COLUMN FROM PFISTERS BIBLE PRINTED IN 1460. 3 PART OF A COLUMN OF RICHELS BIBLE PRINTED IN 1474.

Cripturus igitur/quibus fulgoribus mulieres claruerint insignes/ a matre omniū sumpſiſſe exordium/ non apparebit indignum. Ea quippe vetutiſſima parens/ vti prima ſic magnificis fuit inſignis ſplendoribus. Nam non in hac erumnoſa miſeriarum valle/in qua ad taborē ceteri mortales naſcim̄/ꝓducta eſt/ nec eodem maleo aut incude etiā fabre fcā/ ſeu eiulans naſcendi crimen deflens / aut inualida ceteroꝝ ritu venit invitam/ quinimo (qō nemini vnq̄m alteri contigiſſe auditum eſt) cum iam ex limo terre rex omnium faber optimus/ Adam manu cōpegiſſet ꝓpria/ & ex agro cui poſtea Damaſcenus inditum nomen eſt/ in orto deliciarum tranſtuliſſet/ eum in ſoporem ſoluiſſet placitum/ artificio ſibi tm̄ cognito/ex dormientis latē eduxit eandem ſui compotem/& maturam viro/& loci amenitate atq; factoris letabundā intuitu/in mortalem/ & rerum dominam/ atq; vigilantis iam viri ſociam/ & ab eodē Euam etiam nominatam. Quid maius/ quid ſplendidius potuit vnq̄m cōtigiſſe naſcenti? Preterea hanc arbitrari poſſum? corporea formoſitate mirabilem quid enim dei digito fcm̄ eſt/ qō cetera non excedat pulcritudine. Et q̄muis formoſitas hec/ annoſitatē penitꝰ ſit/ aut medio in etatis flore/ paruo egritudinis in pulſu lapſura/ tm̄ quia inter p̄cipuas dotes ſuas mulieres numerāt/& plurimum ex ea glorie (mortalium in diſcreto iudicio) iam conſecute ſunt/ non ſuperflue inter claritates earum/ tanq̄m fulgor p̄cipuus & apoſita eſt/ & in ſequentibus apponenda veniet. Hec inſuper tam iure originis q̄m incolatus padiſi ciuis fcā/& amicta ſplendore nobis incognito/ dum vna cum viro loci delicijs

THE FIRST PAGE OF BOCCACCIO'S "MISFORTUNES OF NOBLE WOMEN"
PRINTED BY J. ZAINER, ULM, 1473.

1

De Argia adrasti regis filia. Capitulū. xxvij.



ARgia greca mulier ab antiquis argiuorū regibus generosam ducens originē adrasti regis filia fuit / & spectabili pulchritudine sua / vti de se cū temporaneis letum spectacu

2

Vidit iacob in somnis scalam erectam in celo. Genes. xxviij. Jacob sach in dem schlaff eyn leytter auffgan vnd die hymel berürend vnd die engel auff vnd ab steygend.

ascendunt angeli ꝑ illam. gratiam nob̄ apportando. Et reascendūt animas nr̄as in celū reportando. Nūq̄m prius talis scala in mdo facta fuit. Et ideo nunq̄

3

Hie hebt sich an der Neündt tractat

Nach dem als wir haben beweert das die Jüden sindt v̄ worffen worden von got gepürdt sich zu sagen von der anszerwelung der heÿden dar auß die kristlich kirch, entspringkt nach der maisten czal ÿrer gelider Vnd wie das die heiligen hannebiim oder propheten haben für gesagt vnd verkündigt czu eÿnem trost der ganczen werlt. ¶ . Welicher tractat hat dreÿ capitel.

4

¶ Von dem buchstaben schin

Weñ der buchstab schin hat ein pünctlein oder ein stüppfelein auff der rechten hant so lieset man es für ein esch ¶. Aber weñ es ein puncktlein hat auff der lencken hant so liset man es für ein schlechts. s. als erscheindt ÿn disen worterñ.

	lachet	der gesalbt	ein man
israel	isßaq	meschiaß	Jsch

אִישׁ: מְשִׁיחַ: יִשְׂחָק: יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Vnd der punct auff der rechten hant wirt genent Jemin oder recht seÿtig vnd dor auff der

Nº 1. PART OF A PAGE FROM BOCCACCIO'S "MISFORTUNES OF NOBLE WOMEN." PRINTED BY F. ZAINER, ULM, 1473. —— Nº 2. PART OF A PAGE FROM THE "SPECULUM &c." PRINTED BY GUNTHER ZAINER, ULM, 1471. —— Nºs 3 & 4. PARTS OF PAGES FROM THE "STELLA MESCHIA", PRINTED IN 1477.

date earlier than the year 1471, it is pretty certain that the ancient city did not remain till that date without a printing-press. John and Vindelin of Spires, the well-known German printers established at Venice as early as 1469, and whose works will be spoken of in the next chapter, must have been experienced printers before their removal to Italy; and the establishment of Peter Drack in Spires in 1477 can only have been a re-establishment of the art in that place. There were several other printers whose surnames denote Spires as their birthplace, who went to establish themselves in Italy.

Ulm was one of the old German towns in which the printing-press was early established, and we find Jehan Zainer, the brother of Gunther Zainer, of Augsburg, established there about 1470. He produced a remarkably fine copy of Boccaccio's "Misfortunes of Noble Women," which in a decorative point of view is superior to most of the books of the German printers of that period. The large initial and the appended border (Plate 23) are very capitally designed and executed in a fine bold feeling. In this device, the first example of the Misfortunes of Noble Women, namely the fall of Eve, is introduced; the capital S being formed by the convolutions of the body of the serpent, while other forms of temptation are symbolized in the lesser groups and figures. The example No. 1 in Plate 24 is a fac-simile of one of the pictorial illustrations, and represents Argia, the daughter of Adrastus, embracing the dead body of her lover Polynices on the field of battle. This subject bears the date of the issue of the book—1473—a somewhat unusual but very interesting addition.

Esslingen, in Suabia, is another early seat of the printing-press. Conrad Feyner established himself there before 1477, in which year he printed his "Stella Meschiah" in German and Hebrew, which is one of the earliest successful examples of the use of type for the Hebrew character. Two portions of pages of this book will be found in Plate 24, Nos. 3 and 4.

It would be impossible, in a restricted volume like the present, to follow the fortunes of the printing-press and its enterprising founders in all their good and evil fortune throughout the whole of Germany, which was the cradle of the art in its earliest practical form. And it must suffice to state broadly and briefly, that long before the end of the 15th century the art had spread into every town of any importance, and had already extended itself into other countries, whither I will attempt to follow its progress in the next chapter.

It may be stated here that the capital letters and illustrations, up to the close of the 15th century, were generally executed by hand whenever high finish was desirable; and, indeed, many of the illuminations of the very highest class were those executed in printed books at the close of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. A few of the beautiful books so decorated will be noticed in some detail in an ensuing chapter. Many of the early printed volumes, like the MSS. that preceded them, are of enormous size, and, with their massive bindings, assume such ponderous bulk as not to be very conveniently handled. One may easily imagine, as the art of producing delicately small type was developed, that these unwieldy tomes would gradually sink into disuse, and that the proverb as to great books being a great evil would naturally arise. But the appetite for reading was then good and strong, and not easily repelled; and the students and scholars of the day, nothing daunted by the hugeness of their favourite books, found even a kind of charm in their very size. We can scarcely understand this eagerness, when, in addition to the size of the book, the nature of the literary food is considered, which was yet so admirably adapted to the spirit of the times.

On closing this chapter on the books of the first German printers, I cannot but feel that I have said very little on a very great subject. I have the satisfaction, however, of knowing that it would have been impossible to say much more in the allotted space, and must refer those readers who wish to enter more minutely into the study, to seek for information among the many voluminous works devoted to this subject, a selected list from a small portion of which will be found appended to this volume. It may easily be conceived, that, except by means of a number of volumes devoted

entirely to this branch of archæology, it would be impossible to allude, even briefly, to all the books printed before the close of the 15th century, which, according to Hain's catalogue, the second part of which is known to be far from complete, amount to the almost incredible number of 16,299. A few more of those of most prominent character will, however, be described in the chapter treating of the works of the German printers of a somewhat later period, in connection with the progress and spread of the art of printing.

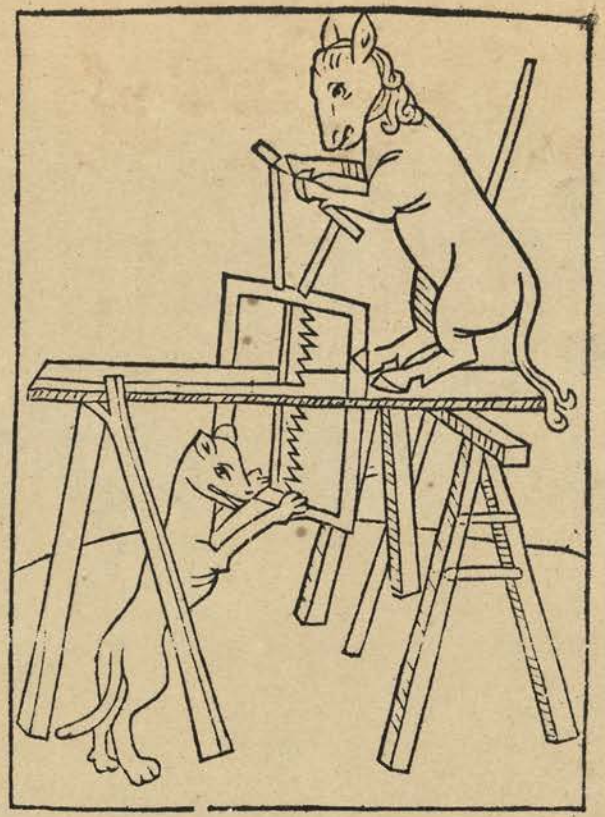
As it will not be advisable, in the contracted limits of this work, to return to the history of the advance of printing in Holland after the epoch of Koster, it may be well to describe in this place a few examples of Dutch printing of the 15th century, after the Gutenberg system, which seems to have found its way to Holland by the route of the Rhine, had led to the establishment of printing-presses on the German principle, by the aid of which several Dutch printers in different places produced some very remarkable works. The first example (Plate 25) I have selected is a page from the "Dyalogus Creaturarum," printed by Gerard Leew at Gouda, in 1480. It is fully equal in beauty and regularity of type to any German work of the period; and yet has, in the forms of the letters, something of the style of Koster's text to the "Speculum;" which would seem to indicate that the Kosterian school and style had not died out and been replaced by the German school, but rather that it had made but little progress, until new life was infused into it by means of the extra facilities afforded to it by the more perfect appliances of the German practitioners. The page given as an example is from the fine copy of the work bequeathed to the Museum by Mr. Grenville, and is in every respect a very remarkable page, not only for the beauty of the general text, but still more especially for the fine initial Q, evidently *printed* in colours.* I believe this finely-printed letter—fully equal, if not superior, to the letters of Schoiffher's famous Psalter—is printed from engraved metal, and not from wood, which would account for its superior sharpness and decision. It is a most beautiful specimen of a grand initial printed in colours, which, as far as I know, has been hitherto passed over by critics as a letter executed by the illuminator. The other example on the same plate is from the body of the work, in which, carrying out the spirit of the title, "Dialogues of Animals," an ass and a wolf are represented as engaged in sawing, the cunning wolf having persuaded the ass to allow him the lower position, at which there is little labour, and leaving all the hard work of pulling up the saw to the foolish ass, who has taken the lofty station, as top-sawyer, above, on the advice of his wily coadjutor.

The next example of the second epoch of the Dutch school of printing exhibits a generic similarity of style of the text to the last, and also the same beautiful regularity. The style of the wood-engraving is peculiar, and very characteristic, showing in respect of mere execution much progress, as well as considerable change of style, in the forty years that had elapsed since the appearance of the cuts of the "Speculum." It is a page from "De Boek des Gulden Throens of der XXIIII. Ouden," by Otto van Passau, printed at Haärlem, in 1484, in the native place of Koster, about half a century after the first appearance of the celebrated "Speculum," and is a work well worthy of having been produced in the original cradle of the art. A specimen page of this fine book will be found in the fac-simile forming Plate 26.

* The yellow appears to have been an addition by hand.

Prefatio i libz̄ qui dicit² dyalog⁹ creaturarū mozalizat⁹ omni materie mozali iocūdo et edificatiuo modo applicabilis ¶ Incipit feliciter

Quoniā sicut testa² ysidorus in li⁹ de sūmo bo⁹ li⁹ p⁹ ca⁹ quarto dicens q⁹ ex pulchzitudine circūscripte nature ostendit nobis de⁹ pulchzitudinis sue ptē aliquā· qui circūscribi nequit et intelligi· vt ipsis eisdem vestigijs homo reuertatur ad deū q̄ bus auersus est a deo Et q̄ p amorē pulczitudinis creature· a creatozis forma se hstulit· rursus p creature decorem· ad creatozis sui pulchzitudinē reuertatur Que quidem creature· et si nobis sicut liber ille fingit· dyaletice| voce fozmata nō loquātur Inclinacione tamē et naturalis īstitutionis ppzietate· nos docere nostrosq⁹ mozes cozrigere si bene pē samus· nō desinūt Quod illud glozioslū lumen doctozū Hanc tus augustinus optime intelligebat cū dicebat O domine de⁹ ōnes creature tue q̄s fecisti· ad me clamāt· et clamare nō desinūt vt te solū deū creatozem meū sup omnia diligā ℣ Et ideo auctoz libzi istius hec rite conſiderans quoldā dyalogos creaturarum ad sanā et mozalem doctrinā applicauit | confinxit et composuit· vt p creaturarū quasi nobis loquētiū ppzietates· simul in mozibus eruditamur et tedium audientiū euitemus· et ipsozū audiencia memoziam adiuuem⁹ quod maxime per rerū similitudines pzocuratur Saluatoz enī noster ōniū predicatozū perfecta fozma| fabulis· palestinozū moze· vsus est· vt rerū similitudine ad viam veritatis homines pduceret Auctoz ergo libzi p̄sentis iocūdo modo mozales doctrinas i exterminiū viciozū et virtutū pzomocionē introducit· quod



Lupus cū azello simul sarrabat sed azinus simpliciter delup labozabat· lupus autē malicioſe inferius trahebat cupiens occasionē inuenire ut azinū deuozaret Unde querimonias fecit versus azinū· quare mittis sarraturam in oculis meis ? Azin⁹ respondit Ego hec tibi nō facio sed pure sarrā guberno Si vis tu delup sarrare gaudeo· quia inferius operaboz fideliter Cui lupus Nescio· si dirigis sarraturā in oculis meis tuos eruā Sarrantibus autē illis lup⁹ foztiter insufflare cepit sup sarraturam ut sarraturam in oculis sorij mandaret sed ꝓpter cōmissurā lingni saratura cecidit in oculos lupi Lupus autem pre doloze se retozsit et iurauit ut

PL. 25.

2 PAGES FROM THE "DIALOGUS CREATURUM". PRINTED AT GOUDA IN 1480.

Temael veel goets heeft v minnēde siele mijn gheselle dē sesten oudē geleert voer mi hoe ghi vā buten leuen selt vore den mēschen tot enen goeden exempel te geuen Echter ick seuende oude wil v minnende siel leren die const die v inwendich eñ wtwēdich nut eñ nootruftich is daer ghi mede ghestoert moecht werden dat v leuen den gulden throen mach v̄dienen des ewighen leuens Want nv te mael veel goets eñ veel quaets ontspringhet ende gegeuen wert vā quaden ghedachten eñ woerden. eñ dat daer toe horet dat seer veel is soe is minnende siel seer nootruftich dz ghi gheestelike dingē daer in wel besiet daer om dat ghi toecomende scade des te bet ontlopen ende ontuliē moghet Dat seyt iheronimus totter ioncfrouwen demetriades Also wat ghi v scamet te seggē dat seldi v oeck scamen te dencken eñ een seker eñ eē volcomen ghewoentheit houdē dat uwe moet vlitich si eñ wakende eñ behoedich hoe ghi wel bekennen moghet alsulcke ghedachten. welc men behouden sel. of welck men verwerpen sel Of echter dat ghi quade ghedachten verdriuet eñ goede gedachten vaste behout want dencken is eē oersprōc ende beghinsel alre daden ende oec boser sonden. Eñ wat goed̄ of quader wercken ymmermeer ghedaen werden dat wert voer ontfanghen ind̄ becoringhen der ghedachten. Daer om raet ons cesarius waringhe eñ spreect Wi sellen aenuaen goede gedachten te hebben eñ te minen soe werden wi verledicht vandē bosen ghedachten die ons aen woerden ende aen wercken aen siel eñ aen lijf ghescaden moghen want nv dye ghedachten sijn een oerspronck ende een saeck van vele goets eñ quaets. eñ hoer nyemāt in deser tijt can noch en mach ledich staen Soe leer ic seuēde oude v minnēde siel hoe ghi in allen ghedachten houdē selt eñ welc v goet sijn of scadelic sijn wāt tē is ghene dinc soe goet ghi en moecht daer quaet wt dencken eñ sondelike ghedachten daer wt treckē eñ maken ende die wise comen vā des mēschen ō-

A PAGE FROM "DE BOEC DES GULDEN THROENS," IN DUTCH, PRINTED AT HAARLEM, IN 1484.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Establishment of the Printing-press in Italy and the South of Europe generally.

ROME, in addition to her ancient renown, has the glory of being the first Italian city in which the printing-press was planted, in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Papal Church was still in its palmy days, and its metropolis was the great European centre of our modern learning, which had recently received a great impetus from the rapid crumbling of the Greek Empire, under the pressure of the successful arms of the Turks, and the consequent exodus of the last of the learned Greeks, who, quitting the Byzantian capital, sought refuge in Italy, and especially at Rome.

It was, however, not actually in the city of Rome, but at the little neighbouring town of Subiaco that the first Italian press was first established. Cardinal Torquemada, Administrator of the Monastery of Subiaco, impressed with the importance of the new art which had arisen in Germany, the results as well as the fame of which had already reached Italy in 1464 (or earlier), determined, with the assistance of the monks of Subiaco, who were mostly Germans, to introduce it into Italy by the invitation of German printers to their monastery. Torquemada, a Spaniard by birth, was one of the leading spirits of his day. He had been one of the Confessors of Queen Isabella in her infancy and youth, and is said to have been the first to instil into her mind the necessity of establishing the Inquisition as the only effectual means of checking the already rising spirit of heresy. But he does not appear to have been averse to the progress of thought in other directions, and we now find him, when nearly eighty years of age, determining to take the lead in endowing Italy, the country of his final adoption, with the knowledge-spreading powers of the printing-press. The Catholic Church, in fact, was, through the medium of its high functionaries, favourable to the introduction of that new art which was destined to deal against it those telling blows that infallibly led to the development of the ideas which produced the great Reformation, and which must eventually destroy the temporal if not the spiritual power of the Papacy itself. The Papacy was then a great power, confident in that spiritual strength which, while apparently unassailable, was so soon to be shaken to its very foundations by the new art it was fostering; and in this blind confidence it made use of that art in producing the ill-judged and infamous "Letters of Indulgence," which were to be the immediate cause of the great Lutheran revolt against its Power and Principles. But these events lay as yet in the darkness of the future, and the Church's faithful servant, Torquemada, did his best to assist, as it were, in forging the weapon that was destined to destroy it. His determination to introduce the art of printing into Italy, once arrived at, was immediately carried into execution, and in the same year two experienced adepts in the new art—Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Sweinheim—were established in the monastery; in the midst of those picturesque mountains, that modern artists crowd to visit as an attractive region for the study of the pictorial art, without once thinking, while they are transferring the scene to their canvases, that they are painting the daily landscape that met the eyes of the fathers of Italian printing. The two Germans established their atelier at once, and, it would seem, without the occurrence of any difficulties; Sweinheim being the engraver of the types, and Pannartz, with assistants (perhaps the monks themselves), the compositors and printers.

Like their predecessors in Germany, the first efforts of these pioneers of the Italian printers were made upon a Donatus, as a work of small extent. These Donatuses were styled, in the

subsequent list of their works, "Donati pro Puerulis." Then followed, almost immediately, their first important work, the celebrated "Lactantius," which was successfully completed on the 29th of October, 1465. It is a grand folio volume, printed with letters of a form new to the printing-press, and founded on the style of the characters used in the Italian manuscripts of the period. These letters, unlike the pointed Gothic types of the German printers, were rounded in shape, and became the parents of the actual forms of our modern types; the capitals being closely copied, like those of Italian MSS. themselves, from the characters of ancient Roman inscriptions; and they were often very fine reproductions of the noble simplicity of the originals. The Gothic angularity had, in fact, only prevailed in Italian writing during a portion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which were the great epoch of the true Gothic feeling in art; after which period the Italian scribes re-adopted the fine forms of the rounded *uncial* writing of the earlier periods. The modified style of Italian writing then developed, became, so to say, permanent, and was imitated by Sweinheim in all the types which he engraved for the press of Pannartz. This fine, rounded, and easily-legible character was soon distinguished as Roman .type, a technical designation which it still retains in the modern printing-office, though more definite and specific terms have rendered the generic one somewhat obsolete. Another step was made in this remarkable book, produced in the cells of the monks of Subiaco,—namely, the introduction, for the first time, of passages of Greek, printed with moveable types. Schoiffher, as we have seen, had already printed in Greek characters, at Mayence; but the words were engraved entire, on wood, he having only occasion for a few passages. But Sweinheim, seeing that many quotations would be required in the "Lactantius," engraved the necessary types, copying them from fine Greek manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries, which gives to his Greek characters a noble archaic character not found in the printed Greek of later books. It is worthy of note that the determination to engrave type for the Greek characters was only arrived at after the commencement of the work, the earlier portions of the book having blanks left for the Greek, in which the required passages were filled in by hand. This work having been entirely produced at the expense of the monastery, does not bear the names of Sweinheim and Pannartz in the colophon.

Before proceeding to describe the specimen page from the first work that issued from an Italian press, it will be well to give a few examples of Italian MSS. of the period, in order to show how the German printers, with the plastic capacities of true artists, abandoned the Gothic and angular types which they had been accustomed to in Germany, while imitating their native manuscripts, and devised an entirely new style of type founded upon the written character of the manuscripts which they were about undertaking to reproduce by the processes of their new art.

The first example (No. 1, Plate 27) is part of a page from a beautiful MS. Virgil, of the fifteenth century, written most probably only a few years before the arrival of Sweinheim and Pannartz at Subiaco. The MS. is in the British Museum (Butler, 11,956).

The specimen No. 2, Plate 27, is from a very elegant MS. Horace, of about the same period, or rather earlier, selected partly on account of the characteristic illumination of the same peculiar Italian type as that sketched out in the margin of our specimen page of the "Lactantius," and which from some circumstance was left uncoloured. The MS. Horace, from which this specimen is taken, is in the British Museum (Harl., 3,510).

The third specimen (No. 3, Plate 27), written in a larger character, is from a beautiful manuscript copy of Varro's "De Re Rustica," also in the library of the British Museum.

It will be at once perceived, on comparing the specimen page from the "Lactantius" of Sweinheim and Pannartz (Plate 28),* how well the German printers succeeded in reproducing the characters of the Italian hand of the day in their type. The entire page, too, is a fine and extremely regular piece of printing, very wonderful as a first effort in a new and foreign locality, and

* The "Lactantius" was completed, as the Colophon informs us, on the 29th of October, 1465.

MARCI TERENTII VA
RRONIS RERVM RV
STICARVM LIBER IIS AD
NIGRVM TVRAMIVM
PREFATIO

VIRI MAGNI
nostri maiores
non sine causa
præponebant
rusticos romanos urbãis.
Vt ruri enim q in uilla ui-
uunt ignauiores q̃ qui in
agro uersantur in aliquo
opere faciundo sic qui in
oppido sederent: q̃ q rura
colerent desidiosiores pu
tabant. Itaque annũ ita
diuiserũt: ut nonis mo

Nº 3. – A PAGE FROM "VARRO DE RE RUSTICA."
AN ITALIAN M.S. OF THE 15TH CENTURY

E dicta rumpent uilia nongetę
N on seres infidiq: perse
N on tanaim prope flumen orti
N osq: & profestis lucibus & sacris
I nter iocosi munera liberi.
C um prole matronisq: nr̃is
R ite deos prius adprecati
V irtute funeros more patrum duces
L idis remixto carmine tibiis
T roiamq: et anchisen & almę
P rogeniem ueneris canemus:
Q: H F: Carminum liber quartus et ultimus
finit:
E P O D O N A D M E C E N A T E

I Bis liburnis inter alta nauium
A mice propugnacula
P aratus omne cesaris periculum
S ubire mecenas tuo
Q uid nos quibus te uita superstite
I ocunda si contra grauis
V trum ne iussi persequemur otium
N on dulce ni tecum simul
A n hunc laborem mente laturi decet
Q uem ferre non molles uiros
F eremus: & te uel per alpium iugo

Nº 2. – A PAGE FROM THE "ODES OF HORACE."
AN ITALIAN M.S. OF THE 15TH CENTURY

A duentumq; pedum flatusq; audiuit equorum
C ontinuoq; ineant pugnas et prelia tentent
N iroseus fessos iam gurgite phebus hibero
T ingat equos noctemq; die labente reducat
C onsidunt castris ante urbem et menia uallant.

D Vodecimo turnus diuiso occiditur armis
Turnus iam fractis aduerso marte latinis
Semet in arma parat pacem cupiente latino
Fedus percutitur: passuris omnia uictis
H oc turni uiturna soror confundit et ambos
I npugnam populos agit ementita camertem
E neas uolucri tardatur membra sagitta
A nxia pro nato seruauit cura parentis
V rbs capitur: uitam laqueo sibi finit amata
E neas turnum campo congressus utrinq;
C ircumfusa acie uita spoliauit et armis;

Nº 1. PART OF A PAGE FROM THE "ÆNEAD OF VIRGIL"
AN ITALIAN M.S. OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

SPECIMENS OF ITALIAN M.S. BOOKS. AT THE PERIOD OF THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTNG IN ITALY.

in a new style. The border sketched out for illumination in the margin was evidently intended for colouring, and is in the leading Italian style of the period: the interlacing branches were meant to be white, slightly shaded with grey or yellow, and the spaces between filled in with different colours—probably blue, red, and green, which were the most usual. This preparation for the decorative border being of Italian design makes it difficult to understand how it happens that the rubrication, for which, with the large initial, spaces were left blank, is in a decidedly German hand, the initial M being, moreover, very coarsely and carelessly executed. These seeming discrepancies may, perhaps, be accounted for in this way. A copy, enriched by an Italian illuminator, may have been sent to Germany, along with a certain number of plain copies, intended for illumination according to the pattern sent; the rubrications to be filled in by German writers. Supposing this to be the case, the copy from which our specimen is taken may have had the rubrications added by a German hand, and the preparations made for copying the Italian illumination, the outline of which does, in fact, seem slightly Germanized. The inscription on the lower margin is an addition made by some subsequent owner of the book. The copy from which our specimen is taken was bequeathed to the British Museum by Mr. Cracherode.

The "Cicero de Oratore," subsequently produced by the same printers and with the same characters, is supposed to have been likewise printed at Subiaco, as well as the Saint Augustin (de Civitate Dei*) which followed it. This was the last work which these artists printed in the monastery; after which they appear to have removed to Rome, where they commenced printing on their own account, with an entirely new set of types, having doubtless been compelled to leave the whole of their old fount, as well as the matrices, with the monks, who had furnished the pecuniary means for their execution.

In 1467 we find these printers regularly established in Rome; Sweinheim having produced an entirely new set of types, still more Italian in character, "The Letters of Cicero" were soon issued from their Roman press, in a quarto volume having the following inscription :—

Hoc Conradus opus Suueynheym ordine miro
Arnoldusque simul Pannarts una æde colendi
Gente theotonica Romæ expediere sodales
In domo Petri de Maximo, MCCCCLXVII.

The use of the house of Pietro de Massimi, mentioned in the colophon, appears to have been conceded to them gratuitously by the owner to enable them to carry on the practice of their art with convenience and economy.

The "Letters of Cicero" was the first of a series of works, poured with unexampled rapidity from their new press; while during their establishment at Subiaco little more than one work per year was produced. There were, perhaps, in the monastery, too many cooks engaged in the concoction of the literary soup; and Torquemada, the aged *chef*, was, perhaps, too fastidious in various matters to allow of very rapid progress. However this may be, it is certain that, disencumbered from Conventual harness, their rate of work, after the first year spent in preparation, became marvellously rapid, insomuch that, according to their own statement, they produced, on an average, more than eight volumes per annum in the five years following 1467. But this rapid rate of production appears to have exceeded the commercial demand; for notwithstanding the talent and friendly energy of their editor, and occasional corrector of the press, John Andrea, the Secretary of the Vatican, and afterwards Bishop of Aleria, who was appointed by the Pope, Paul II., to supervise the works issuing from their press, they did not find a sufficient sale for their productions. Their list of books was chiefly composed of the works of Greek and Latin classic authors, and from that cause, perhaps, they did not meet with the ready sale that carried off so lightly the ponderous tomes of theological disquisi-

*A contemporary inscription in a copy of this work informs us that the copy in question was purchased in Rome, in the year 1467, for eight gold ducats and two grain.

tion suited to the peculiar religious spirit of the age, such as those printed by Mentelin, of Strasburg, by means of which he rapidly realized an almost princely fortune.

The enumeration of the works of Sweinheim and his partner, embracing a large proportion of the best-known classic authors, in all branches of literature, would occupy far too much space for a work of this kind, in which it is sought to compress the leading features of the early history of the printing-press into a single volume. I may, however, state that some of the works alluded to were the first printed editions of the classics, and that nearly all were executed in a very magnificent manner. As an example I may mention, *en passant*, the Livy printed in 1469, of which our national Museum possesses the only copy known to have been printed on vellum. This magnificent volume was sold in 1815 for £903, and was bequeathed to the Museum by Mr. Grenville. Their rate of production decreased in 1473, and in 1474 ceased altogether. But they had already produced something like 12,000 either folio or quarto volumes; and Rome, though a centre of learning, was not a commercial city, and our printers do not appear to have resorted to those active means of circulating their works that succeeded so well with Fust and Schoiffher, and other German printers. Finding their works accumulate in their hands, and yielding but insufficient returns, they addressed a still extant letter to the reigning Pope, Sixtus IV., through the medium of the Bishop of Aleria, stating their position, and containing a list of their works; but the appeal does not seem to have been responded to beyond gracious acknowledgments, and the few works they produced after this period are of very inferior quality, and printed with worn-out types. Sixtus, however, was evidently not indifferent to the influence of literature, or to the success of the new art of printing, as we find him honouring in a peculiar manner the great French printer Jenson, then established at Venice; while, as a general patron of learning, he appointed the celebrated Platine Librarian of the Vatican, and commanded him to write his well-known "History of the Popes," from St. Peter to Sixtus IV. The Pope probably thought that complete non-interference was the most likely course to cause the spread of the new art of printing, which, in fact, extended itself more rapidly in Rome under the system pursued in his reign than under the marked protection of his predecessor, Paul II. Sweinheim appears to have found it necessary at this time to abandon the joint concern and set up on his own account as an engraver only; and we find that some of the later works of Pannartz, on which his name appears alone in the subscription, are printed with types which, though new, were of such inferior style to those of previous productions, that it is quite evident his late partner had no hand in their production. He, however, commenced a new edition of the "Epistles of St. Jerome" with the old types of the "Cicero" of 1467; but only lived to complete the first volume, and died in the course of the year 1476, the precise date of his decease being unknown.

In the mean time Sweinheim had been very active in his separate career. He had undertaken to engrave on copper the maps for an edition of the works of the "Geography" of Ptolemy, from a very ancient Latin manuscript. This was, with the exception of Nicholas di Lorenzo's "Monte Santo di Dio," printed in 1475 (to be afterwards spoken of), the first book ever illustrated with copper-plate engravings, and one of the first attempts to use metal instead of wood, and to incise the design instead of cutting it in relief, in which Sweinheim was entirely successful. Indeed in no other way could the delicacy of the fine lines which he required have been represented. The plates are truly masterpieces of art, from the excessive accuracy and minute care of their execution. The proper names were executed in Roman capitals, being the finest and purest reproductions of ancient Roman letters ever executed up to that time. The type of the work appears to have been engraved by the same skilful hand. It is of the same size as that which he engraved for the "Cicero" of 1467, while associated with Pannartz, but of improved form. He did not live to complete the fine series of plates for the "Ptolemy," the remainder being engraved in a very creditable manner by his countryman, Arnold Buckinck. Sweinheim appears to have died about the same time as his old

Lactancij firmiani de diuinis institutionibus
aduersus gentes rubrice primi libri incipiunt
Quanta sit et fuerit semper cognitio ueritatis Et quod nec sine religione
sapientia nec sine sapientia sit probanda religio Capitulum primum

MAGNO & excellēti ingenio uiri quom se doctrinę pę-
nitus dedidissent: quicquid laboris poterat impendi:
contemtis omnibus publicis & priuatis actionibus:
ad inquirēdę ueritatis studiū se contulerūt: existimā-
tes multo esse pręclarius humanarū diuinarūq; rerū
inuestigare ac scire rationē q̄ struēdis opibus aut cu-
mulandis honoribus inherere: Quibus rebus quoniam fragiles terrenęq;
sunt: & ad solius corporis ꝑtinent cultum nemo melior: nemo iustior effici
potest. Erāt quidez illi ueritatis cognitione dignissimi quam scire tātopere
cupiuerūt: atq; ita ut eam rebus omnibus anteponerēt: Nam & abiecisse
quosdā res familiares suas et renūtiasse uniuersis uoluptatibus constat: ut
solā nudamq; uirtutē: nudi expeditiq; sequerentur: tantū apud eos uirtutis
nomen et auctoritas ualuit: ut in ea omne summi boni premium ꝑdicarēt.
Sed neq; adepti sūt id quod uolebāt: & operā simul atq; industriā ꝑdide-
rūt: quia ueritas idest archanū sūmi dei qui fecit omnia ingenio ac ꝓpriis
sensibus nō potest comꝑhēdi: alioquin nihil inter deū hominēq; distaret si
cōsilia & dispositiones illius maiestatis ęternę cogitatio assequeretur huma-
na. Quod quia fieri nō potuit ut homini ꝑ se ipsū ideo diuina noscere: non
est passus hominem deus lumē sapientię requirentem diucius errare: ac sine
ullo laboris effectu uagari per tenebras inextricabiles: aperuit oculos eius
aliquando: & notionem ueritatis munus suū fecit: ut & humanā sapientiā
nullā esse monstraret: & errāti ac uago uiam colloquendę immortalitatis
ostēderet. Verū quoniā pauci utuntur hoc cęlesti beneficio ac munere: quod
obuoluta in obscuro ueritas latet: eaq; uel contemtui doctis est: quia ido-
neis assertoribus eget: uel odio idoctis ob insitā sibi austeritatē: qua natura
hominum procliuis in uicia pati non potest: Nam quia uirtutibus amari-
tudo ꝑmixta ē: uitia uero uoluptate condita sunt: illa offensi: hac delmiti:
feruntur in ꝑceps: ac bonorum specie falsi mala ꝓ bonis amplectuntur. Succur-
rēdū esse his erroribus credidi ut et docti ad uerā sapientiam dirigantur: et
indocti ad uerā religionē. Quę professio multo melior: utilior: gloriosior:
putanda est q̄ illa oratoria in qua diu uersati: non ad uirtutē sed plane ad
argutā maliciā iuuenes erudiebamus. Multo qꝑpe nūc rectius de ꝑceptis

Ego burkardus de hornek dedi hunc lactan-
tium deo & sancto francisco in remedium aīe mee

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE "LACTANTIUS" PRINTED BY SWEYNHEIM & PANNARTZ IN THE MONASTERY OF SUBIACO 1465.
THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ITALY, WITH A DATE.

partner, Pannartz, in the course of the year 1476. The publisher of the "Ptolemy" alludes to his death, and also to the beauty of his work, in a passage of the Preface, which I have unfortunately no space to insert in this place.

After Sweinheim and Pannartz had established themselves at Subiaco, Ulric Hahn arrived in Rome and set up a printing-press there. His first book was the "Meditations" of the Cardinal Torquemada. It is thought that the commission which the Cardinal gave to Hahn to print his own works may have been the chief cause of the removal of Sweinheim and Pannartz to Rome, where a rival press might soon be able to take the lead in Italy, if they remained in the obscure village of Subiaco. Hahn printed the "Meditations" in large Gothic characters, which he had doubtless brought with him from Germany. The work appeared in 1467, and was soon followed by others; so that, by the time Sweinheim and Pannartz had got their establishment into full play, they had a great rival press to contend against, which may have been one cause of the ill success attending the over rapid production of their books. As the Bishop of Aleria had been the literary director of the press of Sweinheim and Pannartz, so the celebrated Campanus, Bishop of Crotona, became the principal editor and adviser in the establishment of Hahn. Campanus was so named from the Campagna di Roma, where he was born, of peasant parents. Though heartily working with Hahn, he yet detested the Germans. He not only hated their rough manners, but even their very country, and is said to have adopted a most unbishoplike form of final salutation when, on his return to Italy, he took a last distasteful look at the plains of Germany, which he was leaving full of disgust. Whether this feeling already existed in his mind at the time he became director of the book-work of Ulric Hahn, one may not say, as that association occurred some time before his well-known attendance at the Diet of Ratisbon, on his return from which the recorded anathema was pronounced; but if he was not then influenced by his German experiences, he had possibly his prejudices ready-made, in deference to which, it may be, that Hahn tried to render his German name less guttural, Teutonic, and barbaric, by omitting the second "h," and afterwards by translating the German Hahn (a cock) into Latin, as Gallus, under which name his editor, Campanus, has celebrated him in the Latin verses which form the Subscription to several of his works. The name of Ulric is fortunately preserved in addition to the Gallus, or it might have been difficult to recognize our friend Hahn in the punning verses of the facetious editor, some of whose poetic productions attain to the very limits of permissible freedom of speech :—

Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, unde quod alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit. Ultor adest:
Udalricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis,
Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

Hahn himself adopted a somewhat similar form of subscription, but more brief, and much less poetical and learned, which runs, as we find it attached to the "History of Spain," by Roderic Sancius, which he printed at Rome: "I, the Cock, without reed or quill, wrote this book." ("*Ego, Udalricus Gallus, sine calamo aut pennis eundem librum impressi.*")

After the departure of Campanus for the Diet at Ratisbon, Hahn associated himself with Simon Nicolai of Chardelle, and printed with him an edition of the "Decretals" in 1472. A book published jointly by Ulric Hahn and Nicolai of Chardelle contains one of those singular Latin subscriptions which so often accompany the works of the early printers, on the subject of which a very interesting and instructive essay might be written, as they often contain allusions not met with in the better-known sources of bibliographical information. By this subscription, which is in prose, it appears that Simon Nicolai of Chardelle was only the editor and money partner, and not the printer; while the verses that follow form an address to purchasers, indicating the situation of

the establishment, and begging them to buy quickly, "if they have any wish to secure a copy while it is yet time."

As an example of the style of Ulric Hahn, I have selected a page from his fine edition of the "Tusculanæ Questiones," printed at Rome in 1469 (Plate 29). The copy from which it is taken was formerly in the library of George III., and is now in the British Museum. I am inclined to consider that the illumination is not contemporaneous, but that the blanks left by the printer have been filled up at a later period; the view within the initial C has a Flemish rather than an Italian character.

Hahn and Nicolai eventually dissolved their partnership, and had separate *ateliers;* and by that time there were several other printers established in Rome, one or more having arrived as early or earlier than 1470. Among these were Laver, of Würzburg, patronized by Cardinal Caraffa; Lignamine, especially protected by Paul II., and whose edition of the "Chronicles of the Sovereign Pontiffs" contains many interesting particulars respecting the early printers, especially those of Mayence and Strasburg.

In less than five years after the establishment of Sweinheim and Pannartz at Subiaco, the "new art" had extended and permanently fixed itself in many of the Italian cities, especially those of the north; the most notable events connected with its development in Italy being those associated with its establishment at Venice.

VENICE.

One of the famous first race of German printers, John of Spires, arrived at Venice in the year 1469, and immediately brought his art into full play; producing within the first three months his fine edition of the "Letters of Cicero," a masterpiece of early printing, well worthy of representing his claim to the honour of being the first to print a book in the celebrated city of Venice, the undisputed Queen of the Adriatic. This was doubtless his own feeling, in expression of which he appended the following Colophon to his work:—

Primus in Adriaca formis impressit aenis
Urbe libros Spira genitus de Stirpe Johannes.
In reliquis sit quanta vides spes, lector habenda
Quom labor hic primus calami superavit artem.

M. CCCC. LXVIIII.

Here, as in so many of the most remarkable subscriptions of the early printers, we have again reiterated, with boastful magniloquence, the victory of the new art over the vanquished pen. And so full are these brave printers of the splendid and undisputed success of their art, that they seem almost to forget that the pen must always reign supreme, and must always first record the thoughts of the author, before the press can play its more humble yet invaluable part in the reproduction of the manuscript and its transformation into a printed book. The printing-press, after all, is but the servant of the pen—a thousand-handed servant, it is true, and far superior to the pen in the hand of the mere transcriber—but a mere humble follower of the pen of its leader and founder, the author. And doubtless the early printers, notwithstanding all the pride and pomp of their subscriptions, thought so too; as we find them always approaching with reverence the works of the great writers of antiquity, and calling to their aid the best available learning of their time to examine and correct the manuscripts which they printed from.

Shortly after the appearance of the "Letters of Cicero," John of Spires produced another and still more important work—the "Natural History of Pliny." The fine Italian type and the regularity of the composition and printing of this work are very remarkable. Indeed, no specimen of the works of the early printers is more greedily sought than this edition of "Pliny," a copy of

which sold in Paris, in 1781,* for 3,000 livres, which may be estimated at £200; and a good copy of the same work would now realize a still higher price. Among his other productions may be specially noticed his "Tacitus," a fac-simile of a portion of a page of which will be found in Plate 30, No. 1. It should be mentioned here that the "Tacitus," which has generally been attributed to John of Spires, and by others to his brother Vindelin, is now considered, perhaps more correctly, to be the work of one of the children of John, especially as it exhibits the use of catch-words, which had not been adopted in John's time. It is, however, by the Librarian of the British Museum attributed to John of Spires, with the proximate date of 1469 attached to it; being further described as presenting the earliest known example of the use of catch-words: this, if the above date could be substantiated, would probably be true.

The success of John of Spires as a printer was at once recognized by the Venetian Republic; and Pasquale Malipiero, the reigning Doge, granted a patent conferring upon him the sole right of printing books within the territory of Venice. This letter was published in 1820 by Morelli, the librarian of St. Marc's, and is full of interesting particulars, for which, unfortunately, I cannot here find space. But the enterprising printer did not live to enjoy the privilege—he died while printing his next work, St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei;" and although his wife and children are noticed in the letter of privilege, and although his brother Vindelin, also an experienced printer, had accompanied him, and became celebrated in Venice after the death of John, nevertheless the protection of the great Republic was not continued to any of the family; and the document, as it still exists in the Venetian Archives, is endorsed by a memorandum declaring it of no force, in consequence of the death of the person in whose favour it was promulgated. ("Nullius est vigoris, quia obiit magister et auctor.") Another Doge was upon the ducal throne, Christofero Moro; and it was probably thought, in that commercial State, that such a trammel was injudicious, as preventing the increase of an important and highly-valuable branch of trade; and though we may sympathize with the family of John of Spires, the Government was doubtless right, as shown by the sequel; for on the withdrawal of the monopoly several new printers set up their Presses in the city, among whom was the celebrated Jenson, the ingenious Frenchman who was sent by Charles VII. to acquire the art at Mayence.

Among the printers who established themselves in Venice at that time was Christopher Valdarfer, who afterwards removed to Milan. One of his first productions while at Venice was an edition of the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, a copy of which was purchased at the sale of the library of the Duke of Roxburgh, in 1812, for £2,260. It was secured at that high price by the Marquis of Blandford, outbidding Lord Spencer for this coveted prize; who, however, obtained it at a much cheaper rate when it was re-sold, in 1819, when it only realized £918. 15*s.*, which was still an immense sum for a printed book. The style and type of this highly-prized bibliographic rarity are both worthy of their high repute, and are dwelt upon with considerable unction by Dibdin in his description of the bibliographical treasures of the Spencerian Library.

John Emeric, of Udenheim, was another of the German printers who immediately succeeded John and Vindelin of Spires; and still more successful, though somewhat later in the field, was Erard Ratdolt, who, like all first-class artists, was an innovator. For instance, he is said to have been the first to adopt a regular form of Title at all approaching our modern conception of a Book-Title; and he also took the lead in the production of those beautifully-engraved initials for which the books printed in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century are famous. His most splendid work is undoubtedly the "Elements of Euclid, with the Commentaries of Campanus," of which a fac-simile of an entire page will be found in Plate 39. This magnificent volume was printed at Venice in 1482. The copy in the British Museum, from which our plate is taken, is printed on vellum, and was exquisitely illuminated as a presentation copy to the reigning Doge, Mocenigo.

* M. Bernard, "De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie."

With true German predilections, Ratdolt made use of Gothic type for this beautiful volume. The exquisitely-engraved initials are, however, principally of Roman form. This fine book, which might form a fitting pendant to the celebrated "History of Francesco Sforza," printed at Milan by Zarotti, came to the British Museum from the library of George III. It is a book that has been described in detail by nearly all the leading bibliographers. The "Fasciculus Temporum," printed by Ratdolt in 1481, is also a very remarkable book both for its engravings and initials.

Nicholas Jenson was the most renowned of those who followed the earliest German printers in Venice, until his works were partially eclipsed by those of the Aldi. This printer, whose name is intimately connected with the early spread of the new art beyond the limits of its first seats in Mayence and Strasburg, became associated with the history of the printing-press in the following manner. According to a manuscript now preserved at Paris, in the library of the Arsenal, Charles VII., having been informed, "on the 3rd of October, 1458, that *Messire Guthemberg, Chevalier*, residing at Mayence, in Germany, a man dexterous in engraving letters and punches, had discovered an art of printing with them, &c., &c.," determined to send an emissary to Mayence, who should by some means make himself acquainted with the new art, which it was supposed was kept a profound secret. Nicholas Jenson, then an engraver in the Royal Mint at Tours, of which he was Master,* was selected as the emissary in question. He no doubt found it much easier to acquire the art than he had anticipated, as the presses of Fust and Schoiffher, as well as that of Gutenberg, were then in full activity, and others were already commencing. Jenson, therefore, as a skilful engraver, no doubt found it easy to obtain employment in the *atelier* of one or other of the printers of Mayence, probably in that of Gutenberg himself. On his return to Paris, some time in 1461, in possession of a full knowledge of the art which he had been sent to acquire, he found his patron the king dead, and Louis XI. on the throne. These circumstances may account for the singular fact that the art of printing was not introduced at that time by Jenson; for it is well known that Louis XI. made a point of discouraging, at all cost, if not actually persecuting, all those who had been in any way patronized by his father.

Jenson, not finding that amount of protection which was necessary to enable him to introduce in Paris the art he had acquired, and probably disgusted with the treatment he received, determined to carry his talents and knowledge elsewhere. In the choice of some other centre in which he might establish himself with equal effect, he was limited to very few places. There were then, indeed, only three European cities which could boast of being great literary centres—Paris, Rome, and Venice; and it was to the capital of the great modern Republic that Jenson directed his steps. He arrived there just in time to find the field thrown open to him and others by the revocation of the letters patent granted to John of Spires. In 1470 he had already completed his preparations, and the first four works which issued from his Venetian press appeared in that year. These were—1st, the Eusebius ("Eusebii Præparatio Evangelica, &c."); 2nd, "Ciceronis Epistolæ ad Atticum;" 3rd, "Ciceronis Rhetoricorum Novorum, &c.;" 4th, "Justini Epitome Trogi." These works were printed with Roman characters of his own engraving, more perfect in form than those of any previous printer. His types are in fact the direct parents of the letters now in general use, which only differ from them in certain small details dependent solely on fashion. The modern *j* and *u* and *w* are, however, absent, as not being part of the alphabet then in use; in fact, to use a strong term, not yet invented. Roman capitals, as in the books of the other Italian printers, were used for titles and headings, and had a great advantage over Gothic ones, in which no regular set of forms had been devised by the illuminators of Gothic manuscripts, suitable as permanent models to the printers; the complicated and unsettled forms of Gothic capitals, whether of the illuminator or the sculptor, being inferior in regularity to those of the ancient Roman inscriptions; and these models (already adopted by the copyists of Italian manuscripts as capitals) gave immense advantages to those who adopted

* He was probably also the engraver of the dies, used in that reign, at the Mint of Paris.

Cum defensionum labo-
ribus Senatoriisq; muneribus aut omnino aut
magna exparte essē aliquando liberatus : retuli
me Brute te hortāte maxīe ad ea studia : q̄
retenta animo : remissa tēporibꝰ : longo inter-
uallo intermissa reuocaui Et cū omnium artiū
que ad rectam uiuēdi uiam p̄tinerent ratio et
disciplina : studio sapiētie : que p̄sia dicit̄ : contineretur hoc mihi
litteris latinis illustrandum putaui Non quia p̄sia grecis & litteris
et doctoribꝰ p̄cipi nō posset Sed meum semp iudicium fuit omnia
nostros aut inuenisse per se sapiētius q̄ grecos : aut accepta ab illis
fecisse meliora : que q̄dē digna statuissent in qbꝰ nō nihil elaborarēt
Nam mores et instituta uite : resq; domesticas : ac familiares nos
profecto et melius tuemur et lautius Rem uero pubˡ nostri maiores
certe melioribus temperauerūt et institutis et legibus Quid loquar
de re militari : in qua tum uirtute nostri multum ualuerunt tum
plus etiam disciplina? Iam illa que natura non litteris assecuti sunt
neq; cū grecis neq; ulla cum gente sunt cōferenda Que enim tanta
grauitas : que tanta constantia magnitudo animi probitas . fides
que tam excellens in omni genere uirtus ullis fuit ut sit cum ma-
ioribus nostris cōparanda Doctrina Gretia nos : et omni litterarū
genere superabat In quo erat facile uincere non repugnantes Nam
cū apud grecos antiquissimū et doctissimū genus sit poetarū sīq̄dē
Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romā cōditam Archilocus reg-
nante Romulo Serius poeticam nos accepimus Annis enim fere
crecentis decem post Romam cōditam Liuius fabulam dedit · G
Claudio Ceci filio et M . Tuditano consulibus Anno ante natum
Ennium : qui fuit natu maior q̄ Plautus et Neuius . Sero igitur a
nostris poete uel cogniti uel recepti Quanq̄ est ī originibus solitos
esse in epulis canere cōuiuas ad tibicinem de laudorum hominum
uirtutibus : honorem amen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio
Catonis in qua obiecit ut probrum Marco nobiliori : qđ is poetā

THE FIRST PAGE OF CICERO'S "TUSCULANÆ QUESTIONES"
PRINTED BY ULRICH HAHN, ROME, 1469.

NAM Valerium Aſiaticũ bis conſulem: fuiſſe quondã adulterũ eius credidit: pariterq; ortis inbians quos ille a lucullo captos inſigni ma/gnificẽtia extollebat. Suillum accuſãdis utriſq; imittit. Adiungitur Soſibius Britannici edu cator: qui per ſpeciem beniuolentię moneret Claudiũ caueri vim atq; opes principibus infenſas. Precipuũ auctorem Aſiaticũ interficiendi Cęſaris nõ extimuiſſe cõcionẽ populi romani fateri: gloriamq; facioris ultro petere clarum ex eo in urbe dedita per ꝓuicias fama parare iter ad germanicos exercitus: quando genitus viẽnę multiſq; et validis propinqui/tatibus ſubnixus: turbare gentiles nationes promptũ habere. At Claudius nihil ultra ſcrutatus: citis cũ militibus tanq̃ opp mẽdo bello: Criſpinũ prętorij pręfectũ miſit. A quo repertus eſt apud Baias: vinctiſq; inditis in urbẽ raptus: neq; data ſenat⁹ copia intra cubiculum auditur Meſſalina coram & Suillo: cor ruptionẽ militũ quos pecuia & ſtupro in omni flagitio obſtri/ctos arguebat: exinde adulteriũ Poppeę: ac poſtremũ mollicią corporis obiectante. Ad quod inito ſilentio prorupit reus: et interroga inquit Suille filios tuos: virum me eſſe fatebuntur: ingreſſuſq; defenſionẽ cõmotus maiorem in modum: Claudio Meſſalinęq; lachrymas exciuit: quibus abluẽdis cubiculo egre/diens monet Vitellium ne elabi reum ſineret. Ipſa ad pernitiẽ Poppeę feſtinat ſubditos qui terrore carceris ad volũtariã mor tem propellerent: adeo ignaro Cęſare: ut ꝓaucos poſt dies epu/lantem apud ſe maritum eius Scipionem ꝓcontaretur: cur ſine uxore diſcubuiſſet: Atq; ille functã fato reſpõderet. Sed cõſultãti ſuper abſolutiõe Aſiatici: flens vitellius: cõmemorata vetuſtate amicitię utq; Antoniam principis matrem pariter obſeruaſſẽt deinde ꝓcurſis Aſiatici in rem. p. officiis: recentiq; aduerſus Bri tãniam militia q̃ alia conciliãdę miſericordię videbant̃: liberũ

PART OF A PAGE FROM THE TACITUS PRINTED BY JOHANNES DE SPIRA AT VENICE, 1469.

COMINCIA LACOMEDIA DI

dante alleghieri di firenze nella q̃le tracta delle pene et punicioni de uicii et demeriti et premii delle uirtu: Capitolo primo della prima parte de queſto libro loq̃le ſechiama inferno : nel quale lautore fa prohemio ad tucto eltractato del libro :·

EL mezo delcamin dinrã uita
mi ritrouai ꝓ una ſelua oſcura
che la diricta uia era ſmarrita
Et quanto adir q̃lera coſa dura
eſta ſelua ſeluaggia aſpra eforte
che nel penſier renoua la paura
Tante amara che pocho piu morte
ma pertractar del ben chio uitrouai
diro dellatre coſe chi uo ſcorte
I non ſo ben ridir come uentrai
tantera pien diſonno inſuquil punto
che la uerace uia abandonai
Ma poi chi fui appie dum colle gionto
la doue terminaua quella ualle
che mauea dipaura el cor compuncto
Guardai inalto et uidde le ſuoe ſpalle
ueſtite gia deraggi del pianeta
che mena dricto altrui per ogni calle
Allor fu la paura un pocho cheta
che nellaco del cor mera durata
la nocte chio paſſai contanta pieta

PART OF A PAGE OF THE "INFERNO" OF DANTE, PRINTED AT FOLIGNO BY NUMMEISTER, IN 1472.

PL 30

the Italian character. It is the full advantage which he took of this circumstance that secured to Jenson a high place among the early printers; and to the high perfection to which he brought the Italian style of type that he owed his great fame; although the fine bold Roman type of some of his predecessors in Italy has perhaps even greater attractions to the uneducated eye than the more beautifully executed characters of Jenson, with all their regularity. It was, however, generally allowed by his contemporaries that he had made great and important advances in his art; and we find Antonio Cornazzano, of Ferrara, a man of taste and an eminent scholar, praising the works of the Italianized French printer in verses of the usual kind, by way of subscription to some of his first books; among which, the verses at the end of the "Eusebius" may be cited as an example, as also the subscription to the "Epistles of Cicero," and several other of his numerous editions. Similar subscriptions, either by Cornazzano, or his editor Omnibonus Leonicenus, always in a more or less epigrammatic or exaggerated form, are, in fact, attached to nearly all Jenson's works. In one of these Leonicenus gives Jenson the credit of being the "first printer"—which he certainly was not,—instead of the "first of printers," which in some respects he perhaps was.

As Jenson increased the number of his undertakings, he engraved a set of Greek types, but only consisting in all of about forty characters, and no capitals. In the year 1471 his presses were in full activity, and a large number of works were issued; among others the "Decor Puellarum," with the blundered date, in which the absence of a necessary X gave rise to the erroneous assertion that he had printed in Venice as early as 1461. Other blundered dates give, erroneously, 1400 and 1580.

Notwithstanding the credit which Jenson achieved by the beauty of his Roman character, there were still many partisans for the ultramontane Gothic, and some critics went so far as to call that character divine; and Jenson, perhaps wishing to show that he could be as excellent in one style as the other, engraved four different sets of Gothic characters, all of which exhibit extreme accuracy and beauty of finish. One of the first books he printed in that form of letter was, "Baldi de Perusio Lectura super sexto libro Codicis." He printed this book when associated with John of Cologne and others, and it bears the following subscription:—"Lectura Baldi super sexto Codicis diligenter impressa atque emendata ductu et auspiciis . . . . . Literarum caracteribus summorum virorum Johannis de Colonia, Nicolai Yenson, sociorumque, explicit M CCCC LXXX pridie Kalendas Decembris." It is rendered probable by subsequent subscriptions of this form, that the printing-office of Jenson and his partners was then under the direction of Herbert of Selingenstadt (a small place near Mayence), from which we may infer that both Jenson and John of Cologne were then resting under their well-earned laurels, and also that the printers of Mayence still enjoyed a vast prestige from their association with the scene of Gutenberg's first triumphant labours. So great was the eventual repute of Jenson, who had evidently acquired considerable wealth and a distinguished social position from the success of his books, that Pope Sixtus IV. conferred upon him the honorary title of Count Palatine. This celebrated printer died in September of the year 1481, full of years and honours.

I have not deemed it necessary to furnish an example of Jenson's Italian type, the specimens already given of the works of his predecessors in Italy being amply sufficient to convey an adequate idea of the early development of that style of character, which will be further illustrated by the works of later Italian printers; but his reformation of the Gothic character resulted in the formation of founts of type of such exquisite regularity and beauty, carrying the angular letter to the highest perfection of which it is capable, that a specimen appears absolutely necessary. No. 2, in Plate 33, is a page from a very beautiful Latin Bible. The page selected is that at the beginning of the volume, commencing, as usual in Latin Bibles, with the Epistle of St. Jerome. The volume is in the British Museum. It is printed on the finest vellum, and with ink of the greatest brilliancy, while the extreme regularity, both of the setting-up and the impression, is truly marvellous.

Andrea Torresani and others continued Jenson's Association, making use of the same types; Torresani was eventually succeeded in the same establishment by the celebrated Aldo Manuccio, who having married his daughter, adopted the important vocation of printer, and became the first of those famous "Aldi," as they are commonly termed, whose fame has not only absorbed that of all the earlier Venetian printers, but that of the early printers of every other Italian seat of the art.

Aldo Manuccio, succeeding as he did to the magnificent founts of type and to the general plant of Jenson, started in his career with great advantages, and knew how to turn them to good account. He was born at Bassano, near Velletri, in the Pontine Marshes; and being thus a native of the Roman States, he sometimes assumed the name of Romanus. He received a classical education, and had the good fortune to become tutor to Albert Pius, Prince of Carpi. The art of printing, however, appears to have possessed an irresistible charm for him, as it did to many others among the learned men of the day; and we therefore find Manuccio, notwithstanding the temptation of far higher social prospects, following out his irresistible predilection, and establishing himself as a printer at Venice, where he acquired a wider reputation than has fallen to the lot of any other of the noble fraternity of the early printers. It was Manuccio who, among many other advances in this art, first invented the semicursive style of character now known as *Italic;* and it is said that it was founded upon a close imitation of the careful handwriting of Petrarch, which, in fact, it closely resembles. This new type was used for a small octavo edition of "Virgil," issued in 1501, on the appearance of which he obtained from Pope Leo X. a letter of privilege, entitling him to the sole use of the new type which he had invented. It is probable that a great portion of his celebrity and popularity arose from his being the first to relieve the reading public from the infliction of those ponderous folio volumes,—huge and cumbrous books which must eventually have severely taxed the courage of the bravest student,—replacing them with the neat and convenient "Octavo," which it is a real pleasure to handle; and this result was accomplished mainly by means of the compact and small Italic type in which his "Virgil" was printed. The issue of a classic in this convenient size, instead of the usual bulky and stately form, was a daring innovation; but one which became at once attractive. Such, indeed, was the general success of the Venetian printers, first by the beauty and legibility of their Roman type, and afterwards by the convenient octavo editions issued by the Aldi, that their brethren in other parts of Europe soon found out that the most successful form of puffing they could adopt was to assert that their works were printed in the Venetian manner and with Venetian type. The fac-simile No. 3, Plate 40, will afford an accurate idea of Manuccio's first octavo edition of "Virgil," the first true octavo that ever issued from the printing-press. The page given in fac-simile is the opening page of the "Georgics," from the copy in the British Museum, which, though not the first edition, will serve our purpose equally well.* The perfection of the characters—the style of which was thus struck out once for all, for it has received no subsequent modifications—is a truly remarkable result of art, that at once conquered a world-wide appreciation; and is still known as Italic type, and constantly used, as we know, when any word or phrase is to be emphasized, or, as we have it technically, italicized; but though we now call it Italic, it was formerly known as Venetian type. It was not in the celebrated "Virgil" that Manuccio first made use of his new type, but in his edition of the "Canzoni and Sonnets" of Petrarch, which, having been printed from the author's original manuscript, gave rise to the possibly well-grounded story that the type in question was an absolute imitation of the writing of Petrarch himself. There is in the British Museum a most beautiful copy of this edition of the "Canzoni," printed on vellum, and richly illuminated for presentation to Isabella d'Este, whose arms are emblazoned in the illumination.

It is not within the scope of this work to carry out in detail either the biography, or a description of the works of any printers except the first pioneers of the art. But the great eminence

* Our photographer inadvertently took his negative from a later edition, instead of the first.

of the founder of the Aldine press calls for some deviation from the course intended; and though it would be utterly impossible, in the present place, to give anything like a chronologically-arranged account of his life and works, a few brief remarks may, nevertheless, be made upon the chief points of his career. Like other great printers, he commenced by small essays, such as grammars and other elementary books in general demand,—his first work being the "Greek Grammar" of Lascaris. But he soon undertook that noble series of great works, in which his success was so great that M. Renouard remarks—speaking of his supremacy in his art,—"Where half-successes are common, and real superiority rare, Aldus the elder and his son Paul merit the highest place." The list of their productions comprises nearly all the great works of antiquity, and of the best Italian authors of their own time. From their learning and general accomplishments, the Aldi might have occupied a brilliant position as scholars and authors, but preferred the useful labour of giving correctly to the world the valuable works of others. The Greek editions of the elder Aldus form the basis of his true glory, especially the "Aristotle," printed in 1495, a work of almost inconceivable labour and perseverance. No. 1, Plate 35, is the first page of this celebrated work, in which the freedom and boldness of the Greek characters will be at once remarked. It may be advantageously compared with the Greek type of another printer, in the fac-simile No. 2 in the same Plate (35), which is part of a page of the first printed Homer, issued at Florence, from the press of Demetrius Chalcondylos, in 1488, and described in the account of the early printers of Florence.

I must not omit to state here, however briefly, that the Aldine edition of the "Septuagint," though not printed till 1518, is the first edition ever printed of the Scriptures, in Greek; nor, though compelled to omit so much, ought I to pass over in utter silence the famous "Lexicon," with its remarkable Preface, which ought to be known to all students of bibliography.

While speaking, incidentally, of the first books in Greek that were successfully produced by the printing-press, I am at once reminded of those of Kalliergi,—who, by his name, was evidently a Greek, or of Greek extraction, most probably the former, and one of those driven to Italy at the time of the then recent conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. The delicate beauty of the Greek types of Kalliergi attracts immediate attention; and his books are rendered still more attractive by their elegant decoration, in close imitation of the Byzantine ornaments of the Greek MSS. of the period. See Plate 35 for a specimen of his "Etymologicon Magnum," which Debure styles "one of the most splendid works that ever issued from the printing-press." In the same Plate is the graceful title of his "Aristotle." The "Galen" by this printer should also be mentioned as being enriched by the addition of some very fine ornaments in the Greek, or, rather, Byzantine style.

The works of the Aldi, though so remarkable in other respects, are seldom of a highly decorative character, in regard either to illustrations or decorative ornamentation, with, however, one very remarkable exception—that of the "Hypnerotomachia," printed in 1499. This work, which is a very singular literary production, professes to describe the combats and trials of Love, as seen in a dream, in the description of which many kinds of learning, romance, archæology, and science (as then known) are brought into play, and frequently in a somewhat heterogeneous manner. The pictorial illustrations of this work, which are very profuse, and often accompanied by beautiful arabesque borderings, are said by some to be by Andrea Mantegna. Ottley thought them by Benedetto Mantegna; while some have attributed them to Raphael, whose pencil they would scarcely discredit. It will, however, be more prudent, unless some further information should be obtained, to consider them the work of an (at present) unknown artist. The work is preceded by an address to Guido, the cotemporary Duke of Urbino (a well-known patron of art and artists), by Leonardus Crassus, of Verona, who appears to have been at the entire expense of producing this sumptuous work, the real author of which was a Colonna, and not Poliphilo, as stated, which is an assumed name. No. 1, Plate 38, is an entire page of this remarkable book, which, as containing the commencement of a chapter, is enriched with one of the larger illustrations,

representing part of a festal procession in honour of the god of love. The distinct Italian style of art, so different to the German, and founded more or less directly on the remains of Greek and Roman art, which were at that time still plentiful in Italy, will be at once observed. A specimen, No. 2 in the same Plate (38), the work of another printer, is a column from a very early folio edition of the works of Boccaccio, which is introduced in this place as affording another example of those graceful wood-engravings in outline which form such elegant enrichments to the books of the early Italian printers. The present illustration stands at the head of the story of Ferondo, and represents the ingenious manner in which he was introduced into the nunnery. Those who wish to learn more concerning the Aldi and their works may be referred to the volumes of M. Renouard and other eminent bibliophilists, who have devoted entire bibliographical works to the history of that remarkable family of eminent printers and their productions.

Such was the success of the Venetian printers, that the typographic ateliers successively established by them exceeded two hundred in number, and at the close of the 15th century more than one hundred and fifty were in activity at the same time. In the thirty years from the issue of Jenson's first book to the close of the century, the number of editions issuing from these various presses exceeded three thousand, independent of several that have disappeared without leaving a trace of their existence behind them, which, as suggested by M. Bernard, allowing only three hundred copies to each edition, would give one million works, and probably more than two millions of volumes.

LUCCA AND FOLIGNO.

Lucca was one of the next Italian cities the name of which became associated with the spread of the new art of printing in Italy; and it enjoys the honour of having on record a decree of its government in favour of the printing-press. A priest, named Clemente, a native of Padua, engaged in Lucca as a scribe, rubricator, illuminator, and binder of manuscripts, having heard of the new art of "rapid writing" then practising in Venice by Vindelin of Spires and Nicolas Jenson, determined to acquire a knowledge of the art, and went there for that express purpose, where he was enabled to obtain the knowledge he desired. He found, however, that the expense of establishing a press at Lucca was beyond his means, and therefore applied for assistance to the Senate of the little commercial republic. To the credit of that body, it was determined by a vote of thirty-eight voices against nine that Clemente should be assisted in establishing a printing-press in their city;* that is to say, that he should receive from the public treasury a small subvention as a public functionary, on condition of his teaching the art to all who desired to learn, during six months. This proposition, it is true, exhibits a little too much of the overweening prudence of careful merchants, who nevertheless were anxious to secure for their community the advantages of the "rapid writer," as the press was sometimes called. Clemente was, however, in no hurry to avail himself of the offer, which possibly did not appear to him a very liberal one; and having succeeded, after great exertions, in establishing a press in Venice, he printed there a great work in folio, of four hundred pages,—the "Universal Medicine" of John *Mesue*, of Damascus. He was, however, not permanently ungrateful for the offer made to him, penurious though it was, for he wrote to his friends, the good Senators of Lucca, in 1472, excusing himself for his long silence, as not being then fully prepared; but that "now," as he states in his still extant letter,—"now that, by the grace of God, Italians have become as expert in the art of printing as the Germans," he places himself under the orders of the Senate of Lucca." His new offer was accepted by a still greater majority —forty-four against four, with an increased stipend, to be extended to four years. It would be interesting to know something about the four good conservative senators who voted against the

* In a work of the present extent it is scarcely necessary to refer to a bibliographical dispute concerning a work by D. J. de Canis, and erroneously said to have been printed in Lucca as early as 1468 by some unknown printer.

newfangled innovation of the printing-press. It does not appear that Clemente returned to Lucca even on this second invitation. But a wood-engraver, named Bartelemi di Civitale, having learnt the art, as it was asserted that Clemente did, from the mere examination of printed works, succeeded in establishing a regular press in Lucca in 1477, and printed, in that year, an edition of the "Triumphs of Petrarch," which is the only work known to have issued from his press.

The little Italian city of Foligno, in the episcopate of Umbria, owed the introduction of its first printing-press to Johan Numeister, one of the pupils of Gutenberg himself. After the death of his old master, Numeister set forth to seek his fortune as an independent printer, directing his steps towards Rome as a great literary centre. His advance was arrested at Foligno, probably by the invitation of Emilianus de Orfinis, a wealthy citizen, well known among the literati of his day, and who, being an enthusiast in the new art of printing, doubtless seized the opportunity of the accidental passage of Numeister to found a press in his native town. The first work selected for reproduction in the newly-established press was "Leonardi Aretini Bruni de Bello Italico adversus Gothos." This book was printed in fine Roman characters, and in the subscription it is stated that it was printed by Numeister and his associates in the house of Emilianus de Orfinis, in the year 1470; by which it would appear that Numeister had brought workmen with him from Mayence, who were his partners in the Foligno press. Emilianus is stated to have died in 1472, after which time Numeister's name appears alone on the books he printed. But he had doubtless before his death prepared and placed in the printer's hands a MS. of the "Divina Commedia" of Dante, which was printed in the same year (1472), and in the same character as the first work. The subscription of the book is in Italian, and in rhyme, written probably while the work was passing through the press, previously to the death ofEmilianus, or immediately after that event, as a tribute of gratitude appears to be paid to him in the last line of the rather doggrel verses, which may be paraphrased as follows :—

In one thousand four hundred and seventy-two,
The fourth month of the year, on the days six and fi
This good work was imprinted by artifice new;
I John Numeister did then contrive
The aforesaid impression, and with me, in fine,
Was the worthy Folignian, evangelist mine.*

Evangelist mine is probably to be taken in the sense of "the one who brought my talents to light, or "made me known to the world,"—a mode of expression quite in accordance with the literary style of the period.† The words "artifice new" have been introduced in the paraphrase to complete the metre, and are not contrary to the spirit of the book subscriptions of the early printers, who continually speak of the "new art."

No. 3 in Plate 30 is a specimen of the noble edition of the great Italian poet printed by Numeister. The size, distinctness, and regularity of the fine round Roman type make it a remarkable book even among the greatest works of the early printers.

Numeister printed in 1479 an edition of Torquemada's "Contemplations," in which he used a fine Gothic character closely resembling that of Gutenberg's Bible. This type was either brought with him when he first came to Italy, or engraved there as a pleasing reminiscence of the days when his art was secretly practised in the atelier of Gutenberg at Mayence, and while it was still a mystery to the outer world, and full of attraction to the initiated, who were about to endow future generations, as well as their own, with a secret by means of which as many books

* Nel mille quatro cente septe e due,
Nel quarto mese; a di cinque et sei,
Questa opera gentile impressa fue;
Io maestro Johanni Numeister opera dei
Alla dicta impressione, et meco fue,
El Elfulginato, Evangelista mei.

† Or, taking *mei* as an old form of *meglio*, it may express "better Evangelist than I am;"—that is to say, my superior in knowledge, which is the view taken by M. Bernard.

could be given to the world in a week by a single "Press" as a professed writer with an enormous staff of assistants could produce in several years. Numeister probably died in the year 1479, as no Folignian books bearing his name are known after that period.

MILAN.

THE date at which Milan was endowed with a printing-press has formed a fertile subject for dispute among bibliographers. Even Morel, Fabricius, and Maittaire himself appear to have been mystified by blundered dates and other causes, and have thence sought to antedate early Milanese books by ten years or more. The results of the most recent investigations would seem to resolve themselves into the simple fact that Lavagna, a citizen of Milan, whose interest in the new art we have heard of elsewhere, was the first to introduce a press into that city. He appears to have furnished the means to Zarotti (or Zarotto), a Parmesan by birth, to establish a printing atelier; and this event took place most probably about the year 1471, in which year books were printed in Milan (without a printer's name), with the same types as those subsequently used by Zarotti in books which duly bear his name in the subscription.

The first book printed by Zarotti which bears his name is an edition of "Virgil," issued in December, 1472. The "Epistles of Cicero" appeared in the same year, with a preface by Lavagna, in which he says that he has caused three hundred impressions to be taken, and that several savants had assisted in editing the work. Lavagna states elsewhere that he was the first to introduce the art of printing at Milan, and neither Zarotti or any other contemporary contradicts his statement to that effect. Zarotti would probably have done so had not such been the fact, as it appears that Lavagna had driven a hard bargain with him, and we find him in 1472 associating himself with other Milanese citizens for the purpose of extending his operations more profitably. The Deed establishing this association, which contains many interesting passages, is still extant, and was published by Saxio in a work previously referred to. It appears that Messiers Gabriel de' li Orsoni (who seems to have drawn up the deed), Colla Montano, Pedro Antonio de Burgo de Castillione, and Gabriel Pavero de Fontana were to form a company with our printer, Antonio Zarotti, who is styled Antonio de Parma, for the purpose of turning to good mercantile account the skill of the latter. The general terms of the agreement were as follows:—Antonio was to prepare the types, ancient and modern, (that is, Roman and Gothic), the ink, and four presses, by his own skill, and to keep up the supply; the cost being defrayed by the other members of the company; but Pedro Antonio de Burgo was to pay another hundred ducats towards those expenses. A stringent clause provided for keeping the presses in continual working order. The profits of the undertaking were to be divided into three parts; Zarotti to have one clear third, and the two remaining thirds were to be divided among the other five partners in the undertaking. Zarotti was to pay back out of his third of the profits the money advanced for presses and other permanent parts of the plant, after which they were to become his property. The contract was signed on the 20th of May, 1472. In this agreement a number of other details were entered into to prevent the possibility of misunderstanding; and, among others, the choice of works to be printed could only be decided at a general meeting of all the members of the association. The correctors and editors were to be paid in kind, each to receive so many copies of the work; and all workmen were to be sworn to secrecy as to what works were in progress in the atelier, and on all other matters connected with the proceedings of the society. The last clause provided that should a member wish to print any work on his own private account, which might not be approved of by the committee, he might do so with some other printer in Milan or at Parma; a clause which proves that within the last year other printers had established themselves in both those places;—another clause provided that each member should be entitled to a copy of every work printed, but not to be allowed to sell the same under the established price.

In addition to this agreement, another was entered into, by which Pietro Antonio de Burgo and his brother Niccolao were to print canonical and medical works in the atelier, on furnishing extra presses at their own cost; one-fourth of the net profit of each work being assigned to the general Company. The spirit of association appears to have developed itself especially at Milan, and we find Lavagna entering into a new partnership with Colla Montano, one of Zarotti's partners, Christofe Valdarfer, in which the most prominent clause was one that entitled Valdarfer to certain payments as a compositor—that is to say, he was to receive twenty-four *imperials* for every twenty pages; in addition to which he was to have a small share in the profits. This is one of the first examples of artists of this class being paid at a certain rate for actual work done, instead of a *share* in general profits as a principal. At the end of the deed is attached an impression of the type of Valdarfer, which is the fine Roman which he had previously used at Venice.

Zarotti was the printer of a long series of Milanese books bearing his name, up to the year of his death, 1504; but they are of similar style in type and general treatment to the books of other Italian printers, of which specimens have been already given; and the same may be said of the books of Valdarfer, and those bearing the name of Lavagna alone. Zarotti, during his partnership engagements, though bound by his agreement to provide Greek types, does not appear to have done so; as some of his books, belonging to the period of the agreement, when Greek was required, have blank places left for the Greek characters to be added by hand. Zarotti continued the printing of books, but on his own separate account, after the expiration of both these partnerships; and a special volume, bearing his name alone, may rank as one of the finest works that ever issued from the printing-press. The work alluded to is the famous "Historia delle Cose facte dallo invicissimo Duca Francesco Sforza," printed in folio in 1490, which by the general beauty of the type, combined with the exquisitely engraved initials of perfectly unique character, render it one of the most elegant productions of the printing-press, of any age. The magnificent vellum copy of this book, bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Mr. Grenville, has the first page exquisitely illuminated by the famous Girolamo de' Libri, who was at that period one of the first, if not the very first, Italian illuminator of the day.

The first book printed entirely in Greek characters, was that produced by one Dionysius, called also Paravisinus, from his being a native of a village of that name near Milan. He had previously been established as a printer at the small town of Como; the rapid spread of the printing-press just at that period being almost like that of a feverish epidemic. It was, however, in Milan, in 1475, that he printed the Greek Grammar of Lascaris, which appeared in January, 1476, which may be cited as one of the remarkable feats of the early printers; for to print a book entirely in Greek, for the first time, was no trifling undertaking. Demetrius of Crete, the editor if not the printer of the first printed "Homer," a Greek refugee, driven to Italy with so many others by the recent Turkish conquests, was also the editor of this interesting monument, of which the fac-simile in Plate 34, exhibiting an entire page, conveys a very correct and complete idea. The copy in the British Museum forms part of the noble bequest of the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. Milanese printers have also the credit of having produced the first portion of the Scriptures printed in Greek,—namely, the "Liber Psalmorum," from the text of the Septuagint, with the Latin version of the Vulgate in a parallel column. This work was executed at the expense of Bonaccursius Pisanus in 1481, the printer's name not appearing. A specimen will be found in Plate 34 (No. 1). The copy in the British Museum from which this fac-simile was taken was also bequeathed, with so many other bibliographical treasures, by the Rev. C. M. Cracherode. It should be stated in this place, however briefly, that Milan has also the credit of the first-printed Greek classic, namely the "Fables of Æsop," which appeared a year before the "Liber Psalmorum" (in 1480), without a printer's name, of which a portion of a page, with its pretty illumination, will be found in Plate 31 (No. 1).

Among other specimens of Milanese printing, a curious little book referring to certain rites established by Sto. Ambrogio, might be cited, on account of its preface addressed to Stefano Nardini, the cardinal archbishop, by the priest Archangelo degl' Ungardi. In this epistle the "New Art" and its wonders are very extravagantly lauded, as usual.

The most remarkable aspects of Milanese printing are, first, the spirit of association, by means of which the new art received an unusually powerful impetus; and secondly, the great number of eminent scholars who became correctors of the press there; for the editors of those days, both in Milan and elsewhere, were often their own press readers and correctors, whose Latin notes of direction for alterations, &c. &c., still form the only method readily intelligible to modern printers — the *dele* (erase), *stet* (let it stand), &c. &c., being used at this day cabalistically, as it were, by hundreds who do not understand their original meaning, now that printing has become a common branch of manufacture, often in illiterate hands, instead of being a mysterious art practised only by scholarly clerks in full possession of the routine book learning of the time. The correctors of the press in Milan, when men of great eminence, sometimes appended their own names to the books, to the exclusion of those of the printers, which has led to some confusion in the history of the Milanese Press, inasmuch as such names have occasionally been mistaken for those of the actual printers. It may be noticed here that about this time, what we term Signatures were first generally used, both in Germany and Italy. These signatures consist in a letter or figure printed at the bottom of each sheet, of four or more pages, by which means the proper succession of the sheets when folded into pages could be at once determined, without reference to the subject matter,—a necessary, or at all events a very convenient arrangement, at a time when there was no number to each page, as at the present day. Such signatures are comparatively useless now, when the pages are all numbered; but old custom causes them to be still used in our modern printing-offices; and the printer, when referring to a certain part of a book in the press, never refers to the number of the page, but always to his signature, A, B, C, or D, as the case may be. Indeed, the system of pagination itself is not yet perfect; for the pages on which a fresh chapter is commenced are still left without a number — a most inconvenient relic of the olden times. Some offices have, however, quite recently, taken to filling up this disagreeable and inconvenient blank.

BOLOGNA.

Bologna acquired, at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, great importance as one of the chief seats of Italian typography, though not very early in the field. The first to establish a permanent press in the city was Baldazzare Azzoguidi, a native Bolognese, partially assisted at first by Andrea Portilia, of Parma, who, however, soon returned to his native place. The first book with a positive date printed at Bologna, is also the first *complete* edition of the works of Ovid; a large folio volume, printed in a fine Roman character. In the subscription Baldazzare is described as being the first to establish a printing-press in his native city: "*Primus in sua civitate artis impressoriæ inventor;*" the term *inventor* having then a different and less restricted sense than that in which it is now employed. The new art then introduced is further described as being for the use (*ad utilitatem*) of the whole human race. In Plate 30 will be found a portion of a page from Azzoguidi's "Ovid," from a beautifully illuminated copy, evidently intended for some eminent person. It is in the British Museum, and is among the choicest of the book treasures bequeathed by Mr. Grenville, being the only perfect copy of the work hitherto discovered.

FLORENCE.

At Florence, so celebrated for its engravers on metal, and where the nielli of Maso Finguerra so closely approached the not yet realized art of engraving plates for the purpose

Orba parente ſuo quicūq; uolumina cernis :
His ſaltem noſtra detur in urbe locus .
Quoq; magis faueas : non ſunt hęc edita ab illo :
Sed quaſi de domini funere rapta ſui .
Quicquid in his igitur uicii rude carmen habebit :
Emendaturus ſi licuiſſet eram .

IN NOVA FERT ANIMVS
mutatas dicere formas
Corpora : dii cęptis :
nam uos mutaſtis & illas :
Aſpirate meis :
primaq; ab origine mundi
Ad mea perpetuū
deducite tempora carmen .
Ante mare & terras :
& quod tegit omnia cęlum
Vnus erat toto naturę uultus in orbe :
Quem dixere chaos : rudis indigeſtaq; moles :
Nec quicquid : niſi pondus iners : congeſtaq; eodē
Non bene iunctarū diſcordia ſemina rerum .
Nullus adhuc mundo prębebat lumina titan .
Nec noua creſcendo reparabat cornua phcebe .
Nec circumfuſo pendebat in aere tellus
Ponderibus librata ſuis . nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat amphitrite .
Quaq; erat & tellus : illic & pontus & aer .
Sic erat inſtabilis tellus : innabilis unda :
Lucis egens aer : nulli ſua forma manebat :
Obſtabatq; aliis aliud : quia corpore in uno
Frigida pugnabant calidis : humentia ſiccis :
Mollia cum duris : ſine pondere habentia pondus .
Hanc deus & melior litem natura diremit :
Nam cęlo terras : & terris abſcidit undas :
Et liquidum ſpiſſo ſecreuit ab aere coelum .
Quę poſtq̄ euoluit cęcoq; exemit aceruo :

of obtaining printed impressions from them, the new art of Koster and Gutenberg was only introduced at a comparatively late period. Eventually, however, it was first exercised at Florence by one of her own citizens, and not by a German,—Bernardo Cennino, a goldsmith, well skilled in the artistic branches of his craft, and who had assisted Ghiberti in the famous gates of the Baptistery, which, as long as they exist, will form one of the most exquisite monuments of the *cinquecentisti*, whose works will ever mark a memorable epoch in artistic history. Bernardo, alive to all the advances that art was making in his time, and being greatly impressed by the surprising results of the printing-press, and, jealous of the honour derived by Germany from its invention, determined to give to his native city all the advantages of the new art, without German aid. With this determination in view, he managed to acquire the principles of the system from general report, and, by a careful examination of the books themselves; and thus mastered the difficulties of engraving and casting the characters, the formation of a press to obtain impressions from such letters, and also the composition of a moderately adhesive ink. It was thus, from the study of such printed books as he could closely examine, that he and his sons made all the necessary apparatus, and eventually produced a creditably-printed volume, the "Commentary on Virgil" by Servius, in folio; the well-formed types being of the Roman style. This really remarkable book, for the production of which the first Florentine press was created by the indefatigable energy and perseverance of a native artist, is accompanied by a very interesting colophon, or *conclusio*, as it is sometimes called, in which the above circumstances are briefly alluded to; the engraving of the steel punches and the casting of the characters being very graphically described. This single-handed experiment, though successful, was doubtless very costly and unprofitable to Bernardo; for no other book of his is known, though he lived till the close of the century, exercising with distinction his original profession of goldsmith. It appears probable, however, that he continued to engrave types, though he ceased to use them as a printer; and it has been conjectured that one of the most remarkable monuments of the printing-press, the first edition of "Homer" printed in Greek characters, was executed with type furnished by Bernardo. This work (which as a first attempt is a most remarkable triumph of the art) was edited, and, as some affirm, also printed by Demetrius Chalcondylos, a Greek refugee from Candia. It was published in 1488, and bears the following colophon:—"Labore et industriâ Demetrii Chalcondilæ;" and below, "Florentinæ, typis Bernardii et Nerii Tanaïdis Gilii." An example from this work will be found in Plate 35, accompanied by a specimen page from the Greek "Aristotle" printed at Venice, by the celebrated Aldus, in 1495.

It is probable that Germans experienced in the art, and who could undersell him in the market, arrived in Florence even before Bernardo's solitary book was complete; for in the following year—1472—a work issued from a Florentine press, established by one Peter, son of John, styling himself "de Moguntia," as coming from that nursery of the early printers, the famous Mayence. The first volume printed by Peter, son of John, was the "Philocolo" of Boccaccio, having the following simple subscription, the Latin of which may be thus translated:—"Master John, son of Peter of Mayence, wrote (*scripsit*) this work in Florence, the 12th day of November, 1472." He also produced, most probably about the same time, an edition of the "Triumphs of Petrarch," with the same colophon, even to the *scripsit*, instead of *impressit* (but without date). In this we may perceive how determined the early printers were to consider their art as a kind of magical *writing*, rather than the result of a merely mechanical contrivance. No other work of John's press is known; but there are records of his having sold types to other Florentine printers, and it is possible that he afterwards confined himself to that branch of his art. If so, he must rank as the first type-founder who exercised that art as a separate and distinct business.

Another German, Nicholas of Breslau, is known to have been in Florence shortly after this period, when he became by far the most celebrated of Florentine printers. In 1477 he published

Bettini's "Monte Sancto di Dio," which exhibits the first example of illustrations by means of engraved metal plates, Sweinheim's "Ptolemy" not having as yet appeared. These plates are said to have been designed by Baccio Baldini, and engraved by Sandro Boticello, both of them pupils of Finiguerra. Some critics, however, reverse the positions of the designer and engraver. Plate 32 is the frontispiece of this singular volume; and the composition and design of this earliest of book-illustrations on metal will be at once admitted to be a very striking work. The steps of the ladder leading to Heaven are marked—Humility, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, &c.—and a monk is successfully ascending, his eyes fixed on a crucifix, on the hill, to which he addresses the words: "Draw me after Thee" (in Italian). A worldling, on the other hand, dressed in all the elegant bravery of the day, raises his eyes to examine the way up the sacred mount, but fails to distinguish it, while a demon holds him by the leg with a band, upon which is written "Blindness."

The whole allegory would have greatly delighted John Bunyan, and might have given him some new ideas for his "Pilgrim's Progress."

In the next Plate (33) is a specimen page of the letterpress of the work, which is extremely regular and good. Plate 32½ consists of the celebrated figure of Christ from this volume.

Nicholas published soon afterwards his celebrated edition of "Dante." It is evident that Dante had taken full possession of the Italian mind at that epoch; for in the single year 1472 three editions of the "Divina Commedia" were issued; and this feeling of national interest in the works of the Florentine poet went on increasing, in so much that, in the following century, as Guinguenée has stated, the professorial chairs at Bologna, Pisa, Venice, and other Italian seats of learning, were almost entirely devoted to explanations of the thoughts and images set forth in the great national poem. The general appreciation of the poetry of Dante was in great part owing to its being written in the native tongue; and the same may be said of the works of Boccaccio, and those productions of Petrarch which were written in Italian. "Petrarch" was first printed in 1470, and "Boccaccio" in 1471; and editions of their works still continually issue from the press, while those of contemporary authors who wrote in Latin only have sunk into comparative oblivion. It was immediately after the great success of Bettini's "Monte Sancto di Dio," illustrated with engravings on copper by Baldini and Botticelli, that Nicolo Lorenzo determined to produce an edition of the "Inferno" of Dante, illustrated by the same artists, in which there was far greater scope for picturesque invention and composition. The striking nature of this unique series of compositions may be inferred from the fac-simile of a page of the work given entire in Plate 31. It is the beginning of Canto XIX.; and the Plate represents the awful punishment of simony, so graphically described by Dante. Gustave Doré must have seen this composition, striking and powerful in spite of its rudeness, and even grotesqueness, for he has treated the subject precisely in the same manner, though with all the superior knowledge and appliances of modern art.* The specimen is taken from a very fine copy of the work now in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum.

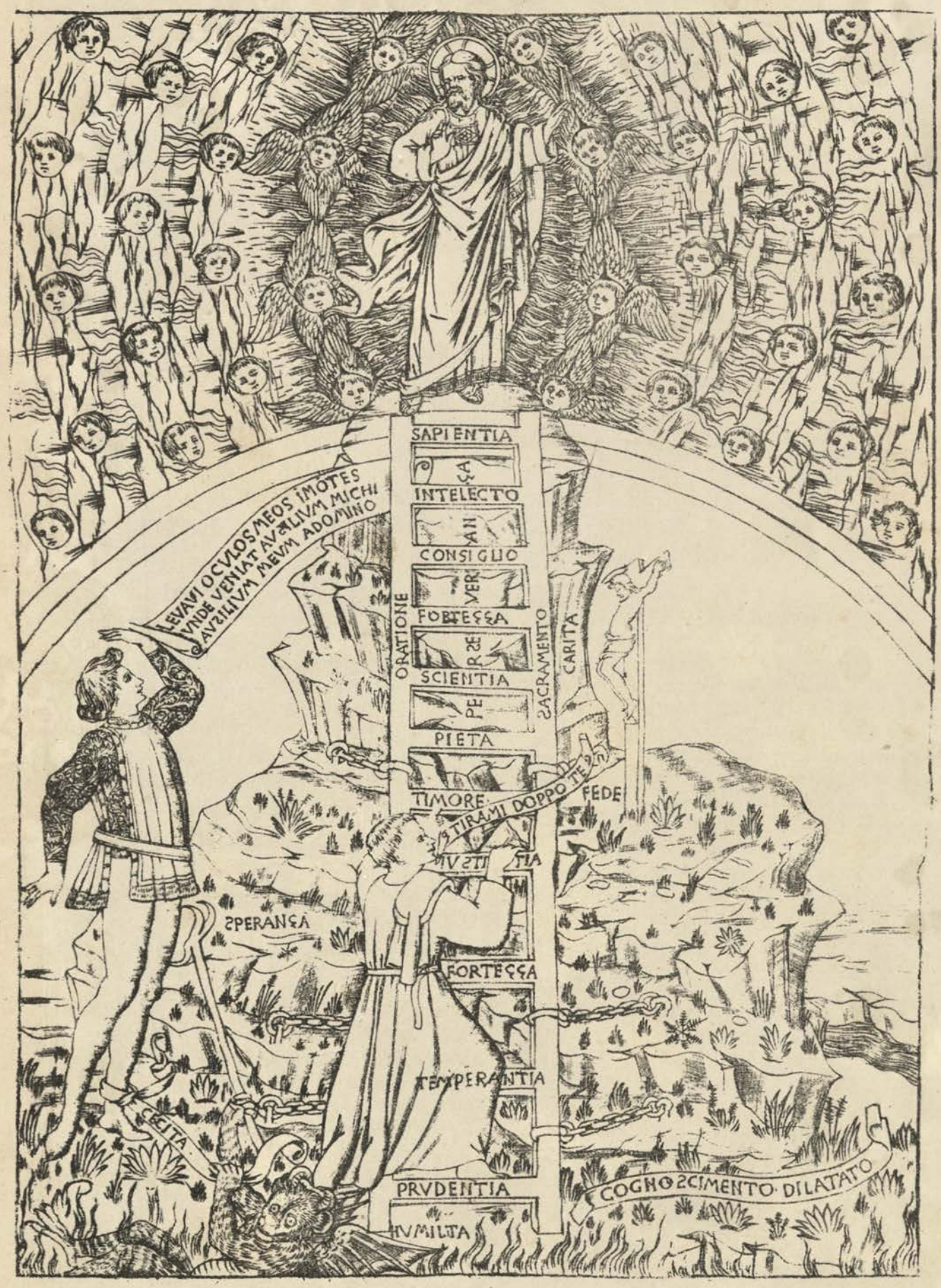
Florence had also Italian successors to her first native printer: after Bernardo had been forced to abandon the field by German rivalry, two of the Brotherhood of St. Dominic, in the monastery of San Jacopo de Ripoli, in the Via della Scala, set up a press, and produced several works, which have been described by P. Vincenzio Fineschi, in his essay entitled "Notizie Storiche sopra la Stamperia di Ripoli," an interesting work, in which, however, a few errors of date require adjusting. In the course of their progress they purchased types of John of Mayence, which, according to Dibdin, appear to have been the same which he used in his "Philocolo." These industrious monks afterwards increased their labours so much as to consider it necessary to establish a type-foundry in their own monastery, and one Benvenuto, the son of Clement, was employed to engrave their punches. Though rarely producing their works for direct sale,* they yet made them profitable, as they exchanged them for nearly everything they required in their establishment;

* A few regular commercial transactions with booksellers are recorded.

CANTO. XIX. DELLA PRIMA CANTICA DI DANTHE.

e Questo el decimonono chanto : nel quale dimostra che nella terza bolgia sono puniti esimoniaci : E/ simonia uendita o compera delle chose sacre et spirituali con denari et chon chose equitalenti a denari. Adunque chi uende o compera esecramenti della chiesa : o alchuna degnita spirituale, o benificii. o altre chose simili ; delle quali el uero prezo e/ non oro ne argento: Ma sanctita di uita et di costumi: et uirtu: et doctrina e/ simoniaco: elquale nome uiene da Simon magho : el quale fu el primo che tento questa scellerateza nel nuouo testamento. Ilche accioche piu aperta mente sintenda e/ scripto ne glacti deglappostoli: che dopo lamorte del prothomartvre Stephano Philippo predicaua uerbum dei in Samaria: et conuertiua molti per gli incredibili miracholi che facea. Era nel medesimo tempo in quella citta Simone philosopho et magho: elquale per le chose che facea con sue arti maghe era insomma auctorita et reputatione. Chostui insieme chon glaltri credecte a Philippo et baptezossi. Ma anchora ne baptezati di samaria non era lo spirito sancto: Ma uenuti poi Pietro et Ioanni ororono pe baptezati : et dopo loratione posono loro le mani adosso: et quegli riceuettono lo spirito sancto . Ilperche parendo gran chosa a Simone che pel porre della mano lo spirito sancto ueniss/offerse pecunia a glapostoli: et loro gli dessino tale potesta: che ponendo la mano adosso al baptezato gli ueniss lo spirito sancto : alquale rispose Piero La pecunia tua sia teco in perditione. Et certo perche tu stimasti che el dono di dio si potessi hauere per pecunia tu non hai parte ne sorte in questo sermone : Et el cuor tuo non e/ diricto nel conspecto di dio. Tienti la tua pecunia: et priegha idio se possibile e/ che questa cogitatione si parta del cuor tuo : perche io ti ueggo essere nel fiele della: naritudine: et nel uincolo della iniquita. Da questo Simone adunque sono decti simoniaci nel nuouo testamento quegli che contractano chon prezo le chose sacre : Chome nel testamento uecchio erono denominati da Giezi seruo dheliseo propheta. Cioe Heliseo propheta dalla lebbra Naaman principe della militia del re di Syria in uirtu di dio. Ne uolle riceuere alchun premio da lui: benche gihanessi arrechati assai thesori. Ma Giezi seruo dheliseo partitosi gia Naaman glando drieto et raggiunselo : et finxe che due de figliuoli de propheti fussino uenuti allui dal monte ephraim: et domando

Simon magho o miseri sequaci
o che le chose di dio che di bontade
debbon essere spose: et uoi rapaci
Per oro et per argento adulterate
hor conuien che per uoi suoni la tromba
pero che nella terza bolgia state
Gia erauamo alla sequente tomba
montati dello scoglo in quella parte
chappunto soural mezo elfosso piomba.



ONE OF THE ENGRAVINGS FROM THE MONTE SANTO DI DIO. ONE OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN EXAMPLES OF COPPER PLATE ENGRAVING, USED IN THE ILLUSTRATION OF BOOKS. PRINTED AT FLORENCE 1477.

ONE OF THE ENGRAVINGS FROM THE MONTE SANTO DI DIO.

Inconmincia ellibro intitulato monte ſancto didio Compoſto dameſſer Antonio da Siena Reuerendiſſimo uefchouo difuligno della congregatione de poueri Ieſuati . Capitulo . Primo.

IN creata et inmenſa maeſta dī dio/omnipotente et inmortale creatore. Signore et gouernato re delluniuerſo plaſua ineffabile ſapientia ha creato luomo/accio che plo ſuo modo/acquiſtando et participando ladiuina ſimilitu dine/et riſplendendo inlui label leza della ſua dolciſſima carita . uegha iddio pintellecto & guſti lo peraffecto Inde e che lultimo et beatiſſimo fine della rationale creatura ſi e di uedere iddio per intellecto & guſtarlo paffecto/et per effecto ineterno goden o. (Ogni huomo adunque poriginal iuſtitia deſidera naturalmente diuedere idio. Impero che uedendolo et cognoſcendolo infinita mente buono ſopratucte lecoſe & intucte lecoſe lama infinitamē te/et lui ſolo amando & fluendo e perfectamente & in eterno bea to. (E adunque allhuomo cieco per lopeccato neceſſario diſapere elmodo/et lauia/et lauerita perlequali poſſa uedere eſſo iddio co gnoſcerlo & amarlo. (Et perche egli e intuiſibile et incomprehen ſibile/et e coſa ſpirituale dibiſogno e cheinnanzi atucte lecoſe ſap piamo & intendiamo quello che e neceſſario allo ſpiritual uedere Accio che potiamo altamente entrare con tremore/deuotione et reuerentia acontemplare ladiuina maieſtade (Et non e queſto co ſa inconueniente adeſiderare Impero chelſignore dice ploprophe ta guſtate & uedete impero chelſignore e ſuaue & dolce Et criſto dice inmatheo. Siate pfecti ſi come e perfecto elpadre celeſtiale.

Come ſiperuiene alla uiſione didio. Capitolo ſecondo.

TRe coſe ſono neceſſarie auedere iddio. Laſufficientia delue ditore Ladiſpoſitione deſſo idiò elquale lhuomo deſidera

Incipit epla ſancti Hieronymi ad Paulinū pbrm. de oīb' diuine hiſtorie libris Capm. I

EKrater am broſius tua mi bi munuſcula pferens detulit ſimul & ſuauiſſi mas litteras: q̄ a principio ami citiaz fidē pba te iā fidei & ve tis amicitie no ua pfēbāt. Ue r a.n. illa neceſſitudo ē & chriſti glutino co pulata:quā nō vtilitas rei familiaris: non pītia trm cōporum non ſuboolā & palpās adulatio:ſed dei timo:& diuinaz ſcriptu raz ſtudia cōciliant. Legimus i veteribus hiſtoriis quoſdam luſtraſſe puincias:no uos adiſſe pplos:maria trāſiſſe:ut eos q̄ſ ex libris nouerāt: coā quoq; viderēt. Sic pythagoras memphiticos vates: ſic plato egyptum & archytā tarētinum: eāq; oram italie q̄ quondam magna grecia dicebatur: labo:ioſiſſime peragrauit:ut q̄ athenis ma giſter erat & potens : cui' q; doctrinas aca demie gymnaſia pſonabāt:fieret peregrin' atq; diſcipulus malens aliena verecunde diſcere:q̄ ſua ipudent igerere . Denicp cuz litteras quaſi toto orbe fugientes pſequit: captus a piratis & venundatus tyranno erudeliſſimo paruit:ductus captiu' victuſ & ſeruus: tñ q̄a philoſoph' maior emēte ſe fuit. Ad titum liuium lacteo eloquētie fōte manantem de vltimis hiſpanie galliaz q; finibus quoſdam veniſſe nobiles legim' & quos ad contemplationez ſui roma non traxarat:vnius bois fama pduxit. Habuit illa etas inauditum oībus ſeculis:celebrā dumq; miraculum:ut vrbē tātā igreſſi ali ud extra vrbem quererent. Apolloni' ſiue ille magus ut vulgus loquitur: ſiue philo ſophus:ut pythagorici tradūt:itrauit pſas ptranſiuit caucaſū: albanos ſcythas maſ ſagetas:opulentiſſima indie regna penetra uit:& ad extremuz latiſſimo phyſon amne tranſmiſſo puenit ad bragmanas:ut hiar chā in throno ſedentem aureo & de tantali fonte potantem inter paucos diſcipulos o natura de moribus:ac de curſu diez & ſiō rum audiret docentem . Inde p elamitas bab yloniosq; chaldeos medos aſſyrios par thos ſyros phenices arabes paleſtinos re uerſus ad alexandriā prexit ad ethiopiaz: ut gymnoſophiſtas & famoſiſſimam ſolis menſam videret in ſabulo. Inuenit ille vir vbiq; quod diſceret:& ſemper pficiens ſēp ſe melior fieret. Scripſit ſup hoc plenilſie octo voluminibus philoſtratus. II

QUid loquar de ſeculi hoibus : cuz aplus Paulus vas electiōis & ma giſter gentium; qui de pſcientia tā ti in ſe hoſpitis loquebatur dicens: an ex perimentū queritis eius q̄ in me loquitur chriſtus:poſt damaſcū arabiazq; luſtratā aſcēdit hieroſolymā:ut videret petrum : & manſit apud eum dieb' qndecim. Doceni myſterio hebdadis & ogdoadis futurus gentium pdicator inſtruendus erat . Rurſumq; poſt annos quatuordecim aſſūpto barnaba et tito expoſuit cum aplis euāge lium : ne forte in vacuum curreret aut cu curriſſet. Habet neſcio quid latentis ener gie viue vocis actus:et in aures diſcipuli o auctoris ore tranſfuſa fortius ſonat. Unō & eſchines cum rhodi exularet & legeretur illa demoſthenis oratio: quā aduerſus eū habuerat:mirantibus cunctis atq; laudā tibus ſuſpirās ait. Quid ſi ipſā audiſſetis beſtiaz ſua vba reſonantē. III

NEc hoc dico: q̄ ſit aliq̄o i me tale: q̄ō uel poſſis a me audire uel uelis diſcere ſed quo ardor tuus & diſcē di ſtudium ēt abſq; nobis p ſe pbari debe at. Ingeniuz docile & ſine doctore laudabi le ē. Nō quid inenias:ſed q̄d q̄ras pſidera mus. Mollis cera & ad formandū facilis ēt ſi artificis & plaſte ceſſent manus: tamē virtute totum eſt quicq̄d eſſe poteſt. Pau lus aplus ad pedes gamalielis legē moyſi & pphetas didiciſſe ſe gloriatur : ut armatus ſpualib' telis:poſtea docēt pfidenē. Ar ma.n. nze militie nō carnalia ſūt: ſed potē tia deo ad deſtructionē munitionū: & cogi tationes deſtruētes & oēm altitudinē extol lentē ſe aduerſus ſciam dei: & captuantes oēm intellectū ad obediēduz chriſto & para ti ſubiugare oēm iobediētiam. Timotheū ſcribit ab infātia ſacris liis eruditū: & hortatur ad ſtudiū lectiōis: ne negligat gratiam q̄ data ſit ei p ipoſitionē manū preſbyterii. Tito precipit:ut inter ceteras vtutes epi:q̄s breui ſermone depinxit: ſciam quoq; non

A PAGE FROM THE MONTE SANTO DI DIO, FLORENCE, 1477

A PAGE FROM JENSONS BIBLE, PRINTED AT VENICE BEFORE THE CLOSE OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

1

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΟ-
ΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕ-
ΤΑΒΟΛΩΝ ΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΦΘΟΓ
ΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ
ΧΡΟΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΓ
ΚΑΙΩΝ.

ΠΡΙ τῆς συγγενείας τῶν χρόνων.

Τριῶν ὄντων τῶν ἀρχικῶν χρόνων. Δηλονότι ἐνεστῶτος παρακειμένου καὶ μέλλοντος: ἀφ' ὧν γίνονται ἄλλοι τρεῖς παρατατικὸς ὑποσυντέλικος καὶ ἀόριστος: τρεῖς συντελικοὶ ἐκ φαίνονται χρόνων. ἐνεστῶτος καὶ παρατατικοῦ. παρακειμένου καὶ ὑποσυντελίκου. μέλλοντος καὶ ἀορίστου ὅθεν καὶ ὁ παρατατικὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος φυλακτικὸ σύμφωνον. ὅτον γράφω ἔγραφον ὁ ὑποσυντέλικος τοῦ παρακειμέ-

1 A PORTION OF A PAGE OF THE GREEK GRAMMAR OF LASCARES, THE FIRST EDITION OF THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN GREEK CHARACTERS

2

	ὑριος φωτ-	ominus illu-
	σμός μου καὶ.	minatio mea &
κ	σωτήρ μου.	d saluator mei.
	τίνα φοβηθή-	quem time-
	σομαι;	bo?

Κύριος ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς μου. ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω; ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν ἐπ' ἐμὲ κακοῦντας τοῦ φαγεῖν τὰς σάρκας μου.

Οἱ θλίβοντες με καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί μου αὐτοὶ ἠσθένησαν καὶ ἔπεσον.

Dominus protector uitæ mei: a quo trepidabo?

In propinquare aduersum me affligentes. comedere carnes mei.

Tribulantes me: & inimici mei. ipsi infirmati sunt & ceciderunt.

2. PART OF A PAGE OF THE LIBER PSALMORUM, THE FIRST PORTION OF THE SCRIPTURES PRINTED IN GREEK, AD 1481

3

ΕΙΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΑΝΔΡΑΣ. Εις Πλάτωνα.

Σωφροσύνης προφέρων θνητῶν
ἤθει τὲ δικαίως
ἐνθάδε κεῖται ἀνὴρ θεῖος
Ἀριστοκλέης.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ πάντων σοφίης μέγαν ἔσχεν ἔπαινον.
οὗτος ἔχει γουλὴν. καὶ σθόνον οὐ φέρεται.

Ἀδέσποτον.

Δουλκίτιον μὲν ἄνακτες ἄκρον βιότοιο πρὸς ὄλβον
ἤγαγον ἐξ ἀρετῆς. καὶ κλέος ἀνθρώπων.
ὡς δὲ φύσις μιν ἔλυσεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς, ἀθάνατοι μὲν
αὐτὸν ἔχουσι θεοὶ, σῶμα δὲ σηκὸς ὅδε.

Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου.

Κλεινὸς Ἰωάννης. θνητὸς λέγε. γαμβρὸς Ἀνάσσης.
θνητὸς ὅμως. γενεὴς ἄνθος Ἀναστασίου.
θνητοῦ κἀκείνου. βίον ἔνδικος. οὐκέτι τοῦτο
θνητόν ἔφης. ἀρεταὶ κρείσσονές εἰσι μόρου.

Χρηστοδώρου.

Οὗτος ὁ Ἰάννην κρύπτει τάφος. ὃς ῥ' ἐρι δάμνου
ἄστρον ἔην. ἣν δὴ παῖδες ἀριπρεπέες
ἔκτισαν Ἡρακλῆος, ὅθεν καὶ μέρμερος ἥρως,
ἀιεὶ τῶν ἀδίκων σκληρὸν ἔκορτε μένος.
εἶχε δὲ εὐσεβέων προγόνων, ἐρικυδέα πάτρην.
λυχνιδὸν ἣν φοίνιξ κάδμος ἔδειμε πόλιν
ἔνθεν λύχνος ἔην ἐλικώνιος οὔνεκα κάδμος
στοιχείων δαναοῖς πρῶτος ἔδειξε τύπον.
εἰς ὑπάτους ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ἰλλυριοῖσι δικάζων,
μούσας καὶ καθαρὴν ἐστεφάνωσε δίκην.

3. A PAGE FROM THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY, PRINTED BY LAURENTIUS DE ALOPE, IN GREEK CHARACTERS.

PL. 34.

ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ.

ΝΤΟΣ Ἀναγκαίως Χρυσάορις εἰς τὸν τῶν παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει κατηγοριῶν διδασκαλίαν, τοῦ γνῶναι τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν διαφοράν· τί τε εἶδος καὶ τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός· ἐστί τε τῶν ὁρισμῶν ἀπόδοσιν, καὶ ὅλως εἰς τὰ περὶ διαιρέσεως καὶ ἀποδείξεως χρησίμης ὄσης τῆς τούτων θεωρίας, σοὶ τὸ μόνον παραδοῦναι προὔμυθος, πεπράσομαι διὰ βραχέων ὥσπερ ἐν εἰσαγωγικῷ τρόπῳ, τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐπιτελεῖν· τὴν μὲν μαθητέρων ἀπεχόμενος ζητημάτων· τὴν δὲ ἁπλουστέρως συμμίξως τοῖς χαλκόμυθος. Αὐτίκα περὶ γένους τι καὶ εἴδους, τὸ μὲν εἴ τι ὑφέστηκεν, εἴτε καὶ ἐν μόναις ἐπινοίαις κεῖται, εἴτε καὶ ὑφεστηκότα σώματά ἐστιν, ἢ ἀσώματα· καὶ πότερον χωριστὰ, ἢ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς· καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ὑφεστῶτα, παραιτήσομαι λέγειν· βαθυτάτης οὔσης τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας, καὶ ἄλλης μείζονος δεομένης ἐξετάσεως· τὸ δ' ὅπως περὶ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν προκειμένων λογικώτερον οἱ παλαιοὶ διέλαβον, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιπάτου, νῦν σοὶ πεπράσομαι δηλοῦν.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ.

Ἔστι δὲ μήτε τὸ γένος, μήτε τὸ εἶδος ἁπλῶς λέγεσθαι· γένος γὰρ λέγεται καὶ ᾧ τινων ἐχόντων πως πρόσεστί τι πρὸς ἄλλους ἁθροισις, καθ' ὃ σημαινόμενον, τὸ Ἡρακλείδων λέγεται γένος, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀφ' ἑνὸς χύσεως, λέγεται δὴ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἢ

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ Α ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑΣ.

ρύσης ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τοὺς μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων βουλομένους λυτρώσασθαι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Χρυσηίδα· οὐκ ἀπολαβὼν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ' ὕβρεως ἀποδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἠύξατο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· λοιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ὡς ἐκὸς διαφθειρομένων, ἐκκλησίαν ἀχιλλεὺς συνήγαγε· καὶ λαβὼν δὲ διασαφήσαντος τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος Ἀχιλλέως ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν, Ἀγαμέμνων ὀργισθεὶς, διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ γέρας ἀπειλήσασθαι τὴν Βρισηίδα· ὃ δὲ ὀργίζεται τοῖς Ἕλλησι· βίᾳ τε δὲ τοῦ γένους ἐκβιάσαντες ἀφ' ὧν ὅλυμπον ἀφικνοῦσα, κτήσαιτο παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς, ὅπως τοὺς Τρῶας ἐπικρατήσειε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιήσῃ· Ἥρα δὲ γνοῦσα τοῦτο, διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν Δία· ἕως αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλύσεως Ἥφαιστος οἰνοχοήσας ἐν ἐκτώματι χρυσέῳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας διῳχηκότες ἐς ὕπνον τρέπονται.

ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑΣ.

Ἄλφα λιτὰς χρύσου λοιμοῦ γρατοῦ, ἔχθος ἀμάκτων.

μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
οὐλομένην· ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς
ἄλγε' ἔθηκε·
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
ἡρώων· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν,
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι· Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή·

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.
τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι·

1

ΑΙϹΩΠΟΥ ΒΙΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΘΟΠΟΙΟΥ · ΜΑ
ΞΙΜΩ ΤΩ ΠΛΑΝΟΥΔΗ ϹΥΓΓΡΑΦΕΙϹ ·

Πραγμάτων φύσιν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἠκρί
βωσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐ-
τοὺς παρέδωκαν φέροντες · αἴσωπος
δὲ δοκεῖ μὴ πόρρω θειοτέρας ἐπιτρνοί-
ας τῆς ἠθικῆς διδασκαλίας ἁψάμε-
νος, πολλῶ τῶ μέτρω τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν παρε-
λάσαι · καὶ γὰρ οὔτ' ἀποφαινόμενος οὔτε συλλογι-
ζόμενος, οὔτε μὴν ἐξ ἱστορίας, ἣν ὁ πρὸ τῆς κατ'
αὐτὸν ἡλικίας ἤνεγκε χρόνος, τὴν νουθεσίαν διὰ
τιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ μύθοις τὰ πάντα παιδοτριβῶν,
οὕτω τὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἀγρεύει ψυχὰς, ὡς αἰ
σχύνεσθαι τοὺς λογικοὺς ποιεῖν ἢ φρονεῖν, ἃ μήτ'
ὄρνιθες μήτ' ἀλώπεκες · καὶ αὖ πάλιν μὴ προσέ-
χειν ἐκείνοις, οἷς πολλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ἐν καιρῷ νου
νεχῶς προσεσχηκότα μυθεύεται · ἐξ ὧν, ἃ μὲν κιν
δύνους ἐπηρτημένους αὐτοῖς διέδρα ἃ δὲ μεγίστης
ἐν τοῖς καιρίοις τῆς ὠφελείας ἔτυχεν · οὗτος
τοίνυν ὁ τὸν καθ' αὑτὸν βίον φιλοσόφου πολιτεί-

1 PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF ÆSOP'S FABLES, PRINTED AT MILAN, A.D. 1490.

2

ϹΙΜΠΛΙΚΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΔΙΔΑϹΚΑΛΟΥ
ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΕΙϹ ΤΑϹ ΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΤΗ-
ΓΟΡΙΑϹ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙϹΤΟΤΕΛΟΥϹ ·

2. THE TITLE OF THE ARISTOTLE, PRINTED BY KALLIERGI, VENICE 1499.

3

ΙϹ

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΥ

ΓΟΥΒΛΑΣΤΟΥ

ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΜΕΓΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΝ,
ΠΑΝΥ ΩΦΕΛΙΜΟΝ ·

ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ . ΜΕΘΕΑΥΤΟΥ ·

Αλφα τὸ στοιχεῖον, παρὰ τὸ
ἄλφω τὸ εὑρίσκω. πρῶ-
τον γὰρ τῶν ἄνω στοιχεί-
ων εὑρέθη. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ
ἀμοιβὰς πολιτεύεσθαι.
ἄλφειν γὰρ τὸ ἀμείβειν.
Αατος, ἄνευ ἄτης. ὅ ἐστιν
ἀβλαβής. δύναται δὲ καὶ ὁ
χαλεπὸς καὶ ὁ βλαβερὸς
ἀκούεσθαι. ἴσως καὶ αὐτὸ
παρὰ τὴν ἄτην ἐπιτάσει τοῦ ἄλφα. οὕτω μεθόδιος.
ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄω τὸ βλάπτω, ἄσω ἄτος καὶ ἄατος. Ἄγρει
τοῦ ἐπιτατικοῦ ἄλφα, ἀαγής. τὸ οὐδέτερον, ἀαγές.
ἢ τὸ ἄθραυστον καὶ στέρησιν, ἢ τὸ πολύθραυστον ·

ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ, ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΒΗΤΑ ·

Αβαλ, ἐπίρρημα. παρὰ τὸ βάλλω. καὶ
ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ λ καὶ τοῦ ω. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
ἐπιτατικοῦ ἄλφα, ἄβαλ. καὶ ἄβελ,
παρὰ τὸ ἀβάλε ἐπίρρημα. ὥστε, Αβά-
λεσοι στέφανε. εἰδωλολάτρησας.
Αβαξ, κυρίως ὁ μὴ ἔχων βάσιν. καὶ χρηστικῶς δὲ, καὶ αὐτὴ
οἷας δή ποτε σανίδος. οὕτως ὠρίων. γίνεται, δὲ παρὰ

3. PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE ETYMOLOGICON MAGNUM PRINTED BY KALLIERGI, VENICE 1499.

וַיְהִי

אַחֲרֵי מוֹת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּן נוּן מְשָׁרֵת מֹשֶׁה
לֵאמֹר׃ מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי מֵת וְעַתָּה קוּם עֲבֹר אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה אַתָּה וְכָל הָעָם 2
הַזֶּה אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי נֹתֵן לָהֶם לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ כָּל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ 3
כַּף רַגְלְכֶם בּוֹ לָכֶם נְתַתִּיו כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל מֹשֶׁה׃ מִן הַמִּדְבָּר וְהַלְּבָנוֹן 4
הַזֶּה וְעַד הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל נְהַר פְּרָת כֹּל אֶרֶץ הַחִתִּים וְעַד הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל מְבוֹא
הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יִהְיֶה גְּבוּלְכֶם׃ לֹא יִתְיַצֵּב אִישׁ לְפָנֶיךָ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם 5
מֹשֶׁה אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ לֹא אַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא אֶעֶזְבֶךָּ׃ חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ כִּי אַתָּה תַּנְחִיל אֶת 6
הָעָם הַזֶּה אֶת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לַאֲבוֹתָם לָתֵת לָהֶם׃ רַק חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ 7
מְאֹד לִשְׁמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכָל הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּךְ מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי אַל תָּסוּר מִמֶּנּוּ
יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל לְמַעַן תַּשְׂכִּיל בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵךְ׃ לֹא יָמִישׁ סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה 8
מִפִּיךָ וְהָגִיתָ בּוֹ יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה לְמַעַן תִּשְׁמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכֹל הַכָּתוּב בּוֹ כִּי אָז
תַּצְלִיחַ אֶת דְּרָכֶךָ וְאָז תַּשְׂכִּיל׃ הֲלֹא צִוִּיתִיךָ חֲזַק וֶאֱמָץ אַל תַּעֲרֹץ וְאַל 9
תֵּחָת כִּי עִמְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵךְ׃ וַיְצַו יְהוֹשֻׁעַ 10
אֶת שׁוֹטְרֵי הָעָם לֵאמֹר׃ עִבְרוּ בְּקֶרֶב הַמַּחֲנֶה וְצַוּוּ אֶת הָעָם לֵאמֹר הָכִינוּ
לָכֶם צֵדָה כִּי בְעוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה לָבוֹא לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת 11

A PAGE FROM THE FIRST PRINTED HEBREW BIBLE, PRINTED AT SONCINO IN 1488.

LA MVLTITVDINE DEGLI AMANTI GIOVENI, ET DILLE DIVE AMOROSE PVELLE LA NYMPHA APOLI PHILO FACVNDAMENTE DECHIARA, CHI FVRO- NO ET COMEDAGLI DII AMATE. ET GLI CHORI DE GLI DIVI VATICANTANTI, VIDE.

ALCVNOMAI DI TANTO INDEFESSO ELO quio aptamente se accommodarebbe, che gli diuini archani disertando copioso & pienamente potesse euadere & uscire. Et expressamente narrare, & cum quanto dilua pompa, indesinenti Triumphi, perenne gloria, festilua lætitia, & fœlice tripudio, circa a queste quatro iuisitate seiuge de memorando spectamine cum parole sufficientemente exprimere ualesse. Oltra gli inclyti adolescentuli & stipante agmine di innumere & periucunde Nymphe, piu che la tenerecia degli anni sui elle prudente & graue & astutule cum gli acceptissimi amanti de pubescente & depile gene. Ad alcuni la primula lanugine splendescēte le male inserpiua delitiose alacremente festigiauano. Molte hauendo le facole sue accense & ardente. Alcune uidi Pastophore. . Altre cum drite haste adornate de prische spolie. Et tali di uarii Trophæi optimamēte ordinate

1. A PAGE FROM THE HYPNEROTOMACHIA, PRINTED BY ALDUS AT VENICE IN 1495.

eeuano diche era per questo & per li altri segni ri cognosciuto fu colui ch̄ era stato uccisso eēre stato fatiuolo e non Thebaldo la onde il sospecto di lui usci a fratelli & ad ciascuno altro Thebaldo adūq; tornato ricchissimo perseuero nel suo amare & senza piu turbarsi con la donna discretamēte operando longamēte goderon de loro amore dio faccia noi goder del nostro si come desideramo.

Enuto la fine della longha nouella de
u Emilia non percio dispiaciuta ad alcuno per la sua lōgeza ma da tutti tenuto che breuemente narrata fosse stata hauēdo rispecto alla quātita e alla uarieta de casi in essa racōtati perche la Reina alla Lauretta cō uno solo cenno monstrato il suo disio gli die cagione di cosi comiciare Carissime donne ad me si para dauāti ad douersi far racontare una uerita che a troppo piu che di quello ch̄ e: la fu di mē zognia sēbianza & quella nella mēte ma ritornata lhauere udito un p unaltro essere stato piāto & sepelito. Diro adūq; come un uiuo per morto sepelito fosse & come poi per resuscitato & non p uiuo egli stesso & molti altri lui credesero del la sepultura uscito colui dicio essendo per fācto adorato che come colpeuole ne doueua piu tosto essere condemnato.

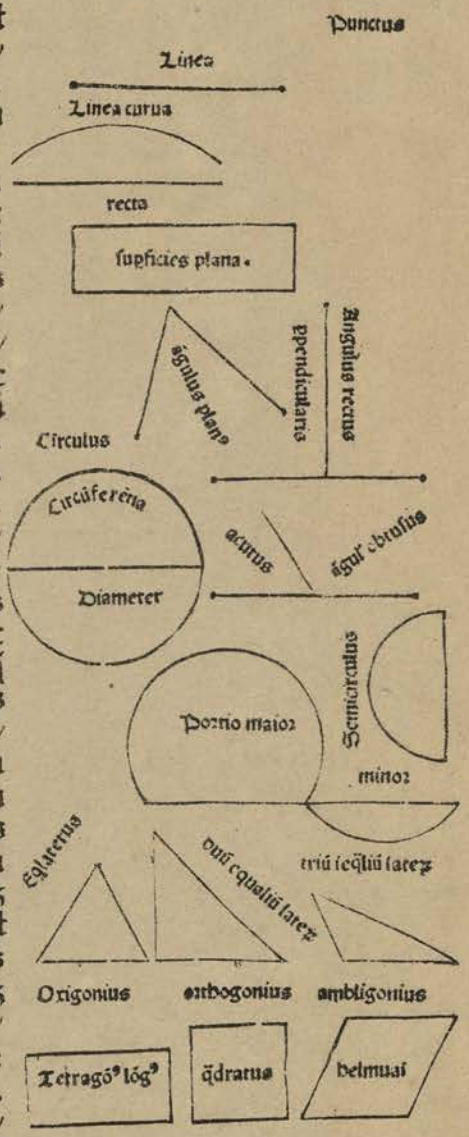
Nouella de Ferondo.

V adūq; in Toscana una badia e āco
f ra e posta si come noi uegiamo molte in loco non troppo frequētato dagli hoi nelaquale fu facto abbate un monacho ilquale i ogni cosa era sanctissimo fuori che nelle opere delle femine & q̄sto sapea si cau

2. A COLUMN FROM ONE OF THE PAGES OF THE TALES OF BOCCACCIO PRINTED BEFORE THE CLOSE OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

Preclarissimū opus elementoꝝ Euclidis megarēsis vna cū cō/
mentis Campani ꝑspicacissimi in artē geometriā incipit felicit.

Punctus est cuius ꝑs non est. ¶ Linea est longitudo sine latitudīe cuius quidem extremitates sunt duo puncta. ¶ Linea recta ē ab vno pūcto ad alium breuissima extensio in extremitates suas vtrūqꝫ eoꝝ recipiens. ¶ Supficies ē q̄ lōgitudinē ⁊ latitudinē tm̄ habet: cui⁹ termini quidē sūt linee ¶ Superficies plana ē ab vna linea ad aliam extensio in extremitates suas recipiēs ¶ Angulus planus ē duarum lineaꝝ alterius cōtactus: quaꝝ expansio est super supficiē applicatioqꝫ nō directa. ¶ Quādo autē angulū cōtinent due linee recte rectilineꝰ angulus noīatur. ¶ Qñ recta linea sup rectā steterit duoqꝫ anguli vtrobiqꝫ fuerint eq̄les eoꝝ vterqꝫ rectꝰ erit. ¶ Lineaqꝫ linee superstans ei cui supstat ꝑpēdicularis vocat. ¶ Angulus vero qui recto maior est obtusus dicit. ¶ Angulꝰ vero mīor recto acutꝰ appellat. ¶ Terminꝰ ē qd vniuscuiusqꝫ finis ē. ¶ Figura ē q̄ termino vel terminis ꝯtinet. ¶ Circulꝰ ē figura plana vna q̄dē linea cōtenta: q̄ circūferētia noīat: i cui⁹ medio pūctꝰ ē a quo oēs linee recte ad circūferentiā exeūtes sibiinuicē sunt equales. Et hic quidē punctꝰ cētꝝ circuli dicit. ¶ Diameter circuli ē linea recta q̄ sup ei⁹ centꝝ transiēs extremitatesqꝫ suas circūferentie applicans circulū in duo media diuidit. ¶ Semicirculus ē figura plana diametro circuli ⁊ medietate circūferentie cōtenta. ¶ Portio circuli est figura plana recta linea ⁊ parte circūferentie cōtenta: semicirculo quidem aut maior aut minor. ¶ Rectilinee figure sūt que rectis lineis cōtinent quaꝝ quedā trilatere q̄ tribꝰ rectis lineis: quedam quadrilatere q̄ quatuor rectis lineis: q̄dā multilatere q̄ pluribus q̄ꝫ quatuor rectis lineis continentur. ¶ Figuraꝝ trilaterarum: alia est triangulus habens tria latera equalia. Alia triangulus duo habēs equalia latera. Alia triangulus triū inequaliū laterū. Harū iteruꝫ alia est orthogoniū: vnū. s. rectū angulum habens. Alia est ambligonium aliquem obtusum angulum habens. Alia est oxigonium: in qua tres anguli sunt acuti. ¶ Figurarum autem quadrilaterarū. Alia est quadratū quod ē equilateruꝫ atqꝫ rectangulū. Alia est tetragonus longus: que est figura rectangula: sed equilatera non est Alia est helmuaym: que est equilatera: sed rectangula non est.



THE FIRST PAGE OF THE EUCLID PRINTED BY RATDOLT AT VENICE IN 1482, AND RICHLY ILLUMINATED BY HAND AS A PRESENTATION COPY TO THE DOGE MOCENIGO.

Incipit breuiarium ꝑ cōuentu dīne ordinis camaldulēsiū. Dominica prima de aduentu Sabbato precedenti Ad uesperas Capitulum.

Ece dies uenit dicit dominꝰ: & suscitabo dauid germē iustū: et regnabit rex: & sapiēs erit: et faciet iudicium et iustitiam in terra. Rℓ. Missus est. V. Dabit ei. Hymnus. Lon dite creator alme. V. Rorate celi desuper: & nubes pluant iustum. Rℓ. Aperiat terra et germinet saluatorē. Ad mag. aī. Ecce nomē domini uenit de lon; in quo: et claritas eius replebit orbem terrarum. Oratio.

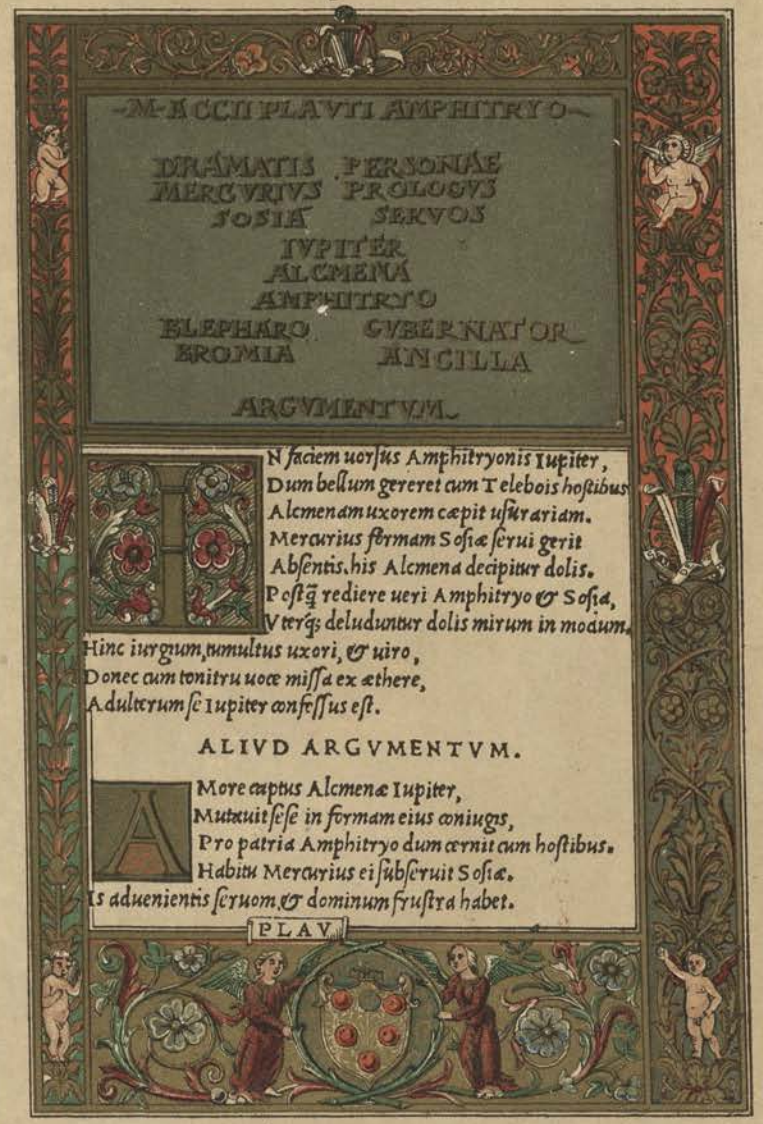
Excita q̄s dne potentiam tuam et ueni: ut ab immi nentib⁹ pcōr nostror pericu lis te meream⁹ ptegēte eripi: te liberante saluari. Qui uiuis & re. cū. Et nota gō in fine ca pitulor ordinis officiū regulaꝝ uidelicet prime: ante q̄ per dñs uel qui uiuis dicat: debet dici Et famulos tuos ab oī aduersitate custodi. Incipiunt collecte ꝑ totū annū. De cruce aī. Saluator mundi salua nos: q̄ per cruces & sanguines redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis te deprecamur deꝰ noster. V. Omnis terra adoret te: & psallat t. Rℓ. Psalmum dicat nōi tuo dne

Perpetua quesu Deus mus domine pace custodi: quos p lignū sancte crucis redimere dignatus es saluator mundi deꝰ. Rℓ. Amen. Nota q̄ predicta aī. de cruce cum oratione sua non dicimus ab hac die usque ad pentecostem antiphonas: & a dominica passionis usq; ad sabbatum sanctum: nec aliō festo ō cruce & sancti saluatoris. Aliis uero diebus dicim⁹ immediate post christū dominum nostrum. Aī. sancte marie in. xii. lec. ad uesperas. Aue regina celor: aue dña an gelorū: salue radix sca: ex qua mundo lux est orta: aue gloriosa: super oēs speciosa: uale ualde decora: & p nobis semper christum exora. V. Benedicta tu i mulieribꝰ. Rℓ. Et benedict⁹ fructus uentris tui. Aī. sancte marie diebus festalibus ad uesp. & ad laud. diebus feralibꝰ & festiuis. Sancta dei genitrix ego semp maria intercede pro nobis ad dñm deum nostrum. V. Benedicta tu. Oratio.

Concede misericors deus fragilitati nre ꝑsidium: ut q̄ sancte dei genitricis uirginis marie memoriam agim⁹: intercessionis eius auxilio a nris iniquitatibꝰ resurgam⁹. Per eum.

Pro seo michaele aī. Sce mi

Vid faciat lætus segetes: quo sydere terram
Vertere Mecœnas, ulmisq; adiungere uites,
Conueniat: quæ cura boum, qui cultus habendo
Sit pecori: atq; apibus quanta experientia parcis:
Hinc canere incipiam. Vos o clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum:
Liber, & alma Ceres, uestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit aristæ:
Poculaq; inuentis Acheloia miscuit uuis:
Et uos agrestum præsentia numina Fauni,
Ferte simul, Faunique pedem, Dryadesq; puellæ.
Munera uestra cano. tuq; o, cui prima frementem
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
Neptune: & cultor nemorum, cui pinguia Cæa
Terentum niuei tondent dumeta iuuenci.
Ipse nemus linquens patrium, saltusq; Lycæi
Pan ouium custos, tua si tibi Mænala curæ:
Adsis o Tegeæe fauens: oleaq; Minerua
Inuentrix: uncique puer monstrator aratri:
Et teneram ab radice ferens Syluane cupressum:
Dique deæq; omnes, studium quibus arua tueri:
Quique nouas alitis nonnullo semine fruges:
Quique satis largum cœlo demittitis imbrem.
Tuq; adeo, quem mox quæ sint habitura deorum



M. ACCII PLAVTI AMPHITRYO

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

MERCVRIVS PROLOGVS
SOSIA SERVOS
IVPITER
ALCMENA
AMPHITRYO
BLEPHARO GVBERNATOR
BROMIA ANCILLA

ARGVMENTVM.

In faciem uersus Amphitryonis Iupiter,
Dum bellum gereret cum Telebois hostibus
Alcmenam uxorem cæpit usurariam.
Mercurius formam Sosiæ serui gerit
Absentis. his Alcmena decipitur dolis.
Postq̄ rediere ueri Amphitryo & Sosia,
Vterq; deluduntur dolis mirum in modum.
Hinc iurgium, tumultus uxori, & uiro,
Donec cum tonitru uoce missa ex æthere,
Adulterum se Iupiter confessus est.

ALIVD ARGVMENTVM.

Amore captus Alcmenæ Iupiter,
Mutauit sese in formam eius coniugis,
Pro patria Amphitryo dum cernit cum hostibus.
Habitu Mercurius ei subseruit Sosiæ.
Is aduenientis seruom & dominum frustra habet.

PLAV.

A PAGE FROM A BREVIARY OF THE CAMALDOLESIAN MONKS, PRINTED AT FLORENCE BY MISCOMINUS IN 1489, AND RICHLY ILLUMINATED BY HAND

A PAGE FROM THE SMALL OCTAVO VIRGIL OF ALDUS OF 1514

A PAGE FROM THE COMEDIES OF PLAUTUS PRINTED AT FLORENCE BY GIUNTA IN 1514, AND RICHLY ILLUMINATED BY HAND AS A PRESENTATION COPY TO LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT

Brother Domenic, as the Padre Fineschi informs us, paying his doctor's bill with a "Quintus Curtius," and the "Legend of St. Catherine of Sienna;" adding, however, a single gold florin, just to give a monetary flavour to the transaction.

In 1481 the goldsmiths and engravers, according to a short record of account still extant, furnished the Ripoli foundry with punches for 100 small letters, three large ornamental letters, and three vignettes. It is further stated that the conventual printers of Ripoli not only employed compositors, but compositresses also; so that Miss Emily Faithfull is not the first who considered the setting-up of type as a fit occupation for women. The compositresses were, it appears, always the Sisters of the convent; while several of the compositors were strangers—probably Germans.

The productions of Miscominus cannot be passed over in silence while treating of early printing in Florence; and a page from the beautiful Breviary executed for the Camaldolesian monks, in 1489 (Plate 40, No. 1), will serve as an example. The page is beautifully illuminated in the margin, and the letters are semi-Gothic in form; that style being often retained, even in Italy, in books of religious character. In the same Plate is a specimen from the Florentine press of the celebrated Giunti; and a single example of their productions must suffice, though a very elegant volume might be written and illustrated on the subject of their works alone. The specimen in question is from an elegant octavo edition of the Comedies of Plautus, printed in the Italic style of type which was invented by the elder Aldus. The copy from which the example is taken is printed on vellum, and richly illuminated, as a presentation copy to Lorenzo the Magnificent. For an account of the beautifully-printed "Hours" and Missals of Giunti, this is not the place, as the subject of religious books of that class will be treated of generally when describing the more celebrated Parisian "Hours."

The present brief account of the first printers of Florence and a few among the most eminent of their more immediate successors can scarcely be concluded, whatever other omissions are necessarily made, without a brief allusion to the reproduction, by means of the printing-press, of those noble Greek manuscripts, written entirely in capitals, which were executed almost in fac-simile by Laurentius de Alopa. A single specimen, however, without comment, must alone suffice (Plate 34, No. 3). It is part of a page from his "Greek Anthology," printed at Florence in 1494. The original is in the British Museum, and forms part of the noble bequest of Mr. Cracherode to our National Library.

In Northern and Central Italy several German and Italian printers set up presses in the smaller towns, sometimes in rather obscure places. At Trevi, for instance, which Italian tourists only know through the magnificence of the neighbouring cascade, Jean Raynardi, of Eninghen, produced two works,—one in 1470,* the other in 1471;† the first without the printer's name. At Verona, a noble volume, rich in illustrations, "Valturius de Re Militari," appeared as early as 1472. At Treviso, Gherardo de Lisa, a native of Flanders, printed, in 1471 (?), "B. Augustini de Salute, sive de Aspiratione Animæ ad Deum," and continued to print there till 1476, when he proceeded to Vicenza, Venice, Friuli, and Udine, as we are informed by M. Van der Meersh, in his interesting work on early Belgian printers. At Ferrara, André Belfort, a Frenchman, introduced the printing-press in 1471, producing an edition of the "Epigrams" of Martial, and also the volume entitled "Augustini Dathi Senensis libellus de variis loquendi Figuris." Pavia lays claim, on the strength of a single production, to having enjoyed the privilege of a printing-press as early as 1471; the book in question being a work on medicine by John of Ferrara, dated Pavia, 1471, without a printer's name. At Piacenza, John Petrus de Ferratis printed a fine Bible in 1475, and Leonardo de Basilea

* "Historia quomodo B. Franciscus petivit a Christo, &c."

† "Bartholi de Saxoferrato Lectura."

produced his "Dita Mundi" at Vicenza in 1474. The first Genoese printer was Moravus of Olmutz, a German, who associating himself with a native Italian, Michael di Monaco, printed several books in 1474. It would appear, however, that he was established singly, as early as 1471, as a petition to the Genoese authorities is still in existence, in which the old *manuscriptists* request to be protected from the competition of freshly arrived *printers*, in the production of such ordinary works as Breviaries, Donati, and Psalters; and this proved, no doubt, a permanent cabal, on the ground of good old "vested rights," which, it would seem, eventually drove the practitioner of the new art from Genoa to seek his fortune elsewhere, as he is known to have quitted Genoa for Naples.

In the cities of Southern Italy the spread of the printing-press was slower than in the North, but not much behind in date. Naples received her first press from Sixtus Riessinger of Strasburg, who removed there from Rome, and whose first Neapolitan production was "Bartholi de Saxoferrato Lectura sopra Codice," published in 1471. Riessinger was a priest, and states, in his subscription, that he composed the notes which accompany the text :—

Quas cernis mira Sixtus Theotonicus arte
Parthenope impressit, composuitque notas.

In 1475 he published the first edition of the "Constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily," with the notes entirely surrounding the pages of the text, after the manner of Schoiffher's "Constitutiones Clementinæ." In order to establish the German priest and his new art permanently in Naples, the king offered Riessinger a bishopric and other advantages, which were declined, through humility, and the printer Sixtus Riessinger eventually retired to Rome. His place, however, was soon filled by one of his fellow-citizens, who arrived at Naples from Strasburg in 1475. This printer was Berthold Rying, who was followed by Arnold of Bruxelles, and by Matthias Moravus of Olmutz, who having, on his début at Genoa, been ostracised by the Genoese copyists, was now destined to become the most celebrated of Neapolitan printers. His small Bible, printed in 1476, closely resembles that of Jenson, printed at Venice, and though far less celebrated, is so finely executed that one cannot wonder at the printer's skill alarming the jealous scribes of Genoa.

Sicily, like Naples, received her first printer through Rome; Heinrich Alding, with his workmen, having quitted that city in 1471, to repair to Catania, in Sicily, whence, not being successful, he removed to Messina, in which place he printed several works between 1473 and 1478. He appears also to have had a press in Naples. His works not being specially remarkable, require no further notice; but want of space alone compels me to abandon the wish to say a few words concerning some other printers of Southern Italy at this period.

I must not quit the subject of early Italian printing without a passing glance at that celebrated Hebrew Bible, the first ever printed, which issued from the press of Abraham Colorito, at Soncino, in 1488. It is a very remarkable work, not only on account of the type, but also for its decorative features, which are of a conspicuous character. The titles of the chapters are printed in large characters on a decorative background, and the broad marginal border of the page selected as a specimen is very bold and characteristic. It is doubtful whether these decorations are executed on wood or metal; but I am inclined to think the latter. The British Museum possesses only a portion of the work, from which my example is taken. It came to that collection with the old Royal Library; having been previously in the possession of Archbishop Cranmer, whose notes and Latin translations, in his own handwriting, occur on many of the pages.

The Germans naturally took the lead in establishing printing in the south of Europe; but after the appearance of Jenson in the field, many other Frenchmen were to be found among those enterprising printers who sought their fortune in Italy, as we shall see in treating of the first developments of the art in France, in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the beginning of the art of printing in France, and its development in that country to the close of the Fifteenth Century.

IN France, but for a political accident,—the singular death of Charles VII. by voluntary starvation, and the consequent accession of Louis XI., that country would certainly have been endowed with the printing-press before England, and possibly before Italy, and even many of the German states themselves, with the exception of those in the more immediate vicinity of Mayence. Paris was then the great intellectual centre of Western Europe; and it was a period in which France was vigorously recovering herself from those destructive civil wars caused by the dissensions of the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, which resulted in the partial conquest of the country by England, and the nominal establishment of an English monarch on the French throne; and the culminating points of these events happened contemporaneously with the first struggles and successes of the printing-press. Koster first brought his printing projects to bear about the year 1430,—the Maid of Orleans was burnt at Rouen on the 14th of June, 1431, and Henry VI. of England was crowned king of France at Paris in the November of the same year. Charles VII., whose eventual restoration brought about the reunion of several of the dissevered provinces of France, and the addition of others, rapidly became one of the most powerful and influential sovereigns in mediæval Europe; and he was not only a lover of peace, but a patron of learning and learned men, and of all the arts of civilization.

The protection that had previously been afforded to science by Charles V., and the foundation of the National Library of France by that prince, had led to the establishment of many eminent men in the French capital, and caused the University of Paris to be sought by the ambitious youth of all continental Europe, as the sole centre where the most advanced learning of the day could be advantageously acquired; and among the students then assembled there was Peter Schoiffher, afterwards the pupil of Gutenberg, and the partner and grandson-in-law* of Fust. Under these circumstances, and with the University of Paris standing at the head of all the seats of learning in Europe, it may easily be conceived that such an invention as that of printing, when reduced at once to a practical and convenient form, would scarcely be an event of a kind to pass unnoticed in the French capital; nor was it so; for no sooner did reports and mysterious whisperings concerning the new art become known there, which appears to have been very shortly after the publication of Gutenberg's Bible (1456), than means were promptly taken by the Government, or rather, as the record shows, by the direct intervention of the king, to endow Paris with the invaluable possession of the Printing-press. By a document still preserved in the Library of the Arsenal, we are informed that on the 3rd of October, 1458, the king, having learnt that *Messire Gutenberg, chevalier*, residing at Mayence, in Germany, a man dexterous in the engraving of letters and punches, had brought to light the invention of printing by means of such characters; and being curious concerning such valuable knowledge (*tel trésor*), the king ordered the masters of his mint to name to him persons well skilled in such kind of engraving, that he might despatch them to the aforesaid place, in order secretly to inform themselves of the said invention, and to understand, conceive, and learn the art, &c. &c." Upon which mandate it was directed that Nicholas Jenson, an expert engraver, should be forthwith despatched to Mayence, to learn the art in question, for the purpose of introducing it to Paris,

* As previously stated, he married the daughter of Conrad, the son of Fust.

—a plan which was put into immediate execution; and Jenson, either by engaging himself as an engraver to Gutenberg, or Fust and Schoiffher, or some other printer,—for there were already several in Mayence and the neighbourhood,—*did* acquire the art, as he had been instructed to do; but before his return Charles VII. had died, and Jenson finding that the protégés of the late king were not likely to find favour with his rebellious son, now Louis XI., nor with his ministers, carried the art which he had acquired to Italy, where, as we have seen, he established at Venice one of the earliest Presses in Italy, and one of the most remarkable in Europe.

Louis XI., however, though an unnatural son, and possessing many other bad qualities, was yet, after his own peculiar fashion, a friend to learning, and a lover of the arts; and to his efforts Paris was eventually indebted for the reintegration of the scattered remains of the library of the Louvre, founded by Charles V., which became the nucleus of the present National Library of France. He was also the liberal patron of Jean Fouquet, of Tours, the greatest illuminator of the day, whose works rank among the chief glories of that beautiful art, and whose large miniatures in the fine MS. of Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," now in the Imperial Library, are unrivalled as book-pictures of their class.

It was in 1462 that Fust came to Paris with a supply of his Bibles, which he was able to sell for 50 crowns each, instead of 400 or 500 crowns, which was the average price of MS. books of the same kind. And so far was he from being persecuted, as narrated by subsequent writers, that we find him, as previously described, well received and encouraged, both by the public and by persons in authority. Two members of the University of Paris, stimulated by the example of Fust, were, in fact, the first to set up a printing-press in that city. These were, Guillaume Fichet, a Doctor of Theology and Boursier of the Sorbonne, and John Heynlin, of Stein (Stone), near Constance. Heynlin received his German surname, Stein, from his native village, as also his Latin name, Lapideus, and his French surname, De la Pierre; by each of which he is better known than by that of Heynlin. Jean Heynlin, or Jean of Stein, or Lapideus, otherwise De la Pierre, was commissioned by the Boursier Fichet to obtain German workmen for the purpose of setting up a press in the University; and the assistants so procured were, Ulric Gering of Constance, Michel Friburger of Colmar, and Martin Grantz, who were probably at that time established at Basle, where, as we have seen, the printing-press was early introduced. The three German printers arrived in Paris at the close of 1469 or the beginning of 1470, and were at once installed in a suitable atelier in the Sorbonne, near the apartments of Fichet and De la Pierre. The first work printed in the newly-established press was a volume containing the Letters of Gasparino of Bergamo; and the types used were of the Romanized character, having still a slight Gothic angularity about them. The volume is a small quarto, commencing with an Epistle from Guillaume Fichet, Doctor in Theology, to Jean de la Pierre, Prior of Sorbonne, which fixes the date of the book—as De la Pierre was only twice Prior—first in 1467, and the second time in 1470, —and it is to the second period of his holding that office that the issue of the little book in question must be assigned. This, the first book printed in Paris, has a brief subscription or colophon appended by its printers, claiming that distinction. But though the first book printed in Paris, our own William Caxton may claim the honour of having printed the first book in the French language, as I shall attempt to show in my account of the early works of our first English printer. The prefatory letter by Fichet contains many highly interesting passages connected with the correction of the press by De la Pierre, as also concerning the state of Latin learning at the period, and many other details, of which want of space alone forbids the insertion here. In Plate 46 (No. 1) will be found a fac-simile of a page of this interesting volume, which is taken from the copy in the British Museum, purchased for that institution in 1848. It will be seen that the type is of a fine clear character, and so Italian in style that it might almost pass for the work of an Italian printer. It is probable that specimens of the fine books printed at Venice by the Frenchman Jenson in the

Italian style had been forwarded to Paris by him, and so established a taste for that style, which was, however, afterwards pretty generally superseded, for a time, by a reaction in favour of the angular Gothic. It will be seen that spaces were left for the principal initials to be supplied by the illuminator, as in nearly all the very early productions of the printing-press.

The epitome of "Livy," by Florus, was the next book printed in the Sorbonne, followed by an edition of Sallust's "Catiline Conspiracy." These were succeeded by a work on Rhetoric by Fichet himself, who caused five impressions of his work to be printed on vellum, as presentation copies; each having, in the dedication, the name of the person to whom it was presented. The one intended for and bearing the name of Pope Sixtus IV. is now in the British Museum. The fac-simile just described will convey a very perfect idea of the style of the printing of this work, and also of the illuminations, among which is a miniature representing Fichet in the act of presenting his work to the Pope. Several other works were produced at the German press in the Sorbonne, all of which are printed with types cast from the same moulds, as stated by M. Cheviller, in his "History of the Origin of Printing in the City of Paris." In the works printed in the Sorbonne the principal capitals are invariably painted in by hand, and the text is occasionally of faulty execution; but the ink is almost always black and brilliant. Some of them have the rubrics written in by hand, while in others they are printed. Fichet was an intimate friend and correspondent of the celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, whose letters to himself he also printed in the press of the Sorbonne.

The second press established in Paris was that of Peter Cæsaris and John Stoll, both students of the University, who became pupils and assistants of Gering and his associates, and eventually established a press of their own about the year 1473. These students having become printers in the general rage for the "new art," established their office in the Rue St. Jacques, at the sign of the Green Rod; and, in the same street, they were soon followed by their instructors and employers, Gering and his partners, who, tired of their state of dependence in the Sorbonne, which their old patron Fichet had quitted, set up an independent press at the sign of the Golden Sun, opposite the Rue Fromentel. In their independent position, Gering and his partners made use of a new character, more Gothic in style than that used when under the classical influences of the Sorbonne, which establishment, either from communications with Jenson, or more probably from a close connection with the court of Rome, adopted the Romanized form of type. The books of Cæsaris are also in the more Gothic style of type. Both these presses were tolerably active, but not to a sufficient degree to supply the Parisian demand; for we find Schoiffher still pouring in his periodical supply, while great numbers of printed books from all the German and Italian presses found their way to that great intellectual centre.

About this time Herman de Stattern, whom Schoiffher employed as his agent when not in Paris himself, died, and, not being naturalized, his own property and Schoiffher's stock of books were seized and sold, though the amount realized was afterwards restored to Schoiffher. It was this circumstance which led Gering and his partners to solicit from the king letters of naturalization, as a protection to their property. The king at once acceded to their request, and the letters patent then granted to them are still in existence, dated February, 1474 (1475 new style). Another proof that the king was well disposed towards the new art when those exercising it were no longer the protégés of his father, is, that he granted, on petition, to Peter Schoiffher a sum of 2,425 écus, as indemnification for the stock of books which, as stated above, had been seized as the property of an alien.

The printing ateliers of the Golden Sun and the Green Rod were destined, towards the year 1476, to meet with serious rivalry from various new printers who began to establish themselves about that time. Among these was Pâquier Bonhomme, formerly bookseller to the University, who published in 1477 (new style) "Les Grandes Chroniques de France," the first book printed in French, and in Paris, with a date. Next appeared Guillaume Maynal, formerly associated with Gering; and then Anthony Verard, whose illustrated "Books of Hours" and other publications rank

among the most desired acquisitions of bibliophilists. Verard, who had previously been an illuminator, and possibly a block-book engraver, soon became very eminent when he adopted the new art of printing. He executed above a hundred different works; among others, his famous "Mirroer Historial" (1495), upon the illustrations of which M. Renouvier has written a very interesting essay. His "Books of Hours" I shall allude to in another place, when treating of a style of work in which the French printers and engravers achieved unrivalled excellence; but I must especially mention here his "Art of Good Living and Dying," printed for the English market, and in English, a work produced quite at the close of his career. The fac-simile page from this work (Plate 49) is from a copy in the British Museum. The illustration exhibits the purgatorial punishments of gluttony —brandy-drinkers being drenched with "real" liquid fire, while gastronomists are forcibly fed with loathsome reptiles. This curious book (Plate 49) bears the title "Traytte of God Lyvyng and Good Deying, etc. translatyt in Parys the XIII day of May, of Franch in Englysh, oon thowsand v hondreth et III. zears, &c." The work was presented to the Museum by William Maskell, Esq.; and, judging from the opening passage in our specimen, was probably translated by a foreigner who had acquired the language abroad, or who corrected the work in his own fashion or from some English version written in a strong provincial dialect, as Dutch words often occur instead of pure English, and the spelling expresses a much broader accent than that of the best English of the period. This will be seen on deciphering the paragraph beginning: "Lazar' new roysyng from Deethe to lyve, beying in the hows of the said Symon the Leprowr," &c.

Those especially interested in the details concerning the early printers of Paris should read the work of M. Cheviller, who has collected a number of very curious facts concerning them, and by whom we are informed that Gering, the first Parisian printer, made a large fortune, and that when he died, in 1509, he bequeathed nearly the whole of it to the Sorbonne, of which he had been, despite of his great age, elected a student member. Gering's classical types are very elegant; but the taste of the day in Paris still yearned towards the old and national Gothic letter, which was consequently adopted in his later books. At Caen, Robert Mace, who died an established printer in 1491, had the honour of instructing the celebrated Plantin, who eventually left his native place to establish himself at Antwerp.

The city of Lyons, the second place in France destined to receive the art of printing, was not indebted to German artificers for its introduction. Frenchmen had, indeed, without naming Jenson, already made themselves famous in the art in several Italian cities: Stephen Coral at Parma, as early as 1471; Louis de la Salle at Venice, in 1473; Eustache le Français at Brescia; and, not much later, Jean Fabri at Turin; Pierre Maufer at Padua; and Philippe Albinus at Vicenza, in 1477. So that when Guillaume le Roi established himself at Lyons, probably at the invitation of Barthélemy Buyer, an influential citizen, he was not by any means one of the first Frenchmen to establish a printing-press, though the first to do so in France. His first book was a little quarto of 162 pages, printed in Gothic type in 1473. The work thus printed was the "Compendium" of Lotharius, afterwards pope under the name of Innocent III. The subscription, with the name of the printer and the date, states that the work was printed for the honourable citizen Barthélemy Buyer, in whose house the press had been established, as shown by the subscription to another book of Le Roi's,—the "Speculum Vitæ Humanæ" of Roderic Sancius. In the subscription to the "Mirroer Historial" of the same printer, the following statement, in French, recites these facts still more precisely: "*Imprimé à Lion sur le Rosne, en la maison de maistre Bartholomieu Buyer, citoien de Lion, et fini le dernier jour de juillet mil quatre cens* LXXIX." Several other works were issued from the same press; and some have conjectured, without sufficient evidence, that Buyer was himself the printer. After 1483, Le Roi printed books entirely on his own account till about 1488; after which no books bearing his name are found. But others had already appeared in the field, especially Jean l'Allemand, of Mayence, who printed the well-known "Missal à l'usage de l'Eglise de Lyon," in

folio, and printed in Gothic characters in black and red. It should be mentioned that it was in Lyons that the first book in France, illustrated with designs engraved on copper, appeared. Some of the best illustrations of this kind are found in "Breydenbach's Journey to the Holy Land," printed in 1488 by Michelet Topie de *Pymont*, and Jaques Heremberck d'Allemagne, in the name of Nicholas le Huen. The engravings are copied from those on wood of the original edition. As a specimen of the books of the early Lyonese printers, I have given a fac-simile of a page from the celebrated romance of the "Four Sons of Aymon," printed at Lyons, without name or date, about 1480. It is a very characteristic specimen of the printing and rude pictorial illustrations of the period. The heading, above the illustration, describes the subject,—"Comment les quatre fils Aymon furent chassés hors de Paris, par Charlemagne, roi de France." The volume is in the British Museum, forming part of the old Royal Library. As an additional example of works of a similar class, I have (in Plate 47, No. 2) given a fac-simile of a page from the romance of "Fierabras," printed at Geneva, by Louis Gaiban, in 1483—the "new art" being already planted in Switzerland at that comparatively early period.

It would be impossible to follow the establishment of printing in the principal provincial towns of France, which rapidly followed Lyons in the adoption of the services of the press; but one or two examples must nevertheless be given. A good specimen of the Abbeville press is furnished in a fac-simile of a page of St. Augustine's "Cité de Dieu," printed there by Jehan Dupré, in 1486 (Plate 48). The Gothic details of the canopy, and the view of the city seen between the columns, cannot fail to be remarked as very neat specimens of early wood-engraving; especially as occurring in the first book ever printed at Abbeville. The copy in the Museum from which my fac-simile is taken was purchased in 1850.

Among the towns that followed Lyons in the adoption of the printing-press, none became more distinguished than Rouen. It was there, in fact, rather than in Paris itself, that most of the Missals for the service of the Catholic Church in England were produced; and some of them are very remarkable examples of printing and engraving, being often enriched with borders and large miniatures, intended for illumination. The Missal adapted to the Salisbury Ritual, printed by Martin Morin, at Rouen, in 1492, is the first printed edition of the Salisbury Missal. In works of this class the large miniatures and borders are frequently left without the addition of colour, while the large initials, as in the volume from which my example is taken, are often richly illuminated. This finely-executed Missal, of which a fac-simile of the first page will be found in Plate 50, was purchased by the trustees of the Museum in 1848.

I shall have occasion to refer again to the printers of Rouen and Paris, as producers of Missals for the use of the English Church, when treating of the advance of the art of printing in England, after the time of Caxton; I will therefore devote the next section of the present chapter to the remarkable Prayer Books, or "Hours," as they are termed, which issued from the presses of the various Parisian printers during the last ten or fifteen years of the 15th century.

THE FRENCH "BOOKS OF HOURS."

One would have thought, says Brunet, in his short essay on "Les Heures Gothiques," as he terms the profusely illustrated "Books of Hours" produced by the early French printers, that immediately after Gering and his associates had introduced to Paris the miraculous art of Gutenberg, which substituted for the slow, inaccurate, and costly art of the scribes and rubricators, an unerring, rapid, and wonderfully economical system of multiplying books, that the Parisian booksellers would at once have seen their advantage in turning it to account for the reproduction of such books as were in general and continuous demand, such as the ordinary books of devotion commonly known as "Hours." That they did not immediately take the fullest advantage of the "new art" may be

thus explained. In the first place, the old books of that class had peculiar attractions, which could not be imitated. They were generally executed on the finest vellum, and filled with richly-coloured ornaments and miniature pictures, more or less well executed; and, moreover, such books were often heirlooms in families, descending from generation to generation. Secondly, the rivalry which wood-engraving might offer to the established book-decorators could not be brought to bear all at once, as it had been as yet only used in sketchily-treated subjects, and not in fine and intricate borderings or delicately-finished miniatures crowded with minute figures, like those of the illuminators.

The first efforts towards rivalry with these richly-ornamented books were made by means of slightly-shaded outlines of the ornaments and pictures, printed from engraved blocks, and afterwards coloured in absolute imitation of the illuminated "Books of Hours." But the comparatively high price of these volumes, in which little more than the cost between printing and writing was economized—for the saving of the mere outline to the illuminator was not much,—accounts for the somewhat late appearance of the first "Book of Hours," in which the profusest decorations of the wood-engraver were put forth in opposition to the gold and colours of the illuminator. Moreover, this direct substitution, though, at last, to a certain extent triumphant, could not be brought to a successfully attractive form all at once; and it was doubtless not from want of energy, or want of aptitude to perceive the advantages of the Press and the engraved block that kept back the book-dealers of Paris from at once issuing "Books of Hours" produced by the new methods, but chiefly in consequence of a natural prejudice of the public in favour of the MS. books, combined with the amount of time and experience necessary to adapt the new means to the special forms of a particular purpose.

The earliest successful "Book of Hours" issued by the printers without the aid of the illuminator, and which may be said to have been perfectly complete without the addition of colour, appears to have been the one executed by Philip Pigouchet, for Simon Vostre, the bookseller, in 1486. The style of these first Missal borders, although the addition of colour was not absolutely necessary, was yet adapted for colouring and gilding, as will be seen on reference to the specimens numbered 1 in Plate 51. The entire page (No. 4 in the same Plate), and also a small border (No. 3) from "Hours" issued in 1487, may serve to convey a very accurate idea of the ordinary style of work executed by Pigouchet for Simon Vostre. No. 4 exhibits a rich border, executed in successful emulation of the decorative borders of the illuminators; developing a style of work in which the glitter of gold and colour is compensated for by the richly-stippled background, which produces an effect of careful finish not to be attained by hand-work. The device of the printer—for devices had already become elaborate compositions—occupies a large portion of the page given, and consists of a shield suspended to a tree, bearing the initials of Philip Pigouchet, and having for supporters a wild man and woman, very gracefully and spiritedly drawn. All the ornaments and groups of figures in the borders are impressed with a true Gothic character, and have consequently the charm of that peculiar *naïveté* and quaintness which has been so sensitively appreciated within the last twelve or fifteen years,—leading so many clever artists to thread their way back towards the fascinating though crude simplicity of the 15th century, instead of boldly pushing forward to realize new kinds of excellence which must naturally arise out of the spirit of their own age.

Most of the books produced by Pigouchet were printed with the greatest care, on the purest vellum that could be procured, and are, in fact, the finest possible examples of early wood-engraving and printing.* In subsequent editions it was constantly sought to impart new attractions, by the introduction of fresh features; and in this feeling we find it announced by a publisher that a series of pictures from the Apocalypse, which were very popular subjects, would be found among the ornaments; while at other times illustrations from Pagan history were resorted to; such as the

* The letters that appear blurred in my examples are those that have been dashed with colour in the original, and which consequently come imperfectly in the photograph.

triumphs of Cæsar, &c. A specimen of the small vignettes from the triumphs of Cæsar will be found at No. 2 in Plate 51, with explanations in French under each subject, in some of which very curious mistakes occur; in one, for instance, where a very truthful representation of the Colosseum occurs, it is called the Palace of Cæsar. In other editions the ancient Pagan sibyls were curiously mixed up with Christian saints, as in the large border in Plate 51, in which the Libyan sibyl is made to foretell the birth of Christ, as stated with many curiously naïve details. This border, as will be seen by the ornaments, which are no longer purely Gothic, belongs to a somewhat later period.

The Dance of Death, which eventually became the most favourite of all the devices for the border decorations of the French "Books of Hours," did not appear in the earliest editions. This famous mediæval subject, capable of such various and striking treatment, had its origin at a somewhat earlier period, and consists, as is well known, in the representation of a series of figures, in all the various walks of life, suddenly overtaken by a grim skeleton, beating a drum or gaily playing a violin or flute, and inviting the victim to accompany him, the time of departure from the world having arrived. The dancing alacrity of the figure of Death, while laying claim to his successive victims, possibly gave rise to the term "Dance of Death;" it has, however, been suggested that it arose during one of the great plagues of the 14th century, when the sufferers died with fearful leaps and contortions, resembling the act of dancing. If such were the origin of the devices, they were most artistically applied; and the figures of kings, warriors, simple mechanics, priests, or shepherds, when jogged at the elbow by the grim reminder, are always most characteristic, in their respective modes of receiving the unwelcome visitor. It is, however, more probable that the term was bestowed in an allegorical sense, in allusion to the alacrity with which Death danced his fatal round to summon his victims; a notion quite in accordance with the general spirit of the age. However this may be, the subject became a most popular one as a decoration to religious books, especially as the great and powerful were thus strikingly shown up as equally liable to the common lot with the meanest and most humble. Many of the subjects are treated with great piquancy and artistic talent; and the verses which sometimes accompany them are often full of point, and of a kind of rough sarcastic wit, which must have been very telling at the time; but I have not given any examples, in order to reserve more space for ornaments of a less-known class.

In following the rise, progress, and decline of the Gothic "Hours," it will be found more convenient to examine a series of those of Pigouchet, Le Vostre, and one or two others, leaving a general sketch of the works of other artists and publishers to a subsequent division of the subject. With this view, I will describe two specimens of the Pigouchet and Le Vostre series, belonging to the most characteristic, and perhaps, on the whole, most attractive period; as shown in the fac-similes furnished in Plate 52. In No. 1, the varying series of colonnettes, scrolls, and pinnacles, by means of which the arabesque border is framed, is full of decorative invention; while the border itself is animated with the truest grace and spirit of the style. The grotesques, in the character of those of the illuminators, are very fanciful, as shown in the narrow border and in the subject under the miniature picture; while the miniature itself must not be passed over, as it is a striking example of the clever devices by means of which Mediæval artists found material expression for the most abstruse doctrines. In the present instance, the actual presence of Christ at the Sacrament, and the Divine source of Papal authority, are both expressed, by means of a figure of Christ rising from a stone sarcophagus, and addressing, in a confidential manner, the Pope and Cardinals, who are kneeling at the altar in front of a sacramental chalice. The other page (No. 2) has a bordering composed of one of those well-known hunting groups, most artistically designed, so as to form a continuous border subject. Some of the devices of this class are among the most successful of the subjects employed in the decoration of the Parisian "Hours;" one of these, composed of youths gathering fruit in a tree, and throwing it to girls below, who catch it in their kirtles, is a perfect model of that class of composition. The subjects across the lower part of these two pages are of the kind generally found decorating the

lower portions of the pages of the Calendar, and which represent the sports of different seasons of the year, of which I shall have occasion to speak in describing a subsequent illustration.

The two pages selected as specimens in Plate 53, from "Hours" by Le Vostre, are of about the same date, and also of truly Gothic character. I have selected the first (No. 1) as presenting a very perfect and beautiful treatment of that favourite subject of Mediæval artists, the "Tree of Jesse." The whole of the execution of this design is most conscientious and perfect, and the expansion of the central and uppermost branch into the figures of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Saviour, in illustration of the quoted passage from Isaiah, "Et flos de radice ejus ascendit," is exceedingly graceful; the effect being much enriched and heightened by the gracefully-twisted branches which form its framework. The subjects forming the external broad border form a good example of those separate devices, which could either be used in a detached position or built up into a border; or, the effect of which might be entirely changed by admixture with other ornaments, or other subjects—affording means which engravers and publishers of the Parisian "Hours" very soon turned to account, in obtaining a maximum of variety with a minimum of labour. The three subjects under description are very strikingly treated—the first represents man in the state of death, the second as consumed and purified by purgatorial fire, and the third the rising of a multitude from their graves at the day of judgment. The page No. 2, of larger dimensions, is of the same period, and has, in the marginal border, one of the graceful hunting subjects before alluded to, with a corresponding device which forms the lower border, representing the carrying home of the slain deer. But the great feature, for which this example was introduced, is the beautiful design formed of a graceful, tent-like canopy, the drapery of which is held aside by angels in order to discover to view a magnificent sacramental cup, supported by other angels,—the whole design being inclosed by rich columns, spirally encircled by foliage. This design, in addition to its artistic excellence, further exemplifies the ingenuity with which Mediæval artists so readily illustrated the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. In this instance, the representation of the wine in the cup as the actual blood of Christ, is sought to be expressed by the artist; and his symbolism is, as usual, unmistakable—the top of the cup being made to represent the wound in the side of Christ, in the usual conventional manner, with drops of blood trickling from it. The stars in the dotted background, denoting heaven, not only do good symbolic service, but produce at the same time a most pleasing and sparkling effect. These ingenious devices, and their conscientious and elaborate treatment, show with what devout energy the artistic spirit of the age gave itself up to the service of the Church,—exhibiting an amount of devotion such as would, in any cause, secure success, and which in the works of the great artists and artisans of the Middle Ages secured that artistic triumph which is still acknowledged as strikingly pre-eminent in many branches of art, even by the fastidious critics of the 19th century.*

In endeavouring to illustrate the more general course of development of the celebrated Gothic "Hours" printed and published by Pigouchet and Vostre, I have not yet mentioned the exceeding care of the printing displayed in some of the copies, especially the blackness and brilliancy of the ink: and I cannot forbear giving, as an example of this kind of excellence, a page from a "Book of Hours" by Chappiel, printed at Paris in 1504, in the "Agenda Format." This work, though of comparatively late date, is still of entirely Gothic character, being probably printed from blocks executed full ten years previously to the appended date. It is printed on the finest vellum; and the illuminated letters, which show as blemishes in the photograph in consequence of the vermilion becoming black, have a very pretty effect in the original. This copy of the "Hours" (à l'usage de Rome, and unique in this form) was presented to our National Library by the Rev. J. Horner. It must not be inferred, from the examples I have given from the "Hours" of Pigouchet and Vostre, that they are never equal in printing to the specimen from Chappiel, or that they were

* It will be noticed, as shown in my plate, that the capital letters have been inserted by hand when not reproduced in colour in my fac-simile; those in red come very black in my photograph, and the blue ones very pale.

invariably inferior: for, on the contrary, many of them are of unrivalled beauty in this respect; but my specimens have been selected for other purposes than simply to exhibit perfect examples of mere printing, and have sometimes been taken from very imperfect copies, when the subject, or some other circumstance, rendered the selection desirable.

The fac-simile No. 2, in Plate 54, consists of an entire page from the Calendar of one of Vostre's later publications. The ornaments are inferior to the earlier works, and begin to exhibit a transitional tendency towards the Renaissance style, while the miniature subjects and grotesques framed in by them are still of the more purely Gothic period. The putting together of the various small blocks of which the border is composed is not so careful as in previous examples, and exposes the secret of the combination. The top border consists of a pair of subjects of the usual kind—the one being the Zodiacal sign of the month (May), while the other illustrates the pleasant occupations of that period of the year; namely, a ride through the woods and fields, a lady being seated on a pillion behind her cavalier, on a gaily-caparisoned palfrey. The subject in the lower border, as usual in the Calendars of the period, further illustrates the period of the year. A gay party are seated near a table in a garden; and a gallant plays on the reed pipe to one who is evidently listening with much interest to the performance; while another cavalier converses with a lady, who is wreathing a chaplet of flowers; and a third, with a hawk perched on one hand, strolls along chatting with a damsel who leans upon his arm. There is much naïve grace in the simple treatment of this device, which, considering its minute dimensions, is well made out, and not without suitable expression. Many of the subjects which occupy this position in the Calendar borders are, in fact, little masterpieces of Mediæval art, and a whole series of them might be selected which would form a very interesting pictorial commentary on the manners and customs of the time. The snow-balling and skating in winter, the village festivals and hawking parties of early spring, the various sports of summer, and the fruit-gathering and harvest-homes of the autumn, being rendered very attractive in a variety of forms by the designers of these graceful borders to the Calendar portion of the Parisian "Books of Hours." The principal critical objection that can be made to the series of decorative borders in these interesting volumes is the too frequent repetitions, which often occur in very incongruous positions.

In the specimen No. 2 in Plate 54 we have seen a decidedly transitional tendency in the style of the ornaments towards a Renaissance character; and in the specimen No. 1, Plate 55, the broad border exhibits a nearly fully developed example of the school of ornament of the early portion of the French Renaissance; the Italian influence in the semi-classical ornaments being strongly marked. But, with the inconsistency always present in transitional periods, the upper portion of the narrow border, with its grotesques, is still in the old Gothic feeling. This specimen has been selected, not only to show the transition of the ornamentation from the Gothic to the Renaissance style, but also to exhibit an example of one of the first editions in which Vostre used his own printing-device instead of that of Pigouchet. It is probable that he actually printed the work himself, as the name of Pigouchet is not mentioned; and also that it was intended to be a very attractive edition, combining in itself the devices of several previous issues; as we find from the title, which runs as follows: "These present Hours are according to the Ritual of Rouen, at full length, &c., with the Miracles of Our Lady, and the figures of the Apocalypse from the Bible, and also the triumphs of Cæsar, and several other histories illustrated in the Antique style, which have been printed by Symon Vostre, &c. &c.," showing that no less than four distinct sets of border illustrations which originally appeared in separate editions, are all contained in the present volume.

The next illustration, No. 2, in Plate 55, shows a still more decisive adoption of the Renaissance style, in a strongly marked Italian feeling. The architectural framework to the illustration is, though rather loosely and roughly executed, extremely elegant in design; indeed, quite a model of its class. The subject which is framed by this gracefully conceived encase-

ment is, with the usual inconsistency of the period, of purely Gothic character, as indicated by the canopy and other architectural features. It probably belonged to an edition of an earlier period; but was on the present occasion surrounded by an ornament in the new style to put it "in the fashion." The picture itself is very naïvely and quaintly executed, with those simple Gothic graces about it which are always very charming. The subject is "The Adoration of the Shepherds," who bring various rustic offerings, a shepherdess bringing a lamb. Additional interest is imparted to this composition by the names appended to the respective shepherds; as Gobin le Gay, Le Beau Roger, &c., which accord with those of the religious legends and carols of the period.

The larger pictorial subjects in some of these "Hours" are frequently very admirable, even in the earliest periods of their issue, some of those of Pigouchet and Verard being wonderfully intricate works of design and wood engraving. The "Betrayal by Judas," in which the soldier is struck down by Peter, which occurs in one of Pigouchet's most carefully executed volumes, is a perfect marvel of neat and intricate execution, as is also the battle-scene in one of Simon Vostre's, occurring in the penitential psalms at the passage, "Domine, ne in furore tuo, &c.;" and I regret that I cannot find space for a few examples of such exquisite monuments of the Parisian art of that period; but as the style has been more or less completely represented in the pictorial subjects of No. 2, Plate 55, and Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 53, as well as in some of the miniature subjects of the Gothic borderings, I have thought it better to economize my space in order to introduce two of the large subjects from the later "Hours" of Vostre, which exhibit a more advanced style, of the Albert Durer character. The two subjects in Plate 56, though, as it appears to me, of French design and workmanship, exhibit in the figures the characteristics of the advanced German school in a very marked manner, while, on the other hand, the architectural accessories are of completely Italian character. This combination may, perhaps, be traced to the residence of Albert Durer at Venice, where his style, especially in the treatment of draperies, became quite a rage, and was closely imitated by Italian artists, who, nevertheless, did not abandon the Italian style of architectural ornamentation; while the close connection between France and Italy which existed during the reign of Charles VIII., from 1483 to 1498, is sufficient to account for all the details of Italian styles in art becoming gradually prevalent in Paris; an influence which may be traced in the two subjects under description, which, while they exhibit many of the German peculiarities of treatment in the draperies, have yet a certain slightly exaggerated grace which is peculiarly French; the *poses* being of a somewhat dramatic character not found either in the German school or the Italian. Whether by native French, or by German or Italian artists resident in Paris, these subjects bear the unmistakeable Parisian *cachet* in all their essential details; and as mere book illustrations, must be considered very beautiful works, of a very high character.

In order to exemplify the kind of influence which the gradual abandonment of the Gothic school of ornamentation had upon the decoration of the French "Books of Hours," I have selected two pages from the beautiful volume executed by Geoffroy Tory, for King Francis I., in a pure Renaissance style of ornament. It will be at once seen and admitted, that while greater elegance and refinement has certainly been achieved, nevertheless the fascinating richness and profuse detail of the Gothic period has been lost; and that, although stricter principles of art have been developed, and critical artistic intelligence is satisfied that a more correct style has been achieved, yet the eye is not so effectually charmed, nor is the fancy so completely captivated; and, in short, something of the rich though perhaps over-wrought fulness of the elder periods seems wanting to give effect to the more studied elegance of the new school.

In the subject representing the Adoration of the Kings, the Gothic angularity of outline has entirely disappeared, and the Italian manner of the great masters of the Raphaelesque period has been adopted. There is, however, still something of the quaint earnestness of the earlier epoch in the figure of the kneeling king, who has taken off his crown while at the feet of the

infant Saviour; and also in the action of the second king, who points out to the Ethiopian prince the star that has guided him to Bethlehem. The composition, however, is spoiled by the solid black of the negro king, a device which, in a subject treated in all the other parts in simple outline, produces a harsh and unpleasant effect; but it was evidently a favourite artistic device of the period, and was very frequently employed.

Having given a general outline of the progressive styles of the Parisian "Hours," as illustrated by a series of the fine volumes of Pigouchet and Vostre, it will be but justice to name other artistic labourers in that special field of decorative book-work, more especially those of Kerver, Regnault, De Brie, Vivien, Verard, and Olivier, though I have no space for examples of their skill. The earliest of the "Hours," with illustrations engraved in miniature, and produced entirely in the printing-press, appeared in the reign of Charles VIII., and were so successful, that between 1484 and 1498 above sixty editions appeared, while in the following reign of Louis XII. the editions became innumerable; but with the greater rivalry as to cheapness, the merit of the execution, with a few brilliant exceptions, was considerably lowered; and in the reigns of Francis I. and Henri II., though great epochs in French art, none of the "Hours" illustrated by engravings were in any way equal to those of the earlier periods, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Tory's gracefully ornamented volume which I have just described.

The order of the illustrations in these volumes, of the standard type, was as follows:—First came the well-known anatomical figure illustrating the subjection of the different members of the body to certain planets and constellations, from which fatal influence it is set forth that the Church endeavoured to free mankind. Next came the twelve leading subjects of the Calendar, illustrating the periods of the year by means of compositions representing popular games, and having smaller illustrations formed of the signs of the Zodiac and other ornamental devices. There are generally seventeen of the larger picture illustrations in these "Hours," beginning with the Martyrdom of St. John at the Latin Gate; and among the others, the Kiss of Judas, the Salutation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Kings, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crowning of the Virgin, the Calvary, the Pentecost, King David, the Three Living and the Three Dead, Hell, the Trinity, and the Mass of St. Gregory. These were accompanied by a host of smaller subjects, and ornamental initial letters, each page being, as shown in the examples, surrounded by an ornamental bordering of very elaborate character. Galichon, in his "Life of Martin Schœngauer," says that many of the subjects were taken from well-known designs by that artist; but others undoubtedly belong to a somewhat earlier period, and are most probably of French, and not German origin. The designs in the Calendars have been thought to be by Flemish artists; but many of them are certainly French, and are the same which are sometimes found combined with other symbols in the great sculptured doorways of French cathedrals; but the more favourite subjects were those representing country games, which the illuminators had previously turned to such good account. The Dance of Death, as introduced in the borders of Vostre's "Hours," is generally composed of sixty-six devices,—thirty-three referring to men, and thirty-three to women; but these numbers were afterwards increased, and other subjects introduced, referring to special trades and callings—of course not omitting that of the printer. These, however, as exhibited in the "Hours," are not treated with the force and artistic power afterwards exhibited by Holbein in his well-known series founded on the same subjects. Nevertheless, Death overtaking and claiming, the doctor, the bourgeois, the monk, the housewife, even the child in its cradle, are often full of a quaint, grim kind of humour, rendered with much artistic skill. Pigouchet was probably the designer and engraver of some of these. Jollat has been named also; but the designs do not agree with the style of his signed works. The "Hours" of Vostre, Kerver, and others of the Parisian publishers, gained such European repute that they were called to furnish similar editions to foreign countries; in which cases they adapted the services to the rituals of Spain, England, &c.

The large plates of these "Books of Hours" became gradually more and more free in their artistic treatment; and in the later periods the smaller subjects had witty couplets attached to them, which were often as full of piquancy as the devices themselves. Among the artists employed by Vostre in 1507 was Nicholas Hegman, especially in the "Heures, à l'usage d'Orleans," and under whose influence some of the borders assumed a very ambiguous style. A few of the large cuts of the later editions are in the style of John Perréal, sometimes called Jean de Paris, who was principal miniaturist to Anne of Brittany, and may actually be his work, as he is known to have sometimes engraved on wood. Vostre also employed Wolfgang Hopy. The Martyrdom of St. John in the later "Hours" bears the signature G, or G inclosing an F; and he also employed many other artists in his various editions; which, between 1507 and 1520, says Brunet, amounted to forty; while above ninety editions appeared during the whole thirty-six years of Vostre's activity as a publisher. His shop, like that of Verard, bore the sign of St. John the Evangelist.

In concluding my notice of the celebrated French "Hours," it has occurred to me that a brief account of a series of examples which I have recently examined in the British Museum, and which are equally accessible to my readers (the press marks being given in the foot-notes), may assist in conveying a more complete idea of the artistic illustrations of this remarkable series of books. I will first describe one of those prepared especially for the English market, and according to the ritual of Salisbury, by Francis Regnault.* It is of a somewhat late date,—1529, the middle of the reign of Henry VIII.; and in addition to the usual ornaments it has the royal arms of England, as borne in that reign, and also the St. George in the style of the period. These ornaments are generally introduced in connection with the lower border, in order to give an English character to the embellishments, though most of the illustrations remain the same as in the ordinary Continental editions. The printer's device, with the usual F. R. (Francis Regnault), appears on the last page. Among the principal devices in the borders are the triumphs of Cæsar, the same designs as in Vostre's "Hours," but larger, and more coarsely executed. Some of the ornamental devices are very good, in an arabesque style, but generally coarse in execution. The principal merit in this edition consists in the lesser decorations, the large picture cuts being few and poor, as are also the secondary illustrations and initials. The large cut of the Martyrdom of St. John is, however, very superior to the rest, and has a monogrammatic signature, consisting of the letters V and B. The rubrics are in English, and there are English couplets attached to the decorations of the Calendar. This Catholic Prayer-Book, or Hour-Book, was necessarily published, as its date shows, some years before the occurrence of the first symptoms of the Reformation.

A "Book of Hours" by Jehan de Brie,† of large dimensions, is worth examination as a specimen of its class, though both the ornamental decorations and pictorial illustrations are very coarsely executed. It is, like the last described, of late date. The borders are boldly and originally designed, and consist of large single figures, or figure subjects, inclosed within a framework of interwoven branches, designed with much artistic power and a thorough knowledge of decorative design. I intended to have reproduced one of them among my examples, but found my list of plates already full. Many of the subjects in the borders are repeated at intervals, especially the most attractive ones,—the favourite, if we may judge from its frequent repetition, being a well-drawn nude female figure, symbolizing Beauty, looking into a mirror held in the left hand, while Death, rising from an open grave, holds up a skull towards the self-admiring figure above, in token that youth and beauty are but transitory possessions. There are several other devices of analogous character, all conveying a similar moral. Those borders which are composed of a series of smaller subjects, held together by a similar frame of branchwork, are inferior in design to the larger ones, and more coarsely engraved. There is a smaller edition of these "Hours" of Jehan de Brie, of

* British Museum, C 35, h. † British Museum, 469, a 6.

1521, (British Museum, C 46, d,) in which the interlacing framework of the borders is the same, but smaller and neater; but the striking device of Beauty and Death is absent, while the largest cut, "Judas betraying Christ," is by a distinct hand, and superior to anything in the larger "Hours."

An edition by Kerver,* of still later date, 1551, though issued at a time when the original Gothic glories of the "Books of Hours" had entirely given place to decorations of a far less elaborate and interesting character, is yet worth turning over, on account of the style in which the Calendar is illustrated by a series of illustrations, which is referred to in the title, above the printer's device. Each subject occupies an entire page, the numerals of the Calendar being placed on the opposite leaf. The compositions are surrounded with a framework of pretty design, forming an oval, beneath which is a space for the reception of four rhyming lines. This series of devices is either of French or Flemish work—most probably French,—not very excellent in point of art, but piquant and pretty; and the entire series is made to illustrate the progress of the year, as exemplified in the life of man. In January, for instance, he is an infant; in February he is a boy receiving punishment, in the school hall,—a very graphic representation, in which the birch is administered after the most orthodox fashion, the boy's head being held tightly between the pedagogue's knees, and the seat of punishment most conveniently presented to receive the full and unimpeded action of the rod, which is as fine and full a bundle of birch as could be desired. In March, a joyous band of youths are hunting in a forest, armed with bows and arrows. In April the youth has found that it is pleasant "not to be alone," and young men are accompanied by maidens, with whom they are rambling in a sunny meadow and gathering the spring flowers. In May a young man is mounted on a nimbly-trotting horse, with a maiden seated behind him on a pillion, taking a pleasant country journey to visit friends. In June the man is supposed to arrive at the halfway-house of life,—his midsummer,—and his age is estimated at thirty-six years, as set forth in the accompanying verses:—

> Aussi fait l'homme qu'al trent six ans
> Pouce en tel temps doibt il femme querir
> Si vivant veut pourcevoir ses enfants.

In July, August, September, and October we see him in the various stages of the married man,—the father, the magistrate, and the venerated elder. In November he is sixty-six, and rather poorly, while the next generation are beginning to take his place; and in December he is seventy-two, and dies, full of years and honours, gathered, like the ripe grain of the year, into the garner of time. There are large cuts of the Evangelists of similar character, as regards their artistic execution and also other illustrations, all having descriptive verses beneath them.

The volume next to be examined will carry us back to the finest period of the early Pigouchet "Hours." It is a small and delicately-executed "Book of Hours,"† quite a marvel of neat, bright, and distinct workmanship, and also of most delicate and richly-furnished printing. Some of the border devices, with their dotted backgrounds, are most exquisite, and the large cuts, which are evidently of French design and execution, are many of them equal, in their own peculiar style of finish, to the most delicate illuminations painted by hand. The Gothic canopy-work framing in some of these engraved miniatures is also most charming; the Betrayal by Judas being perhaps the finest of the miniature compositions, while some of the smaller designs illustrating the life of Christ, sparkle like engraved gems, in the brilliant accuracy of their high finish.‡

It will be well, in this place, to look through one of the volumes of "Hours," published by Antoine Verard; taking the one dated 1507.§ The devices and ornaments of this volume resemble those of Pigouchet, especially the grotesques, but are less delicately finished. In the Museum copy

* Museum Collection, C 46, c.

† Ibid., C 29, g 10.

‡ A copy on vellum of "Hours" by Pigouchet, of 1491, of large size (C 29, h 14), is not at all equal to the neat small octavo just described.

§ Museum Collection, C 29, d 16.

before me, the principal illustrations are very beautifully coloured and illuminated by a stencilling process, adopted, and probably invented by Verard, as described by M. Renouvier.

The name of Kerver is so celebrated in the matter of illustrated "Hours," that I must not pass over his principal edition, that of 1522, which is a fine large octavo volume. The Calendar has, however, the same cuts as his smaller editions, the space being filled out by the introduction of twisted columns and other architectural ornaments. In this volume there are only three varieties of this kind of framework, which do duty alternately. Some of the large cuts, with their frames, are printed in bright red, which has a decidedly bad effect, and certainly marks a period of decadence in this branch of book-art. At the end are the arms of Christ, as they have been termed (Redemptoris Mundi arma). They are executed in the usual heraldic feeling; the *Rock* of *Peter* forming the crest, while the cross itself divides the main quarterings of the shield, on which are displayed all the adjuncts of the crucifixion—the nails, the ladder, and the lance. This work may be considered a specimen of one of the very latest of the "Hours," illustrated in the spirit so successfully struck out in Paris. It may also be advisable to examine one of the volumes of this class issued at Lyons, taking the one published in the year 1551, by Mathias Bonhomme; a volume of Spanish Horæ, very characteristic in its style, in which the delicate Mediæval and Gothic feeling has entirely given place to a somewhat coarse, though yet striking renaissance feeling, analogous, but superior, to our own "Elizabethan" school of decorative art. Some of the borders, though on too large a scale of proportion for the size of the page, have considerable grandeur of design about them, and have, in their boldness, a somewhat Michael-angiolesque aspect, being formed of semi-nude figures piled on each other like grouped Caryatides, connected by means of architectural ornament. Brunet, in his description of "Les Heures Gothiques," has inclosed one of his pages with a border copied from this volume. The large illustrative picture subjects, which, like the text, are framed in borders of the kind above described, are much like the work of Salomon Bernard, but scarcely so good.

The volume in the Museum collection marked C 35, c, is a copy of Regnault's Salisbury Missal, with occasional English rubrics; the cuts at the upper corners of the Calendar being of more than the usual dimensions; they are the same devices as those of the later Kerver "Hours," but better executed. The principal large cuts are by the same hand; some of them being very good, as the Martyrdom of St. John, with the V. B. monogram, the Tree of Jesse, and the David and Bathsheba. The smaller cut of St. George and Dragon has also the V. B. monogram. The printer's device at the end of the volume is an elephant bearing a tower, in front of which is a shield with the initials of Regnault (F. R.), the whole inclosed by a pointed arch formed of a foliaged tree, wrought into the required form, in the Gothic manner. Another edition of Regnault's "Hours,"* according to the Salisbury ritual, has a somewhat different set of illustrations, the Dance of Death furnishing the small subjects in some of the borders. The elephant device with the printer's initials is varied, and not so good as the one above described. The borders of the lower margin have been entirely cut off, by the binder, from one of the Museum copies of this edition; which has, however, a perfect frontispiece, that is absent in another copy, and which might, therefore, with advantage, be mounted, and made to complete an otherwise perfect volume.

As a specimen of "Hours" with engraved borders and illustrations, richly illuminated, the volume printed by Gilles Couteau, for Guillaume Eustace, in 1513, may be cited; in which the work of illumination appears to have been superadded in 1534, as that date occurs, in gold numerals on a blue tablet, under the subject of David and Bathsheba. The finish of the illuminations of this volume is most elaborate, the working up of some of the blue and the scarlet draperies with gold lights being, in fact, most marvellously rich and beautiful—one of the most highly wrought of the series being the miniature representing the Trinity.

* Museum Collection, C 24, e.

A small, narrow volume of "Hours" (Brit. Mus., C 23, a 19), printed at Paris, without date, by Herman Hardouyn, is very neatly executed, but has no borders or illustrations, the spaces being left for painting in miniatures and initials by hand. A few more examples shall complete my list; the first being a beautiful small octavo volume by Vostre of 1510 (Brit. Mus., C 29, g 14). It has the printer's device very elegantly executed; the popular games and festivals in the Calendar being very pretty. The finest illustration, the Martyrdom of St. John, is the same design as the fine German one in Regnault's volume. The borders are of the true Pigouchet style, and are exquisite both in engraving and printing. The illustrations of the Annunciation, the Bearing of the Cross, and a battle-scene illustrating "Domine ne in furore tuo," are all wonderfully beautiful for neatness and clever execution, and in the most perfect preservation. A similar but inferior edition of 1513 (Brit. Mus., C 29, g 15) is also worthy of examination; and a very pretty volume of "Hours" by Kerver will be found under the press mark C 29, f 22. The title is most beautifully printed, and some of the borders of the Calendar are exquisitely pretty. The fruit-gathering, and also the arabesques to February and March, are all extremely attractive. The small figure subjects in the principal borders are the Apocalyptic series, very nicely executed; and there is a finely-engraved large cut at the beginning of the Prayers for the Dead, which seems to be the new feature of the volume; the Adoration of the King being also in a distinct style. A volume of "Hours" by Nicholas Vivien (Brit. Mus., C 23, b 4) has his usual graceful illustrations in the upper portion of the Calendar pages; while the Raising of Lazarus, and other subjects, appear to be engraved by the artist who wrought out similar designs in the same strongly-shaded manner for Froben of Basle.

In concluding this somewhat desultory review of a series of examples of French "Hours," selected from those preserved in the library of the British Museum, I must, finally, call attention to the one distinguished by the press mark C 29, b 8. This volume, though printed by Kerver, is scarcely one of the regular series; as it has no woodcut illustrations; all its enrichments —both borders and miniatures—being executed by the illuminator. The really remarkable point in this volume is its close resemblance to a MS.; both the red and the black ink being as glossy and brilliant as in any of the books written by hand. It might in fact, even with an experienced critic, pass for a MS., till a very close examination betrayed its real character. It appears to have been executed, or, at all events, illuminated, for the Governess of the Netherlands, who had recently married the Dauphin of France, as indicated by the finely emblazoned arms which have three fleurs-de-lis on a red ground.

In order to complete my outline sketch of the early French printers and their works, it only remains to allude very briefly to the general state of the art of printing in France at the close of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, up to the foundation of the press of the Estiennes, beyond which period I do not contemplate extending my sketch of the progress of printing in France on the present occasion. After Paris, Lyons was undoubtedly the French city in which the new art of multiplying books made the greatest progress, and produced the greatest number of works in every branch of literature. In the art of engraving for book illustration, a special Lyonnese school arose, of which Salomon Bernard is the hero, whose rather over-tall, but always graceful figures, are nearly as celebrated for the same beauties and the same defects as those of the Italian illuminator, Giulio Clovio. Foreign engravers were also called in to embellish the works issued by the great printers of Lyons, from the celebrated Badius Accensius, to the Le Roys, who employed Holbein to design a series of illustrations to passages from the Old Testament (Plate 79), and also to design a new Dance of Death (Plate 79) in an entirely original series of compositions of very striking character, both of which will be described in treating of the later illustrations of books by German artists. New styles of type, also, were struck out by the Lyonnese printers, some of which were of singular

excellence, and in cursive type, closely imitating a certain class of handwriting of the period; that invented by Granjon of Lyons in 1558 is perhaps superior, in its way, even to the famous cursive type of the Aldi. The freedom of the capitals of this peculiar fount imparts to them the true character of penmanship, and in that respect fully equals the type of that famous example of German printing displayed in the "Tewerdanck." Two specimens of this type will be found in Plate 59; the book in which it is used being Beranger de la Tour's "L'Amie des Amies," an imitation of Ariosto's episode of Zerbino and Isabella in the "Orlando." The binding of books was also carried to great perfection at Lyons; and those bound for the well-known literary patron of the day, Jean Grollier, of Lyons, bearing the device, "A J. Grollier et à ses amis," are still sought as matchless examples of the bookbinder's art.

While the presses of many other of the provincial towns of France, especially Rouen, attained celebrity in a lesser degree, Paris became a great centre of the art, from which printed books found their way to all parts of Europe. But, with the exception of the "Hours," the engraved illustrations were less profuse and often less excellent than those of Germany, and even than those of the city of Lyons. As an example of a popular book of the period, of ordinary character, I have taken a page from the celebrated "Ship of Fools;" a satirical poem originally written in German by Sebastian Brandt, and translated into Latin and published by Jacques Locher in 1488, and of which an improved edition appeared in Paris in 1498. But in the mean time a French translation, under the title "La Nef des Fouls," appeared in 1497; and it is from the French translation that I give a specimen page (Plate 58). The first fool of the ship is represented as a kind of useless bibliomaniac, who collects books for the mere pleasure of possessing and exhibiting them, but not *reading* them.

Desquels veoir ouvers me contente,
Me confortant de veoir seulement.

This first of the fools, abusing the sacred use and intention of books in the satisfaction of idle possession and display alone, sits at his *poulpitre*, or desk, dusting, but not perusing his precious volumes; the hood of his cloak being decorated with the long ears, and bells of the fool's cap. This cut, though coarse, is not without character, in which some of the representations of the other "fools" indicating the dishonesty or stupidity of followers of various professions and trades, are fully equal, if not superior. The "Nef des Fouls" was followed by the "Nef des Folles," in which the ridiculous side of the character of women in various walks of life was exhibited in a similar manner, and often with much humour and jocose success.

It may be urged that the French press of the time produced many illustrated works superior to the "Nef des Fouls," which is perfectly true; but I have already advanced beyond the period to which I had intended to trace the development of the art of printing in France; a subject which I cannot, however, quit without referring in a few words to the foundation of the celebrated press of the Estiennes, who may be fitly termed the French Aldi, though belonging to a later period. The first of this illustrious family of printers was Henri Estienne, who commenced printing in Paris in 1502, and died at Lyons in 1520. His first work was a Psalter, in five columns, edited by Le Fevre d'Etapes, in which the text was for the first time divided into verses distinguished by numerals. Robert, his second son, having received an education of the highest class, greatly exceeded his father both as an accomplished scholar and as a printer; and it should here be borne in mind that so soon as the powers of the printing-press were established, it was deemed necessary that a printer should be at the same time a scholar; and the most eminent of the early printers may often, in fact, be entitled to rank among the great, though not, perhaps, among the greatest, scholars of the day. The New Testament in Greek, for which Francis I. defrayed the cost of the beautiful types, was issued in 1546, and is one of the most remarkable works of Robert Estienne. He took such infinite pains to correct his proofs, that it is said he

exposed proof-sheets outside his printing-office, offering rewards to any who should point out errors. It has been asserted that this famous Greek Testament did not contain a single typographical error; but at last an indefatigable Smellfungus discovered one in the Latin preface, where *pulres* occurs for *plures*. His "Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ" is a masterpiece of that class of literature, both as regards the learning displayed in the work itself, which he executed almost single-handed, as did our own Samuel Johnson his great English Dictionary; and also the printing, which he personally superintended with laborious perseverance. I have been tempted to give an example from a work of this great printer, though my space scarcely admits of it. It is taken from a smaller kind of dictionary undertaken for the children of the king, in which the spelling of the words of the French language, alphabetically arranged, is first authoritatively defined—the French words being accompanied by their equivalents in Latin. This interesting book, which still serves as an historical authority in French orthography, is entitled "Les Mots Français selon l'ordre des lettres, ainsi que les fautes écrire : tournez en Latin pour les enfans." The printer's mark is characteristic, and its drift obvious. This work was printed in 1544. Among a great variety of works all marking progress of one kind or other towards excellence in his art, he printed his famous Bible in 1547-8; for certain commentaries in which, in a Calvinistic spirit, the book was condemned by the authority of the clergy; and his powerful patron, Francis I., having died the year before, the great French printer and scholar was banished his country, and fled to Geneva, where he openly acknowledged his Protestant tendencies. His press, however, was not so successful in Switzerland as it had been in France, and he died there in far less flourishing circumstances than those which had surrounded his earlier career in Paris. His son Henry followed in his father's steps as a great printer; and accomplished for the Greek, in his "Trésor de la Langue Grecque," what his father had done for the Latin. Like his father, too, his Protestant tendencies were his commercial ruin in France. A satire on monks brought about his condemnation to be burnt in effigy, and he only effected his escape in time to prevent a more effectual application of the faggots; taking refuge among the snowy heights of the mountains of Auvergne, where he is reported to have remarked to a friend that he was never so cold in his life as the day he was burnt in effigy in Paris. He eventually died in greatly reduced circumstances in the public hospital at Lyons, —the last of the Estiennes.——Feeling that in the thirty or forty lines which I have here devoted to the Estiennes it has been impossible to convey any idea of the important influence on the progress of the art of printing produced by their successive careers, I have appended the following detached sketch, which embraces a somewhat more detailed view of the rise and progress of this family of printers.

THE ESTIENNES.

The Edict of Nantes having expatriated many of the best heads and hands of France, no biographer was found for the Estiennes till a century after the death of Henri, in 1598; when the first to speak of their works and influence was a foreigner, Theodore Janssen, in his "De Vitis Stephanorum," which he published at Amsterdam in 1683. The materials were, however, ready to his hand, for they were to be found in the prefaces, dedications, and preliminary epistles of the printers themselves, who in this respect followed the custom of their time. In these printers' prefaces, in fact, are to be found many interesting contributions to the history of art and society, and also to the history of the advance of learning during the stirring intellectual period in which the presses of the early printers were busy with their teeming works.

The first of the Estiennes, as stated above, settled in Paris in 1502, during the period of the first flush of triumph and general success of the newly matured art. He issued above 118 works, almost all of a theological or scholastic character, the most remarkable of which was, perhaps, the

Psalter, in five columns, printed in 1509. Le Fevre d'Etapes, who edited this edition, distinguished the successive sentences of the text by numbers, for convenience of reference, which was the first time that the system of numbering the sentences was applied to the text of any portion of the Bible, and doubtless led the way to that separation of the sentences of Holy Scriptures into the present so-called verses,—a system which was first applied to the whole of the sacred volume by the grandson of the first Estienne. Henri died shortly before the year 1526, soon after which we find his son Robert in possession of his father's printing establishment, who adopted the paternal enseigne of the olive-tree, with the motto "Noli altum sapere, sed time;" a sign which became, not only that of the house, but also of each book—a matter in which the printer had then no choice, as he was compelled by the authorities to attach his sign or mark to every work printed, in order that the printer might be known, and punished for any infraction of the established rules, which in France had already become very stringent in regard to the products of the Press. In 1650 the original sign was still in existence on the house in the Rue St. Jean de Beauvais; and a writer in the *Quarterly Review* has recently made known that the "anchor" of the Aldi, also, was, till the beginning of the present century, still swinging over the door of the house occupied by Antonio Manuccio at Bologna; but it was unfortunately discovered, and purchased, by a relic-hunting Englishman, and carried off. Robert Estienne married the daughter of a brother printer of celebrity, Josse Bach, of Asch, in Flanders, better known as Badius Accensius, the friend of Erasmus; and from 1526 to 1559, when he died, not a year passed without one or more works issuing from his press; many of them real masterpieces of his art, and all far surpassing anything that had yet been seen in France. One work especially struck his contemporaries as fairly extinguishing the rival claims of caligraphers; this was the little Pocket Testament, in mignon letters, clear as the largest pica. But miniature works of that kind did not interfere with his production of magnificent Bibles, Latin lexicons, and other large works; and being a scholar as well as printer, like so many of his contemporaries, he became, at once, printer, corrector, publisher, and author. The total number of his books is about 527; many being, however, mere pamphlets or school-books, especially a great number of Latin grammars, by various authors. Horace and Virgil were favourite books with him, and his press was often busy with them, while he printed no less than fourteen editions of Terence. His Bible, with notes by Léon de Juda eventually led to his persecution by the doctors of the Sorbonne, who on the 5th May, 1548, ordered its suppression.

About 1554 he turned his attention to the reproduction of the Greek classics, the study of Greek literature having at that time so far extended as to offer him a fair prospect of encouragement. Before the time of Robert Estienne few Greek works had issued from the presses of other French printers; but the true Greek press of Paris, as M. Renouard remarks, may be said to have commenced with the "Eusebius" printed by Robert Estienne in 1544, the beauty and accuracy of which has never since been surpassed by any French printer, even up to the present day. In his original efforts to do honour to the newly resuscitated literature of Greece, in types worthy of the task, he was assisted by the Government, and especially by the king himself, Francis I., whose character combined in a singular mixture the freethinker and patron of arts and artists, with that of the bigot and persecutor of the worst kind; in that character, however, he never became the enemy of Estienne, though he could not effectually protect him. The magnificence of the books issued under the royal patronage by Robert Estienne, "the king's printer," is remarkable even among the crowd of artistic monuments of all kinds that distinguish that brilliant artistic period, so well known as that of the Renaissance.* The Greek Testament, printed by Robert Estienne in 1549 was, however,

* Types of the Greek character were later in being brought to perfection than those of the Hebrew; the Old Testament having been printed in Hebrew, for the use of a wealthy and influential class of Jews, before the New Testament was printed in Greek for the use of the Christian Church. This was partly caused by the fact that the Latin Bible was the orthodox Bible of the Roman Catholic Church; while the Greek, not only the Septuagint, but the original text of the

fatal to his prosperity as a Parisian printer. The University of Paris, in fancied defence of orthodoxy and established principles, prosecuted the printer, and Estienne, though he triumphed in each Trial, was nevertheless ruined; although, through the influence of the king, a compensation of 1,500 crowns was awarded to him; the Crown, however, had no power to compel the University to make the payment, and Estienne, in fact, declined it. In defiance of the previous persecutions, he issued the masterpiece of his Greek press in 1550,—the folio Greek Testament;* and the renewed persecutions, on the appearance of this book, drove him into exile, and he established himself at Geneva. The sequestration which followed on his flight was eventually removed in favour of his children; and his son Robert, renouncing Protestantism, returned to Paris; so that there were now two Estienne presses—one at Paris and one at Geneva. His expatriation was regretted by all true friends of art and learning; and the man who had first brought the noble art of printing to perfection in Paris was not easily forgotten by his countrymen. De Thou says: "La France doit plus à Robert Estienne pour avoir perfectionné l'imprimerie, qu'aux plus grands capitaines pour avoir étendu ses frontières." The most celebrated of his Parisian editions are his Hebrew Bible of 1544, 8 vols. in 16mo., and the Greek Testament of 1550; the Greek Testament of 1546, known as the "O mirificam," from the first words of its preface; the Greek Testaments of 1549 and 1551, being also highly prized.

In Geneva he discovered, too late, that *éditions de luxe* found no market. The Swiss were poor, and, moreover, had no taste for that study of Greek literature which had taken root in Paris. Nevertheless, he printed a Greek Testament there, with a fount of the Royal French type; and it was in this edition that the division of the text of the Evangelists into verses, as we now use it, first took place; though the division of the general text of the Bible into chapters, founded upon the liturgical uses both of the Synagogue and the Church, had long preceded the invention of printing. The system of division into verses was extended to his Latin Bible, printed in 1556-7; and after 1592 was generally adopted in Roman Catholic Bibles. These divisions were not at first called *verses*, being styled by Estienne sentiunculæ, small sections, or sentences. The text of our present Greek Testament is, in the main, that adopted and arranged by Robert Estienne in 1550, which was founded chiefly on that of Erasmus. He died at Geneva in 1559.

Among the fictions that have attached themselves to the true portions of the history of this learned scholar and accomplished and enterprising artisan, is that which states that he hung his proofs outside his street-door, offering a reward to all who would point out errors in the press, as Apelles is said to have done to those who should mark defects in his pictures; and another *morceau*, of similarly apocryphal gossip, is that which describes Francis I., when paying a visit to the printer's atelier, as being told to wait till the correction of a sheet was finished. But such was the widely-felt importance of printing, and the general interest in the new art, that incidents of this kind were far from impossible, or even improbable.

The Greek types engraved at the expense of Francis I., and used by Robert Estienne, are still in existence, and are so beautifully executed that it would be difficult to surpass them. The Florentine "Homer" of 1488 was already a fine specimen of printing in Greek; notwithstanding which, the Greek caligraphers still continued to flourish, the little printing done in Greek type not interfering with their craft, as it had with the writing of Latin and the modern languages; so that, when the French types were made, more than half a century later, the copyists had made great progress in Greek writing; and as the first printing types of all classes were fac-similes of the existing styles of writing, the Greek type-founders of the Paris press profited by this increased skill in Greek caligraphy, as well as in the improvements in type-casting. Aldus, in his neat and cheap

New Testament, was considered the Bible of the schismatic Eastern Church. Erasmus's Greek Testament, printed in 1516, was the first that issued from the press.

* The execution of the marginal quotations of corresponding passages, as they occur in different Greek MSS., is one of the striking features of Estienne's noble volume.

editions of Greek classics, had never attempted *éditions de luxe*, as another Venetian printer, of Greek origin, did; and consequently the French types surpassed all that had yet been done in clearly-legible Greek characters. The models were furnished by one of the last of the race of Greek caligraphers, Vergecio, a native of the island of Candia, who had been called to Paris by Francis I. to make MS. copies of Greek books. Three kinds of Greek types were devised by him for the Estiennes, which were executed in metal by the skill of Claude Garamond, who not only reproduced with complete success these Greek characters traced by Vergecio, but also types of the Roman character of such purity and beauty, that they speedily superseded the old favourite black, or Gothic letter, which after that epoch rapidly disappeared from the French presses; and the small Roman letters of this skilful engraver became technically known, not only in France, but in other countries, as Garamond type. The triumph of the engravers and printers did not, however, cause Vergecio to abandon his profession of caligrapher; and even in the following reign we find him making a copy of the "Cynegeticon," a Greek work on hunting by Oppian, richly illuminated, for presentation to Diana of Poictiers, a monument of his skill which is still preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale. The miniatures of this MS. are said to have been executed by the daughter of Vergecio, who is known to have been skilled in that as well as other classes of painting. The celebrated Greek types executed for Robert Estienne by order of Francis I. were discovered by De Guisnes in the last century, and are now at the Imprimerie Impériale.

Henri, the son of Robert, succeeded to his father's presses and general establishment at Geneva in 1559; and having received a careful, and even learned education, which he improved by travels in Italy, Germany, and England, and the intimacy of many of the most learned men of the time, he became remarkable as an erudite editor, as well as a skilful printer; but Geneva did not afford him a fitting field for his exertions, and, in endeavouring to forward supplies of his works to other and more active centres of intelligence, great expenses, and often heavy losses, occurred; on one occasion a whole cargo of valuable books, destined for the great fair at Frankfort, being lost in an inundation near Soleure. His want of success in his profession drove him into many eccentricities; among others a mania for purposeless travelling, which ended in the ruin of his establishment, and, eventually, his death, while on a rambling and almost purposeless journey. His Greek "Thesaurus" is his chief work, to the literary fame of which he is almost as exclusively entitled as to the typographical merits of this great work, which were due to his accomplished taste and persevering attention. His edition of "Plato" ranks next; but for neither of these, the greatest productions of his press, did he obtain an adequate sale. They were, in fact, the chief cause of the eventual decay of his establishment. He attempted to supply the want of public patronage of the "Thesaurus" by seeking royal protection, and with this view the work was pompously dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian, Charles IX. of France, Elizabeth of England, and many others; but the results were not such as the ambitious printer expected. He was the corrector and editor of seventy-four Greek editions, fifty-eight Latin, and three Hebrew; and the writer of some thirty original pieces (not including translations), some of which are very remarkable in their way, though not the productions of a really high class of literary genius.

The typographical beauty of some of his books is remarkable; and we may easily conceive the refinement of his taste in such matters when we learn that, during one of the attacks of a nervous complaint with which he was afflicted, his greatest alleviation consisted in designing a Greek alphabet of ornamental initial characters.

But Geneva was no place for the production of the extreme elegances of the art; and while booksellers who confined themselves to cheap editions of common books in general demand made fortunes, Estienne, whose mania it was to edit and print the Greek classics in a luxurious form, sunk into gradual but certain ruin. The ambitious issue of learned books, as we have seen in the account of the early presses of Italy, had previously ruined Sweinheim and Pannartz at Rome, and but for

the assistance of Paul IV. would have proved disastrous to the Aldi at Venice, notwithstanding their great success in works of a more economical form; while Plantin, of Antwerp, was reduced to great pecuniary embarrassment by his famous Polyglots, which are now cited as among the chief glories in the annals of the printing-press.

Among the literary productions of Robert Estienne, the best were his essays on the Greek and Latin languages, though his treatise on the state of the French language, "La Precellence du Langage François," written at the request of Henri III., is perhaps the most remarkable. This work was printed by Mammet Patison, who had married the widow of his brother, Robert Estienne. Among his translations, his Latin translation of "Anacreon" is the best known, and the best worth knowing. It has been said, indeed, though by a partial judge, that Catullus himself need not have disavowed it. He died in a hospital at Lyons, in 1598, and was buried in the common cemetery near the Hôtel Dieu.

CHAPTER X.

Of the First Introduction of the Improved Art of Printing to Flanders and Holland, and of its Early Establishment in Spain and Portugal.

IN the Low Countries the second advent of the new art of printing was almost simultaneous with its first appearance in France, in 1470, but rather earlier; the first book ever printed in the French language being issued (if not printed) in Bruges in 1467 (?). It has been shown that Koster, in all probability, printed Donatus', and other coarsely-executed books, several years before the great and successful development of the powers of moveable types was so triumphantly brought about by Gutenberg; but these cheap and often incorrectly-printed works made but little impression upon the book market, and it was not till the pupils and followers of Gutenberg re-introduced the art crudely practised by Koster, that printed books began to displace the productions of the scribe; and even then, the conquest of printing over books written by hand was by no means sudden. Bruges was a great centre of MS. book manufacture, and many of the noblest illuminated manuscripts of our great libraries were executed there, even after the introduction of printing from Mayence in its improved form. That the scribes and illuminators were well able to contend with the printers, even in point of price, we can easily conceive from the small sums known by existing records to have been paid for work of that class. For instance, we learn from the accounts still extant, of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip le Hardi, the brother of Charles V. of France, that in 1373 only three francs were paid to Belin the illuminator, of Dijon, for ornamenting the Seven Penitential Psalms for the Duchess; while Robert Lescuyer, of Paris, received of the Duke only fifty francs for a volume containing "Hours" and "La Somme du Roi;" and Henriot Garnier was paid seventy-two francs for the "Chronicles of the Kings of France." A Bible was purchased for the Chartreux, of Dijon, for thirty-five francs; while we find Gillet Daunai, of Dijon, receiving only thirty-four sous the cahier (quayer) for the writing of certain folio sheets of another Bible. That these, however, were works very simply illuminated, and quite plainly written, we may fairly presume. More elaborately illuminated manuscripts, enriched with a profusion of miniature pictures, on the other hand, commanded very high prices, and were yet readily saleable, as the rude woodcuts of the early printed books could not compete with such decorations when of the highest class. We therefore still hear of large sums paid by the wealthy for richly ornamented manuscripts. It may be cited, in illustration, from the same Burgundian accounts, that 600 gold crowns were given in 1398 for a Bible written in French, and *très bien historiée*, &c.; that is, very richly embellished with illuminated miniatures; being also described as having a crimson velvet cover, with the arms of the Duke, which was further ornamented by massive silver-gilt clasps, &c. Five hundred livres were given to Dyne Raponde, for having sent as a new year's gift a fine book of the History of Titus Livius, illuminated with letters of gold, and enriched with many miniatures; also 500 gold crowns to Jaques Raponde, for "La Legende Dorée, *Ystorié de Belles Ystoires.*" To *historier*, or as we might say "historiate," was to embellish a work with miniature representations of the leading historical traits referred to in the work; the *ystoires* here referred to being the miniatures themselves. A sum of 400 gold crowns was paid for a book entitled "De la Propriété des Choses," "historiated" in a similar manner, and bound in velvet, with silver clasps; while Peignot cites a Book of Hours, presented by Charles VI. to the Duchess of Burgundy, which cost 600 gold crowns. The Burgundian accounts contain also a number of very

interesting details concerning the illuminators who were permanently retained in the pay of the Dukes of Burgundy for ornamenting books for presents; and also of the payment to writers or copyists, from which it appears that the illuminators received a sum per day equal to about 4*s.* of our present money.

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, being a great patron of learning and collector of books, employed agents all over Europe to collect and copy rare volumes of the classics for his library, besides engaging living authors to translate the works of the ancients into modern French; and it was this munificent patron of literature, a sovereign prince whose dominions (including the recently-acquired province of Holland) exceeded in extent those of the King of France himself, who, according to M. Bernard's view, first endowed Belgium with the true art of printing, as practised by Gutenberg and his followers; the immediate object in view being the more rapid production of copies, at that moment greedily required, of Raoul le Fevre's, "Histoires de Troyes," a French paraphrase of the leading passages of the "Iliad." The work had no sooner been completed than the scribes and illuminators of the Court were set about producing a magnificent copy of Raoul's Trojan romances, and a noble volume was soon turned out by these accomplished artists in the art of book-decoration; which was intended for formal presentation to the Duke. The volume itself is still in existence, in the ancient Bibliothèque of Bruxelles,* which contains a considerable proportion of the original library of the Dukes of Burgundy. On the first page of this interesting volume is a miniature, representing the author in the act of writing the book at a desk near to the throne of the Duke, who wears the collar of the Golden Fleece, and is surrounded by knights of the order. This presentation copy was formally presented in the year 1464; and so great was the success of the work at the Court of Bruges that copies could not be prepared fast enough by the staff of illuminators and scribes, either within the palace, or with the aid of the great guild of artisans established by the mercers and book-merchants of the town for the production of manuscript books. The new art of printing was therefore called into requisition, as M. Bernard thinks, in order to meet the demand which the scribes of the palace and the well-organized guild of the Scribes and Bookmakers failed to satisfy.

The printing of this book, which certainly took place at that time, has been attributed to William Caxton, as being printed with the same type as that of his well-known earliest works. It has also been attributed to Colard Mansion, who is said by some to have been the instructor of Caxton. But whether printed in the ducal palace at Bruges under the direction of William Caxton, who is known to have been intimately connected with the Burgundian Court; or under his direction in some private establishment at Bruges; or whether the types, being cast by Flemish or French artisans, were carried by him to Cologne, to be used under the superintendence of Ulric Zell, the pupil of Gutenberg, who was then established there, are questions which will perhaps ever remain without satisfactory solution; the book in question being without date, and without the name of the printer. It has, however, a style of its own as to the setting up, the irregular termination of the lines, and other peculiarities, which give it more the aspect of a work founded on rude models, such as Koster's "Speculum," than upon the more perfect works of Ulric Zell, which were executed according to the improved and in every way superior methods developed by Gutenberg. That it was first issued in Bruges there can be little doubt, and therefore it must rank as the first of the authenticated printed books of Flanders.

Its types and even paper present peculiarities which have induced M. Bernard to consider that it was printed under the immediate direction of the Duke himself; the types, as he supposes, having been cast in Paris, and being unlike those of Cologne and other neighbouring seats of the new art. The paper too, has for water-mark a crowned P, and *may* have been made expressly for

* Some critics assert that the noble volume in the Brussels Library was a subsequent copy, executed shortly afterwards, and not the original volume.

the work, and thus marked with the initial letter of the Christian name of the Duke, as for his private use.* What appears, however, to render this hypothesis concerning the private printing of the book in the palace of the Duke very probable, is, that he had already, as previously stated, a staff of writers and illuminators at work for him, whose pay and working were duly entered in the great book of "Comptes of the Household," recently published by M. Léon de Laborde. The addition of a printing-press, therefore, to the already formidable apparatus for book-making previously existing in the palace, cannot be considered an unlikely occurrence at a period when the said new art of *Imprinting* was the leading subject of interest and discussion among all lovers of books and learning. To these reasons may be added another, which is of great interest to the English student, namely, that after the death of Duke Philip and the accession of Charles the Bold, who married Margaret, the sister of Edward IV. of England, William Caxton, long established at Bruges, and who became a great favourite and protégé of the Duchess, prepared at her request an English *translation* of Raoul le Fevre's "Histories of Troy," which he subsequently printed, using the same types which had served for the edition in French. With these types, too, the highly-patronized Englishman was, it would seem, allowed to print other works on his own account; and as a proof that the types he used belonged to the Burgundian Court, and were not his own, we find that when he eventually determined to return to England, probably for the express purpose of introducing the "New Art," he was evidently unable to take with him this private fount of type—which belonged, in fact, to his patrons,—and consequently, as it would seem, had an entirely new stock of types executed for the occasion, or purchased them ready-made at Cologne. It may also be stated that, with the exception of the Burgundian edition of the "Histories of Troy," and the books printed by the Duchess's protégé, Caxton, no other books are known to have been printed with the peculiar type used in those volumes; so that, on the whole, it is extremely probable that Philip the Good, himself, introduced the Gutenberg process of printing into Flanders.†

Charles the Bold, the son and successor of Philip the Good, though also a lover of books, was too much occupied by his cravings for military glory to pursue in detail the book-making or printing processes so much enjoyed by his father; but he had, nevertheless, a passion for richly-decorated books, especially those relating to the brilliant conquests of celebrated ancient warriors—Cyrus and Alexander being his favourite heroes; and he never travelled without Vasquo de Lucena's translation of Xenophon's "Cyropædia," a richly-adorned copy of which was found among his baggage on the fatal field of Nancy, where he met his death.

Although thus deprived of the ducal patronage, printing was not destined to languish in Bruges. The book of the "Histories of Troy," and the books printed by Caxton with the same types, had, whether printed at Bruges or Cologne, been published at Bruges, and had permanently attracted the public attention, especially that of Louis of Bruges, Seigneur of Gruthuys.‡ This nobleman, one of the highest officers of the Burgundian Court, was nearly as great a patron of scribes and illuminators as his sovereign; and in the collection of magnificent books which he made, and which eventually passed to the library founded by Louis XII. of France, were many of the noblest volumes ever executed by mediæval skill, especially the "Chronicles of Froissart," magnificently and profusely illuminated, which still forms one of the chief ornaments of the Bibliothèque Impériale. It is generally supposed that it was this munificent patron of caligraphers and illuminators who induced Colard Mansion, one of the most eminent of the artistic guild that had been formed at Bruges, to establish a public printing-press in his native city. The former intercourse between Mansion and the Court, as copyist, is well known; but whether under the influence of such patronage, or otherwise, he had previously become a printer, is mere matter for conjecture;

* Other paper is, however, known with the same mark.

† The "Jason" appears to have been privately printed in the same manner: it is in the same type.

‡ The Seigneur of Gruthuys received King Edward IV. during his temporary exile.

Ici commence la controuersie de noblesse
plaidoyee entre Publius Cornelius Sa-
pion dunepart. Et Gayus flaminius de
autrepart. Laquelle a este faicte et compo-
see par vn notable docteur en loix et grant
orateur nomme Surse de pistoye.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Entre noz anciens maistres a este sou
uent dispute de noblesse. Car plui
seurs ont cuidie quelle fust scituee
en felicite de lignage. Et les autres si ont affer

Nº1. PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF "SURSE DE PISTOIE".
PRINTED BY COLARD MANSION. WITHOUT DATE.

semble q̃ vous montez aux
estoilles, de tant fichiez
plusfort vostre desir en bas
lieu affin que vous ayes de
quoy vous esioyr quãt voz
monteres et que quãt voz
seres renuersez vous nayez
de quoy vous courrouchier
¶ Rendes souuerain hon
neur a dieu et le amez de ẽ
tiere affection. ensuiuez sa
pience. prenez les vertus.
honnourez ceulx q̃ en sont
dignes. gardez vos amis
par la rudesse de fortune q̃
toutes choses tourne.

BRITISH 18 JY 60 MUSEUM

A la gloire et loenge de di-
eu et a linstruction de tous
a este cestui euure de boca
ce du dechiet des nobles
hommes et femmes, im-
prime a Bruges par Co-
lard mansion. Anno. M.
CCCC. lxxvj.

Nº2. "LE DECHIET DE NOBLES HOMMES ET FEMMES." PRINTED BY COLARD MANSION AT BRUGES, 1476.

Cy commence le volume Intitule le recueil des histoires
de troyes Compose par venerable homme raoul le feure
prestre chappellain de mon tresredoubte seigneur Monsei-
gneur le Duc Phelippe de bourgoingne En lan de grace.
mil. cccc. lxiiii. : .

Quant Je regarde et congnois les oppini
ons des hommes nourris en aucunes sin
gulieres histoires de troyes / Et voy et
regarde aussi que de Icelle faire vng re-
cueil Je Indigne ay receu le commande-
ment de tres noble et tres vtueux prince
Philippe par la grace faiseur de toutes
graces duc de bourgoingne/de lothrique/de brabant et de lem
bourch/Conte de flandres. dartois et de bourgoingne/Pa-
latin de haynau de hollande de zeelande et de namur/Mar
quis du saint empire Seigneur de frise de salins et de ma

Nº3. PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF "LE RECUEIL DES HISTOIRES."
PRINTED BY CAXTON (?) 1466 (?)

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

La vraye penitance est comme aucune eschielle
par laquelle lomme pecheur qui selon la parabole
de leuuangille descendy de Jherusalem en Jherico
monta de rechief de Jherico en Jherusalem/cest avision de
paix. Car aussi Jherusalem est vision de paix Interpretee
En ceste eschielle sont sept degrez esquelz cõuiennent les
sept pseaulmes lesquelz penitenciaulx sont appellez/Le
premier degre est/Cremeur de paine et de lui commence le
pseaulme penitencial assauoir. Domine ne in furore tuo
arguas me neqz in ira tua corripias me / Miserere mei do
mine quoniam infirmus sum ꝛc: Par lequel pseaulme le

Nº4. "LES MEDITACIONS", PRINTED BY CAXTON. WITHOUT DATE.

it is at all events certain that he began to print books at Bruges about 1475; and his first book, as declared in its subscription, appears to have been "Le Jardin de Dévotion," now extremely rare. He printed in a type of bold style, semi-Gothic in character. His latest-dated work (1484) was the "Metamorphoses of Ovid, moralized," which he had himself translated from the Latin of its original author, Thomas de Waleys. He also translated, and printed, the "Dialogues of Animals" of Nicholas Pergaminus.

Mr. Blades, in his excellent treatise on the "Life and Works of Caxton," has supposed Colard Mansion to be, not only the printer of the books which bear the stamp of his peculiar style, but also of those earlier books of what we English term the Caxton school; and that he was, moreover, the original instructor of Caxton himself. I cannot admit that the ingenious evidence brought forward by Mr. Blades is at all conclusive; nevertheless, it should be carefully studied by all interested in this particular period of the early developments of the printing-press.

Two specimens of the work of Mansion will be found in Plate 41; No. 1 being part of the first page of a work by Surze de Pistoye, printed in 1485, and No. 2 a specimen from a French translation of Boccaccio, entitled "Le Dechiet de Nobles Hommes et Femmes," printed in 1476 (?). A further description of these specimens, and other works of Mansion, will be found in the chapter devoted to Caxton and his works. Mansion's career as author, illuminator, and printer, goes to prove that the arts of printing and manuscript-writing, in reference to books, were not considered altogether antagonistic. Printing, as a general rule, was used for the commoner and cheaper kind of works, paper being the material most usually employed to print on; while the most beautiful and richly-illustrated books were still written by hand, and nearly always executed on parchment or vellum. Indeed, it was during the next half-century after the establishment of printing as a thoroughly practical art by Gutenberg, that a certain class of the finest illuminated manuscripts were executed; and Louis of Bruges, who is said to have been the instigator of Mansion to establish a printing-press, continued, for many years afterwards, to add to his library of rich manuscript books. The guild of Writers of Bruges appear, in fact, to have considered printing rather as a valuable auxiliary power, than a rival art.

The neighbouring towns of Louvain and Alost appear to have been the next to receive the printing-press; at which places John of Westphalia, originally a writer of manuscripts, followed by his pupil, Thierry Marten, the friend of Erasmus, were the first printers. It has been thought by some bibliographers that Thierry Marten preceded John of Westphalia at Alost; but M. Bernard has clearly proved the contrary. Marten, though not a superior printer to his master, yet acquired far greater fame among the learned men of his own time; and has, in fact, been spoken of by M. Delpierre and others as the first printer who cast Greek characters (about 1501); but this is overlooking, in a very singular manner, the Greek characters of Sweinheim and Pannartz at Rome in 1465, and those of the Venetian and of the Milanese printers in 1476; so that his priority can only be asserted as regards Belgium. He, however, produced some very important Greek editions with great care, and has been styled, in consequence, the Belgian Aldus; while, after all, it was his scholarship rather than his printing, that secured to him his celebrity in the annals of the printing-press, and the handsome commemorative tomb which may still be seen in the church of Alost, his native town.

Jacob Vandermeyer was printing at Delft in 1478, where he produced the "History of the Cross" in 1483; and Jean Veldener, who, about 1475, established himself at Louvain, printed there his "Formulæ Epistolares" in 1476, in folio, to which he appended a curious and interesting subscription in praise of the new art of "imprinting," for the reproduction of which I have not room. Veldener removed to Utrecht in 1477, and afterwards to Culembourg, where he produced a work of great interest in the early annals of the printing-press, namely, a reprint of Koster's now celebrated "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," in which he used the *original* woodcuts, which

it is conjectured he had purchased from Koster's representatives, who had ceased to make any use of them, having abandoned the rude processes of the Kosterian press, which had been rendered obsolete by the subsequent advances of the art, in the new and more complete form given to it by Gutenberg and his followers. In the year 1475, Conrad of Westphalia also, probably a brother of John, attracted by the encouragement held out by the University, settled at Louvain, where he produced a new edition of the "Formulæ Epistolares" first printed there by Veldener. The little town of Asch, halfway between Brussels and Alost, also enjoys a kind of celebrity, as being the birthplace of Joce Badius, better known as Badius Accensius, afterwards so celebrated as a scholar and printer both at Lyons and Paris.

Antwerp lays claim to be one of the earliest seats of the printing-press, on the strength of a little book printed in Flemish under the title of "Vysioen van Tondalus," in the Subscription of which appears the name of Vander Goes as the printer, the date being 1472, which there appears no good reason to doubt; yet as no other work appears to have issued from the Antwerp press till full ten years later, its authenticity as to date has been disputed. The art, however, firmly established itself in that ancient city, in which, as regards the history of printing, the celebrated press of Christopher Plantin must be regarded as its chief glory. The building which he erected to form his printing-office was considered one of the most important in Antwerp, and the wealth he acquired in the practice of the "new art" was known to be very considerable. A list of his works would be impossible in this place; but his most famous production, the Polyglot Bible, though produced at a period which ranges beyond the limits I have prescribed to myself on this occasion, is so remarkable a production that I have thought it necessary to give a specimen from it, which will be found in Plate 82, consisting of portions of the two first pages of this noble folio. On the first page is the commencement of Genesis, in the original Hebrew, with the Latin translation of St. Jerome in a parallel column; and on the second page the same passages, in the Greek of the Septuagint, with the Latin translation; the execution of the work having been, to a great extent, planned upon that of the Polyglot produced in Spain by Cardinal Ximenes. The noble copy of the work from which the present specimens are taken is now in the British Museum, forming four folio volumes, printed on vellum, as a presentation copy to the Duke of Alva, then governor of Flanders, under Philip II. The establishment of Plantin was continuously kept in a state of activity by his successive descendants till within the last few years, and is still in possession of the family, some of the ancient workshops being preserved in their original state.

At Utrecht, Nicholas Ketelaer and Gerard de Leempt appear to have established themselves before 1473, their first book, bearing that date, was the "Historia Scholastica" on the New Testament, printed in type closely resembling that of Ulric Zell, of Cologne, of whom they were probably pupils. From Utrecht the new art spread rapidly over the whole of Holland; but, by a singular chance, Haärlem, the very cradle of the art in its earlier form, where Koster must ever have the credit of being the first to print with moveable types, was one of the last places at which, in its improved form, it established itself; the first Haärlemese printer of the new school being Jean Andriessohn, who printed his first book there in 1483. The Dutch bibliographers are anxious to establish a connection between the first printer of the new school in Haärlem and the family of Koster, as we learn from M. De Vries, in his "Eclaircissements;" the ground for the supposed connection being that the new printer, Jean Andri-es-*sohn*, bore the same family name as that of Koster's wife, Catharina Andri-es-*dochter*. The characters used by Andriessohn are, in fact, of the same decisively Gothic style as those of Koster, in close imitation of the Dutch manuscripts of the time, but much more perfectly formed.

As a specimen of Haärlemese printing of that period, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of again referring to my specimen (Plate 26) from Otto von Passau's "Boec des Gulden Throens, &c.," printed at Haärlem in 1484, and previously described in the chapter on German printing.

This book, although the regularity and technical excellence of its workmanship exhibits all the completeness of the German school, yet presents characteristics, in the style of the type, which strongly remind the student of the types of Koster, though so much more finished in execution. The illustrative cut, also, is quite Dutch and national in its character. The original volume is in the British Museum, to which fine collection it was added by purchase in 1846.

The fine book, "Dyalogus Creaturarum," previously described (Plate 25), was printed by Gerard Leew, at Gouda, in South Holland, in 1480, who had printed his "Regnart der Vos" there in the previous year.

It is not within the scope of the present work to follow the course of Dutch printing beyond the close of the 15th century, though many illustrious printers subsequently appeared in that country, especially the Elzevirs, who were to Holland what the Aldi were to Venice and the Estiennes to France. I may observe *en passant*, however, that the Dutch have been as careful in preserving recollections of some of the most eminent of their later printers as of Koster himself; as an instance of which I may mention that, in one of the quaint old streets of Amsterdam, an old-fashioned house is still remarkable for the sign over the door, which consists of a large wooden carving of an open Bible. It is a memorial of the fact that the first Dutch Bible was printed in that house, by Jacob von Liesfeld, in the year 1542.

PRINTING IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

In Spain and Portugal, as previously in Italy and in France, the enterprising countrymen of Gutenberg, endowed with an irresistible talisman in the art which he had bequeathed to them, were the first to introduce the printing-press. It was, in fact, as the birthplace of the true Printing-Press in its really practical form, that Germany was destined to become the cradle of the Reformation, and also, through the medium of that Press, to pave the way to every kind of progress in other countries, as well as at home; and the indomitable perseverance with which the disciples of Gutenberg made their way to distant parts of Europe, carrying with them the secret of their new art, is indeed an event worthy of all admiration.

Across the broad plains of Germany and France, in times when travel was a work of toil and danger which we can now scarcely comprehend—across the Alps and the Pyrenees, these persevering Germans, these indefatigable pioneers of the Press and its vast future, indomitably fought their way forward, to plant the new art in foreign countries, under difficulties which in these days of facile locomotion it is almost impossible to appreciate. It is true that the religious pilgrims of that age made their way from every remote corner of Europe to the shrines of Compostello and Loretto, and even to the more distant Jerusalem; but they were only encumbered with their staff and water-gourd, while charity helped them forward at every stage, on account of their errand. But these disciples of Gutenberg were far otherwise encumbered; they had to make good their toilsome way loaded with bulky, and weighty cases, for which it was most difficult to find safe conveyance—vast packages which contained their founts of heavy metal types and other implements, enabling them at once to plant their art in new centres, from which to work out its great mission. It is but too true that their principal stimulus was personal gain; but a well-founded pride in their art, and an honest ambition of success, gained for them friends and consideration wherever they appeared; and with a steady perseverance they energetically pushed forward, regardless of all difficulties and dangers, like men inspired by some new faith, of which they were the dauntless apostles and destined propagators.

It is, indeed, one of the chief wonders of the marvellous history of the printing-press, that through the medium of its humble artisans it should, in the comparatively short period that elapsed between the years 1455 and 1475, have established itself in a state of positive activity throughout

nearly the whole of civilized Europe; and if we look to the diffusion of important inventions in our own day, aided by thousands of collateral advantages, we shall not find them spreading so rapidly. For instance, the important discovery of inflammable coal-gas, as a grand and general substitute for the previous modes of artificial lighting, though an invention representing what may be termed "a necessary of life" in our great towns and cities, was not merely comparatively, but actually, slower in its progress in the boasted and boastful 19th century than the art of printing in the 15th; and the railway system itself, even after its powers had been practically demonstrated at Manchester, was actually slower in its extension than the Mediæval art of Gutenberg; if the vastly superior means for extending a new invention, which exist in the 19th century, be fairly taken into account.

The introduction of printing to the Iberian peninsula took place as early as 1478; Barcelona, Valencia, Saragossa, and other cities, disputing the honour of precedence in its adoption; while Madrid and Lisbon, the two capitals, were much later in the field as welcomers of its introduction. The little Grammar printed by Master Jehan Gherlint (Magister Johannes Gherlint), at Barcelona, may be mentioned, as having led to the foundation of the claim of priority asserted on the part of Barcelona. This little book bears the date M CCCC XLVIII; an extremely early (and impossible) one for a printed book of Spanish origin; and one that has led to a number of learned disputes, full of curious information; but which, as regarding the establishment of that date as a correct one, are utterly valueless. Modern investigators, after examining the workmanship of the book itself, have found that it exhibits positive proof of belonging to a period far later than the one apparently proved by the date, a discrepancy which may be reconciled in a very simple manner; the L in the supposed XLVIII being, in fact, nothing more than an imperfect C, which should be read as XCVIII; making a date which perfectly accords with that at once suggested by the workmanship of the volume, as M. Bernard has very clearly pointed out—his own profession, that of a printer, giving him an immense advantage in points of this kind, over many other writers on the subject.

Another curiosity connected with Spanish printing which may be just glanced at, is the Bible, in Spanish, which was commenced at Valencia in 1478, and finished in 1479, by the German printer Lambert Palmaert. Only four leaves of the whole edition of this finely-printed Bible now exist, which are preserved in the archives of Valencia. One of them bears a very long and interesting Subscription, setting forth, with true Spanish pomp and magniloquence, the names of the printers and publishers, and the date of the beginning and ending of the work. Other instances of the disappearance of an entire edition of this kind have been previously mentioned; but this, as an example of official suppression, is one of the most complete on record. In ordinary cases, suppressed editions leave behind them a sufficient number of copies to form very profitable investments for dealers in rarities; but here is an act of abolition so completely carried out, as to allow only four leaves of a large edition of a great folio volume to escape. But then it is a stroke of work of the Inquisition, which generally did its spiriting, if not gently, at all events effectually. The Bible was in Spanish—in the national tongue—and the Inquisitors having determined that the people should not read the Bible themselves, but hear it read through the priesthood, suppressed Master Lambert Palmaert's Bible in the effective manner we have seen; which might form the subject of a marginal note to Mr. Borrow's "Bible in Spain."

As a specimen of the coarser kind of work of the Spanish printers, I may refer to a treatise on the game of chess printed at Salamanca about 1495 (see Plate 44). It is distinguished by some national characteristics in the artistic style of the ornamental letter, which is, however, very rude. This little work is a practical treatise on the method of playing at chess, while the more celebrated work printed by Caxton consists of a series of moral axioms deduced from the principles of the game.

As an example of the highest artistic kind of printing achieved by the early Spanish printers, I cannot do better than refer the student to the beautiful Mozarabic Missal, of which, however,

I have no room for a specimen. This fine volume may fairly be said to rival some of the finest German works of the same class, not even excepting the famous Bamberg Missal. It is, in fact, a very finely-executed volume, and was produced for the use of a Christian sect, who, having for a long period been subjected to the government of the Moors, yet retained their own religion, but in the form of peculiar services, which the Cardinal, with his accustomed largeness of view, respected; and even built a chapel for the express performance of that ancient ritual, the forms of which are preserved in the magnificent Missal referred to.

Cardinal Ximenes also planned and caused to be printed the famous Polyglot Bible, which consumed twelve years in its production, and which subsequently became the model of that of Plantin, and of those of Michel le Jay and the English printer Walton.

CHAPTER XI.

The Advent of the Printing-press in England.

AS the introducer of the printing-press to this country, William Caxton is entitled to high honour, and a prominent place in the ranks of those illustrious Englishmen who have deserved well of their country. It may be disparagingly urged that if he had not thus endowed his country, another would. But as well might it be sought to detract from the honour justly due to Robert Stephenson, on the ground that, had his genius not been the first to create the railway locomotive on the principles then accepted as its most practical and effective form, similar results must necessarily have very soon evolved themselves from some other source.

It seems, indeed, strange that we have no public monument to Caxton—to the man who, by his enterprise and good fortune, was the first to endow English genius with the means of making itself widely known, both at home and abroad,—to the man who first furnished us with the wonderful means of multiplying those hand-written pages which bring the great thoughts of our Shakespeare and other illustrious worthies to every home, at a cost that is almost nominal; and which eventually became the parent of those great diurnal publications, those truly "broad sheets," filled miraculously, in the night-time, with a vast mass of information, in a way which, in any other epoch of the world, would have been incredible; of those great Printed Records which are punctually laid upon our breakfast-tables each morning, as a matter of course, to form the indispensable mental fare which is to accompany the steaming coffee and hot rolls—Sheets containing, incredible as it may seem, one day's complete history of the whole world—Sheets that have become Representatives of the recently added "Fourth Estate" of our Constitution; which may be said henceforth to consist of King, Lords, Commons, and Press; the fourth estate representing that *press-ure* from without before which the other Three Estates are compelled to succumb when they fail to appreciate the advances in intellectual and material civilization of which the higher sections of the Fourth Estate form the natural and inevitable organs. William Caxton was, virtually, the British parent of this great power, by means of which the higher and ever advancing intellect of our nation is now enabled to control and direct the more mechanical, yet equally valuable and necessary, portions of our Constitution.

William Caxton and William Shakespeare are, indeed, two of our greatest names; the one as the unapproached exponent of the highest range of our national tone of thought—the other as having created for us the means of disseminating every tone of that national thought, in a ceaseless stream, to the farthest limits of our enormous empire.

Every particular, therefore, which is connected in the remotest way with the careers of Shakespeare and of Caxton must have a special interest for Englishmen. But, unfortunately, few details have as yet rewarded the industry of the anxious gleaners: the days of memoir-writing and autobiographies had not been fully developed; and Caxton had no Boswell at hand to chronicle every careless word and record the ordinary changes of his daily looks; and, from the same cause, a mist of ignorance hangs over the career of Shakespeare himself, though laborious research has picked up here and there, in an old Will, or Lease, or in a parish Register, or in lists of school names or contemporary guilds, some few small facts, which, with their respective bearings upon each other, and taken in relation to passages in his works, have furnished us with a series of anecdotic incidents that, in default of fuller materials, furnish something like a shadowy outline of

the domestic and literary life of our great poet; and it is from much such a series of facts, similarly scraped together, that we are enabled to know something of the career of William Caxton. All honour to those genuine archæologists, and persevering bibliographic gleaners, who have searched out, grain by grain, as it were, a mass of interesting and curious knowledge, which has furnished us with a most instructive repertory of facts connected with the career of William Caxton, and many other of the early printers, and their works. Those who are not conversant with such pursuits cannot be aware what continual watchfulness and never-tiring search are requisite to command a chance of the very smallest real discovery, and would scarcely imagine that even the thick pasteboard bindings of old printed books have been torn open and examined, in the industrious search; the waste paper used for stiffening having often been found to consist of surplus leaves of the earliest printed books, which in some cases have afforded examples of works never otherwise heard of, and given clues to names, dates, and other facts of interest, which could not have been met with in any other way. The perseverance with which such researches have been thus carried out, and with which voluminous parochial records, city chronicles, and other sources of information, have been searched, word by word, for the smallest fact, shows a devotion to the subject worthy of all admiration, especially when the trifling modicum of discovery falling to the lot of each seeker is taken into consideration. The amount of labour of this kind that has been gone through, and the vast fund of knowledge, in the aggregate, that has been obtained, mite by mite, in this manner, may be estimated to some extent by an examination of the list of works consulted during the preparation of this volume, which will be found appended to the index.

It is to the labours of such inveterate and enthusiastic seekers, and from the scraps of personal information contained in his own interesting prefaces, that we owe the possession of a few invaluable facts connected with the life and career of William Caxton. He appears to have been born in the last year of the reign of Henry IV. (1412). His birthplace is not exactly known; but it can be shown it was in the Weald of Kent that he passed the early portion of his life, as we learn from his Prologue to the "Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," in which he says, "I was borne and lerned myn Englissh in Kente, in the Weald." It was there, too, that he acquired the elements of grammar, at some small local Grammar-school, and was taught to avoid some of the gross provincialisms which prevailed in the district, where, as he states, "as brode and rude Englisshe is spoken as in ony place of Englonde." He completed his imperfect provincial education in London; which place he sometimes calls his "mother." There, doubtless, he learned the rudiments of the French language, as it was then used in all Official business in England, the Plantagenet race still occupying the throne, and the Norman sentiment being still strong in the upper and administrative circles. The education which he was thus enabled to complete in London he was ever after very grateful for; declaring, in his Preface to the "Life of Charlemagne,"—"I am bounden to pray for my father and mother's souls, that in my youth sent me to school, by which, by the sufferance of God, I get my living I hope truly." His first biographers, Lewis and Olding, think there is reason to suppose that, from the age of fifteen to eighteen, he was apprenticed to Robert Strange, a merchant mercer of the City of London, who afterwards became Lord Mayor; and as it is well known that the mercers of that time dealt in books, as well as many other things not deemed mercery at the present day, it is probable that he may then have acquired his first interest in that branch of commerce; though they were entirely manuscript books that he must then have had to deal with. It is true that Laurence Koster was, at that very time, close upon maturing his plan for printing the text of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis" with moveable types; but when Caxton was eighteen years of age, in the year 1430, the printed pages of that remarkable monument of human ingenuity had not yet appeared, or it would not be without interest to speculate upon the chance of a stray copy having come to hand at Robert Strange's mercery-warehouse during the three years of Caxton's apprenticeship, as very intimate relations had existed between the Low Countries and England

ever since Edward III. had married Philippa of Hainault, about one hundred years previously. Caxton, however, could scarcely, up to the end of his apprenticeship, have seen a copy of that noble first effort at type-printing; but it would seem that he afterwards remained with Strange, first as an assistant, and subsequently as a partner, till the year 1441, some little time after the supposed publication of the "Speculum;" so that it is within the range of possibility that he may during that last period have seen a copy; and if so, his keen eye would at once have caught at certain peculiarities of manipulation, to which it would be pleasant to trace his own eventual predilection for that art of printing which, in his old age, he was destined to introduce, in an improved and more practical form, to his own country..

Robert Strange closed his honourable career in 1441, and bequeathed to Caxton, as stated by the indefatigable, though not always accurate Dibdin, the sum of 20 marks, as a token of regard, to his former apprentice. After the death of Strange, Caxton appears to have established a business on his own account, and describes himself, in one of his prefaces printed long afterwards, as a citizen of London, and a member of "the fraternity and fellowship of the Mercery." He appears to have left England on receiving some appointment connected with the interests of English trade in the Low Countries; where, as we know, from existing documents, he eventually occupied a position somewhat analogous to that of our modern Consuls. That he carried on his independent business in London for only a short time is rendered certain by the length of his absence, and the nature of his career after his return; he says, in fact, in one of his long subsequent prefaces: "I continued by the space of xxx. yere for the most part in the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland." Dibdin thinks he must have left England as early as 1439; but when speaking of thirty years' absence, Caxton is no doubt speaking approximately, and in round numbers. Lewis supposes that Caxton was the factor, or travelling agent, of the Mercers of London; and if so, he had probably been selected on account of his knowledge of French, such as it was, for the acquisition of which, at school, we have found him returning thanks, in one of his prefaces, to the kind providence of his father and mother.

During his infancy, events of great importance to England had been taking place. In the third year of his age occurred the brilliant victory of Agincourt, which laid the power of France prostrate before the successful enterprise of the young English king, Henry V.; but while he was yet a boy of eleven, the bright promise of the reign of the young king was obscured by his early death. In 1422 the Regency, under the Duke of Bedford, commenced, and with it the tide of events began to turn, so fatally, against the arms of England. While Caxton was still a youth of seventeen, completing his three years of service with Robert Strange, Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of Orleans, had already beaten the English forces from the siege of Orleans, and seen Charles VII. crowned King of France at Rheims, in 1429. But the fanatically inspired girl was, as we know, not destined to a long career; and the fortune of war deserting her, she was taken prisoner, and burnt as a sorceress in 1431; while Henry VI., the young King of England, was crowned King of France also, at Paris. Such were the political events that were taking place during the youth of Caxton. In 1441, when he was about proceeding to the Low Countries, England had lost nearly the whole of her continental possessions; and even her old ally, the Duke of Burgundy, had for a time turned against her. The war in France was, however, still languidly carried on, with varying success, at the time that he appeared in the Low Countries (which remained almost entirely undisturbed by the war), either in the character of a trader on his own account, or as Agent for his brother members of the confraternity of Mercers of London. Of his doings between the time of his arrival in the Low Countries, about the year 1441, till 1464, we know nothing whatever; perhaps owing to the Wars of the Roses, which broke out and ran their course in England during that period, and in which the flower of the English nobility had perished. The White Rose of York having eventually triumphed, Edward of York was on the throne, and the deposed Henry VI. a prisoner in the Tower; while every acre of the

British possessions in France had been gradually lost, with the solitary exception of the town of Calais. In that year (1464) William Caxton, then fifty-two years of age, and residing at Bruges, received from the King of England, Edward IV., a commission, in conjunction with Richard Whitehill, to confirm and continue the treaty of commerce previously entered into between Duke Philip the Good and the King of England; on which occasion Caxton and his coadjutor are styled "ambassiatores, &c.," and are evidently considered persons of some importance. The letter itself may be consulted in Rymer's "Fœdera."* It is possible that Caxton, who appears to have been somewhat of a courtier, may have made himself agreeable in various ways to the Burgundian Court before this period, and was on that account selected as a negotiator in the matter of the renewed treaty of commerce. However this may be, it is certain that an opportunity was now afforded him, in his official capacity, of becoming acquainted with some of the learned celebrities of this literary court, and also with the staff of scribes, illuminators, &c., who were constantly employed in the palace on the works of the duke, either intended for presents or as additions to his own splendid library. Such a position must have been very gratifying to the ingenious English mercer and book-dealer, especially if he had not previously enjoyed the privilege of the *entrée* of the palace. But what is more to our purpose, he would then, in all probability, if he had not done so before, have made the acquaintance of Raoul le Febvre, the popular author of the "Histories of Troy," and the private chaplain of the duke.

This "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes," which had just been completed by the author, and reproduced in the shape of a magnificent MS. copy richly illuminated for presentation to the duke, was, as we have seen in the last chapter, the general topic of literary conversation at the Court of Bruges; and, as previously stated, the demand for copies became so urgent that neither the duke's own staff of copyists nor the public guild of Transcribers could furnish them fast enough, and it was determined to call in the aid of the new art of "imprinting" to supply the demand. That art, though of such recent discovery in a really practical form—Gutenberg's Bible having appeared scarcely ten years before,—was already exciting attention all over Central Europe; and at Bruges, no doubt, the inferior kind of printing, of which we have heard in the diary of the Abbé of Valenciennes, was in regular practice for inferior works, though it had not come into competition with the business of the transcribers in works of a superior class. It was, however, sufficiently established to attract attention towards the superior productions of the school of Mayence, especially when an emergency occurred such as the impossibility to supply the demand for the popular work of Raoul le Febvre, which was certainly, whether at Bruges or Cologne, reproduced by the new art before the year 1467. The type of this book, which is the first ever printed in the French language, is, as I have before remarked, peculiar, and bears a stronger affinity to the style of character found in French MSS., and afterwards in early French printed books, than with German MSS. or German types. The general appearance of Flemish MSS. of the time is closely imitated in the type of this book, especially by the frequent use of groups of letters joined by ligatures, and cast together; the effect of which is so deceptive that the earlier bibliographical critics were, some of them, almost inclined to think it a xylographic work; while by others less learned it was considered simply a MS.; though such opinions cannot now be seriously sustained for a moment. Some bibliographers have unhesitatingly assigned the printing of this curious book to Caxton, as the same types were used by him in printing his own translation of it a few years afterwards. M. Bernard, however, in treating of the press of Ulric Zell at Cologne, ascribes this book and also the "Jason," printed in the same character, to the Colognian printer; while, on the other hand, in treating of the early printers of Bruges, he assigns the casting of the type to some French artisan, and leaves the matter of the printing rather vague. His favourite theory, however, is that it was executed under the immediate direction of the Duke of Burgundy himself, and may therefore have been printed in the ducal palace, where so much

* Page 127, vol. v., of the edition of 1741.

other literary work was going on; though he makes no precise statement on this point. With regard to a Frenchman having been employed to cast the types, the view appears scarcely tenable, inasmuch as when this book was printed—certainly not later than the beginning of 1467—no type-founding or printing establishment existed in France; and when, two years later, Fichet sought to establish a press in the Sorbonne, in 1469-70, printers had to be sought in Germany, and Ulric Gering and two of his compatriots were engaged, as necessary to the foundation of the press; so that it seems highly improbable that Duke Philip should be able to obtain an engraver and founder of types in France in 1465 or 1466, while Fichet, three years later, found it necessary to send from Paris to Germany for the assistance he required. With regard to Ulric Zell being the printer of this book, which possibly appeared in 1465, similar difficulties occur. His first dated book was not issued till 1466; and though his "Offices of Cicero" *may* have appeared a year earlier, there is no certainty that it did so; and if not, and the first printed edition of the "Recueil" appeared in 1464 or 1465, it is impossible to consider the work the production of Ulric Zell. Another point to be considered is, that Ulric Zell doubtless arrived at Cologne with his fount of German types all ready to go to work; and if applied to, to print a work for the Duke of Burgundy or any other personage, he would in all probability have used those types, which were of the most approved forms, and had all the prestige of coming direct from the great central seat of the new art at Mayence. How, then, was the peculiar type of the "Recueil" produced? There are several probable solutions to the question. The first is that the duke, whose taste in every detail of the arts connected with bookwork is well known, caused the types to be engraved and cast in Bruges, where the active and powerful guild of artisans connected with the production of books afforded him great facilities for carrying out such a project. If this were, indeed, the true explanation of the matter, we may suppose that it was attempted in the peculiar type adopted to imitate precisely the style of the writing of the splendid presentation copy of the work; while the fact that Caxton afterwards used these identical types at Cologne may be accounted for by supposing that, after the types were made, great difficulties were found in the "setting-up" and in the usual routine of preparations for printing; and that during the difficulty it became known that Ulric Zell had just established himself at Cologne, when the types may have been forwarded to him in the charge of Caxton, whose extensive commercial relations we may imagine were continually taking him over the whole of the country between Bruges and the more western towns of the Rhine,—a charge which, considering his early training in the book-trade, and also his close connection with the Burgundian Court, he was a very likely person to be entrusted with. After depositing the type with Ulric Zell, such a person as Caxton, considered both as courtier and as a man of an ingenious and enterprising mind, would naturally experience the greatest interest in remaining to witness the operations going forward in the atelier of one of the workmen of the already celebrated Gutenberg, fresh from the city where Fust and Schoiffher had just issued the second great printed Bible, with their own types, and who had at that moment in the press the works of Cicero. Supposing that such were, in fact, the real course of events, it would satisfactorily account for Caxton then and there acquiring his first knowledge of the art of printing, and also for the types remaining in the office of Zell, where they may afterwards have been used for the "Jason," and where Caxton, with the permission of the Court of Burgundy, may have made use of them on his own account, as his preface in his first work gives us every reason to believe that he did. If the types were thus left at Cologne, they of course remained unused by Zell till the printing of the "Jason" was required, when they were again employed, as afterwards by Caxton for works which he printed there, after having obtained permission from the Burgundian Court to that effect. A specimen of the first book printed with the types subsequently used by Caxton (from the copy acquired by the British Museum in 1844) will be found in Plate 41 (No. 3); and those acquainted with Flemish MSS. of the period will perceive that the type has been closely copied from them, rather than from the French hand of the time, as presumed by M. Bernard.

The year 1470 is assigned by some English archæologists as the date of this book; but on many accounts it is more probable that it was not printed later than 1467. It is possible that Caxton being in official intercourse with the Court at the time of the great success of the "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes," may himself have been the person who suggested the idea of resorting to the new art of imprinting, in order to supply the great demand for the popular work, which the transcribers were utterly unequal to; seeing that he might make use of such an opportunity of practising the new art of printing with a view to make it ultimately serviceable to himself; as we know that on first becoming acquainted with Raoul le Febvre's work, he at once conceived the idea of making an English translation of it, which, as he himself informs us, he actually began at the first leisure opportunity, which seems to have occurred in 1468; at which time he may have been already planning the large circulation of it in England by means of that same new art of printing; for Caxton, as a mercer, and also a book-merchant, had travelled in Holland in that particular interest, and of course knew all about the production and sale of the roughly-printed books of Koster, and of the later and superior products of the German presses, which were then finding their way by means of travelling merchants, such as Caxton, all over the Low Countries, as well as France and Italy. Having thus by the nature of his calling acquired a general knowledge of the great results already achieved by the printing-press, and something, perhaps, of the manner of production of those "printed" books, he may have proposed to the duke to execute a set of types for the purpose of printing the "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes," to which, with his known ingenuity, he would naturally wish to give such a special character as might overcome the well-known prejudices of the Burgundian Court in favour of MS. books, by giving such a free and writing-like appearance to his characters as should more closely resemble the native hand-writing than the more formal types of the great German printers could possibly do, inasmuch as they were not designed with the express view of imitating the fine, fluent, and dashingly ligated writing of the expert transcribers of Bruges. Having readily found engravers well suited to his purpose among those engaged in the preparation of the types for the roughly-printed pamphlets before alluded to, he may eventually have shrunk from the difficulties of the actual printing, even after paper had been also made on purpose, which is, in fact, of French or Flemish make, as appears from the water-marks, which are unlike those of the German papers, and principally formed of a Gothic P, which may be taken as the initial of the Christian name of Duke Philip the Good, for whose use it may have been expressly made. If such difficulties as those supposed really occurred, Caxton, who knew Cologne well, and also must have known that Ulric Zell had just set up his presses there, or was about to do so, may have carried his types and paper there, and with the aid of Ulric and his assistants, have there printed the work, which, as being the private property of the duke, bears neither the name of Zell, nor that of Cologne, nor yet that of Caxton, while the work which Caxton afterwards appears to have had permission to print with the same types was plainly dated at Cologne, and bore also the name of Caxton as the printer. A third hypothesis is, that the work was printed at Bruges, and that Caxton may have actually executed the printing of the work in the ducal palace itself; and that after the death of Duke Philip in 1467, when his great staff of transcribers and illuminators was broken up by his son, who found no time for such pursuits, the fount of type may have been removed to Cologne for some special purpose; as, for instance, when it was determined to print the "Jason" in 1470. At that time, the means of executing such work in the palace having ceased to exist, although the types were still available, Caxton may have recommended removing them to the then well-established press of Zell at Cologne, a city closely bordering on the Burgundian territory. However near, or far, these conjectures may be from the truth, they are naturally suggested by the examination of this interesting monument of early printing; and that Caxton was intimately connected with the transaction in some way or other appears pretty certain, as we find him immediately

afterwards (in 1469) occupied, during all his leisure hours, in making an English translation of the book in question, which he printed with the *same types.*

A fourth hypothesis is that of Mr. Blades, which merits the respect of all true bibliographers, from the care with which he has worked it out, and in honour of the two splendid volumes on Caxton and his works, produced by this enterprising author, to whom we are indebted for a new theory concerning the types of the "Recueil des Histoires." The theory is, that Colard Mansion, the well-known printer of Bruges, of whom I have already had occasion to speak when treating of the first printers in France and Belgium, was the true parent of the "Recueil," as being the instructor of Caxton, who is supposed to have printed this work at Bruges under his direction and guidance. I cannot, however, agree with this view; first, because Colard Mansion's first dated work did not appear till a much later period; and, secondly, because no work attributed to that printer has so many unmistakeable signs of the infancy of the art as are exhibited in the "Recueil des Histoires;" and, thirdly, because Caxton himself, who *does* mention printing at Cologne, says nothing about printing at Bruges. Fourthly, the similarity of the method of printing the rubrics in those respective works of Caxton and Mansion which are well authenticated, as urged by Mr. Blades, namely, wiping off the black ink from the letters to be rubricated, and then rolling them in a red, and printing both colours at one pressure, by which method the red was often blackened in tone, I cannot consider an important argument. I fancy that the rude printers in Bruges, who practised the Dutch system before the prevalence of the improved process of Gutenberg, followed that plan in their cheap and roughly-executed productions, and that Colard Mansion and Caxton, who were, no doubt, well acquainted with the process, had both adopted it, though in conjunction with several of the superior features of the German method; moreover, rubrication is not a leading feature in Caxton's works, and therefore, however ingenious the theory, and however beautifully illustrated in Mr. Blades' very handsome and valuable volumes, I cannot agree with it.

The fact that no works of Mansion's to which a date can possibly be assigned, are known before 1475, also militates, as I think, greatly against Mr. Blades' theory. Two specimens from the works of Colard Mansion will be found in Plate 41, in which the style of the type is extremely different in character to that of Caxton, and more in accordance with the ordinary manuscript style of the large folio chronicles that were executed by the scribes of Bruges at that time, when they had become the greatest manufacturers of vellum books in Europe. The first specimen is from the "Surze de Pistoye," without date; the second, from the French translation of Boccaccio, "Le Dechiet de Nobles Hommes, &c." These are the only examples of the work of Mansion possessed by our Museum; and I must admit that among those I have examined at Bruxelles and in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris, there are examples of a style much more nearly approaching that of Caxton's first books, but all of later date.

The death of Philip the Good, which occurred in the year before that in which Caxton commenced his translation of the popular book of the "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,"* did not interrupt Caxton's intercourse with the Burgundian Court; but on the contrary, led to circumstances which increased its intimacy; for in the following year the young Duke, Charles the Rash, married Margaret Plantagenet, the sister of the King of England, Edward IV.; and on the 3rd of July in that year the splendid marriage fêtes took place, at which no doubt Caxton figured honourably, as a compatriot of the new duchess, who immediately appointed him to a lucrative office in her household, as we learn from the prologue to his translation of the "Recueil," in which he says, "I am a servant unto her sayd grace, and resseive of her yerly ffee and other many goode and grete benefets."

It appears that he took the first opportunity of showing what he had already done of his English translation to his countrywoman, the duchess, who pointed out to him several matters connected

* We learn this from his own prologue to the English version.

with the style of his work, which appeared to her to require correction, and he was doubtless too good a courtier to dispute her literary taste; and in deference to the wishes of his patroness, he actively resumed his work of translation in the March of 1469: his prologue reads 1468, but that is "old style." He was, however, unable to finish it before December, 1471, in consequence of numerous interruptions and removals, as he tells us himself, stating that the translation of the second part was commenced at Bruges, continued at Ghent, and finished at Cologne. It was, doubtless, in his office of English consul, or commissioner, that he was compelled to such frequent removals on official business, of the character of which an existing document preserved in the registry of the Court of Civil Law at Bruges will convey some idea. This document refers to a case in which he appears as arbitrator, one of the most usual duties, probably, of his official position. The document merely states the fact, though at great length, that the affair in dispute was settled by the arbitration of William Caxton and Thomas Perrot; Caxton being described as "William Caxton, marchand d'Angleterre, maistre et gouverneur des marchands de la nation d'Angleterre par deça;" titles from which we may infer that his office was one of considerable dignity. The disputants appear also to have been men of note, as one of them was "Jaques Dorie, marchand de Sennes;" that is, doubtless, Giacomo Doria, of Genoa. The entire document was first published by Van Praet; and we further learn, from a concluding passage of it, that Caxton was absent on some other business at the time of the termination of the affair.

In his quality of English *chargé d'affaires*, Caxton probably inhabited the residence at Bruges known as the House of the English, of which Sanderus has given a representation in his "Flandria Illustrata," and which Dibdin reproduced in his "Typographical Antiquities." The document just referred to is dated in the middle of the year 1469; and his absence, apparently an official one, which is there mentioned, probably occurred during the presence of the King of England at Ghent, where the Burgundian Court went to reside for a time, or on the arrival of an English ambassador to confer the Order of the Garter upon the Duke of Burgundy. That Caxton was present on the latter occasion appears highly probable, as he afterwards printed the inaugurative speech pronounced by the ambassador Russell on the 4th of February, 1470 (new style). After this period, owing to the renewed troubles in England, and the war which had broken out between the Duke of Burgundy and Louis XI. of France, the commercial duties of Caxton became null, or very light. In the latter part of that year, however, during the month of September, the King of England was again in Flanders, no longer, as formerly, in the character of the brilliant monarch who had conferred the Order of the Garter on his brother sovereign, but as a refugee, literally penniless, his escape from his pursuers having been of the most hairbreadth kind. At the Burgundian court, the defeated Edward was assigned a residence at a château near Bruges, which belonged to the Seigneur of Gruthuys, the celebrated patron of authors, illuminators, and book-transcribers, who was the original patron of Mansion, the first native printer of Bruges, and no doubt on intimate terms with the ingenious Englishman William Caxton, who in all probability saw much of the king while residing with the Lord of Gruthuys. One may very naturally imagine that the Duchess Margaret would often visit her brother at that château, which was but a short distance from the city; and from the representations that may be seen in many of the illuminations of the works executed expressly for its lord, we may form a very fair idea of its picturesquely crenelated walls and turrets, and perceive that it was evidently well worthy of receiving the fugitive majesty of England. It is not unlikely that, during one of her visits to her brother, she may have proposed that her protégé and countryman Caxton should assist in conducting them over the celebrated Gruthuys library, which at that time contained a collection of magnificently-illuminated books, scarcely second to that in the palace of the duke. That particular task of sight-seeing was pretty sure to be inflicted upon the king while a resident there, whether he liked it or not; and, under the circumstances, he would necessarily feel himself compelled to express infinite delight, and

display the greatest possible interest in the inspection of the noble books of the Gruthuys collection; and King Edward may then have turned over the glittering leaves of that splendidly-illuminated copy of the "Chronicles of Froissart" which had been made expressly for Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruthuys, the miniatures of which represent so vividly the great events in the lives of the king's grandfather, uncles, and cousins,—a splendid monument of the illuminator's and transcriber's art, now preserved, perfect as on the day of completion, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is possible, while Caxton was pointing out to the king the remarkable features of that work, which his experience enabled him so fitly to do, that the new art of printing, as destined eventually to supersede those of the illuminator and transcriber, may have been spoken of; and that Caxton, already experienced in the matter of that new art, as one of the chief directors in the printing of the "Recueil des Histoires," may have been, then and there, invited by the king to introduce it into England. It appears indeed highly probable that the printing of the book in question may have been alluded to on such an occasion, as we find that Caxton very soon afterwards presented to the Queen of England a printed copy of his own translation of that work, which is still in existence, and contains the autograph of the queen herself. This interesting monument of Caxton's first *acknowledged* essay in the art which was destined to render his name famous among the benefactors of his country, was sold at the sale of the Duke of Roxburgh's books, some fifty years ago (1812), for the sum of £1,060, and would now possibly realize a still higher price.

Charles the Rash, having furnished his brother-in-law with a considerable fleet, and a supply of men and money, the English king quitted his pleasant retreat at Gruthuys on the 19th February, 1471, to regain his throne as rapidly as he had lost it; while the unfortunate Henry VI. was reconducted to the Tower, this time to terminate his imprisonment by a violent death.

The hurry and bustle consequent upon the sudden appearance of King Edward in Bruges having subsided, Caxton found leisure to proceed to Cologne, whither it is possible that he went to superintend the printing of the "Jason," which was in fact a continuation of the "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes," and originally intended to have been published along with it, had it not been found that the extent of such an addition would render the work too bulky. If Caxton's visit to Cologne at this time were really to superintend the printing of the "Jason," a supposition that there is nothing to disprove, and much to support, then the printing of that book must be assigned to 1471, instead of 1470, the date conjecturally supposed by M. Bernard; for it was at Cologne, on the 19th September of this year, that Caxton completed his English translation of the "Recueil." Having carried through the impression of the "Jason" in the earlier part of that year, we may suppose that he then commenced the printing of his own translation of the "Recueil" with the same types, as soon as they were liberated; and we are naturally led to this belief by remarks in his prologue, stating that his work was impatiently waited for by several persons, among whom not the least was the Duchess herself, of whose approbation he remarks, "she hath well accepted it, and largely rewarded me." The principal difference in the style of the printing of the English translation is that the titles and headings are printed in red in the translation, while those of the French edition were in black, like the body of the work, showing that the custom, first adopted by Schoiffher, of printing the headings in *red*, instead of leaving them to be filled in by hand, or merely printed in black, was becoming widely adopted. The volume is much thicker than the original, in consequence of the translation having run out the matter, and the translator's prologue and two epilogues being superadded. This translation of the "Recueil des Histoires," &c., was the first book ever printed in the English language, as that of the original "Recueil" had been the first ever printed in French; and, as an Englishman, one would like to be able to prove that Caxton printed the first French book as well as the first English one.

Part of the prologue to the first book of Caxton's acknowledged printing is worth reproducing, as follows: "Here begynneth the volume intituled the Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed

and drawn out of diverce books of Latyn into Frensshe by the right venerable persone and worshipful man Raoulle Ffevres, preest and chapelayn unto the right noble, glorious, and mighty prince, in his time, Philip, Duc of Bourgoyne, of Braband, &c. in the yere of the incarnacion of our Lord God a thousand foure honderd sexty and foure, and translated and drawn out of Frensshe into Englisshe by Willyam Caxton, mercer of the cyte of London, at the commandement of the right hie, mighty, and vertuous Princesse, hys redoubted Lady Margarete, by the grace of God, Duchess of Bourgoyne, of Lobryk, of Braband, &c., whych sayd translacion and werke were begonne in Brugess, in the county of Fflaundres, the first day of March in the yere of the incarnacion of our sayd Lord God a thousand four hunderd sexty and eight, and ended and finished in the holy cyte of Colen, the XIX day of Septembre, the yere of our sayd Lord God a thousand foure hunderd sexty and enleven," &c.

The first of the two epilogues, in which he alludes to the great wars that then "troubled all the world," may be passed over in this place for want of space,* but the second must be given nearly *in extenso*, as containing many passages concerning the printer's reasons for taking up the "new art." It is one of the most full and interesting of any of the subscriptions of the early-printed books, setting forth in the usual magniloquent manner the art of imprinting as a wonderful process by means of which pen and ink, and the hand of the writer, are all dispensed with. He attempts to give new force to the statement, as regards his own case, inasmuch as growing age will prevent him from pursuing the continuous labour of the pen; and that, as many people are waiting for his book, he has learned at great cost the art of printing, in order that they may all have it at once (*attones*); further stating, as an illustration of the power of the printing-press, that all the copies required could be begun altogether, in one day, and also finished altogether, within the space of a day,—a passage which some have misunderstood, thinking he meant that the whole edition was begun and finished in one day. His expressions are, indeed, rather ambiguous; but he evidently means to imply that, instead of a number of books being written by hand, one after another, that the whole number, by this new art of imprinting, would be begun altogether within one day, and ended altogether within some other day. His own words, which ought to be given, are—"Thus ende I this book, whyche I have translated after myn auctor as nyghe as God hath gyven me connyng, to whom be gyven the laud and preysing. And as for as moche as in the wryting of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery and not stedfast, myn eyn dimed with over moche looking on whit paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath been, and that age crepeth on me dayly and feebleth all the bodye, and also because I have promised to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to adresse to them as hastely as I myght this sayd book; therefore I have practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the manner and forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that every man may have them attones, ffor all the books of this story, named the Recule of the Historyes of Troyes, thus imprynted as ye here see, were begonne in oon day and also finished in oon day," &c. &c.

For the sale of this book, written in English, Caxton of course looked to England; and the impatient gentlemen mentioned in his epilogue were doubtless Englishmen, for he could not expect to meet with many purchasers in Flanders. From the general tenor of his character we naturally arrive at the conclusion that his views were almost entirely mercantile in the matter, and that the greater part of his edition was at once forwarded to England with other merchandise on his account, where it no doubt met with ready sale, as the first prose translation of a work which was then the rage at all the Continental Courts. The queen, as I have stated before, received a "presentation copy;" and her gracious acceptance no doubt added to the general prestige of the

* It must be noticed, however, that he refers to Lydgate's versified translation of this portion of the work, and modestly declares himself unworthy "to hold the pen, or even carry the inkstand," of the poet.

production. As a specimen of this work, the first book ever *printed* in the English language, cannot fail to be interesting to every Englishman, I have, in Plate 42, No. 2, reproduced part of a page from the copy formerly in the library of George III., and now in the British Museum. The "Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes Penitentiaulx" was also printed by Caxton with the *same types*, about the same time, as an examination of the specimen in Plate 41, No. 4, will at once prove to the careful student. A specimen of this work was first discovered by Mr. Winter Jones, the chief librarian of the British Museum, while keeper of the printed books, in the year 1846. It was found among some of the neglected volumes of the old royal collection.*

Caxton, elated with the success of his first venture on his own account, in producing books by the new art of printing, appears to have obtained permission to print other works with the same types; and he did in fact, as we shall see, print other books with them, at Cologne; the best known of them being "The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, and imprinted by William Caxton;"† the French work itself being a translation of a Latin one by Cessoles. This little book was intended for circulation in England, as the dedication to the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., leaves no doubt, and in England alone are copies found. The subscription states that it was "fynysshid the last day of Marche, the yer of our Lord God a thousand four hundred and lxxiiij." Some have thought that this was the first book printed by Caxton in England; but the type, which is still the Burgundian fount of the "Recueil," proves that it was not so; and, moreover, he tells us in the book itself that it was "translated by him while he resided at Bruges;" continuing thus: "When I had so achieved the said translation, I did set in imprint a certain number of them, which anon were depesshed (*despatched*) and sold."‡ It is evident, therefore, that the "Game and Playe of the Chesse" was printed abroad, with the same type as the "Recueil des Histoires," with which none of his English works are printed; as will be seen by the specimen in Plate 42, placed immediately above the one from the "Recueil des Histoires," in order to enable the reader to compare the identity of the types used in the two works. In this plate the work is dated, in error, 1466; whereas it probably appeared between 1468 and 1470. He may also have printed other works at Cologne, as Wynkyn de Worde, in the subscription to his edition of Caxton's translation of Bartholomew de Glanville, alludes, in some rugged verse, to an edition of that work printed by Caxton at Cologne, of which not a fragment remains :—

> And also of your charite bear in remembraunce
> The soul of William Caxton, first printer of this boke,
> In Laten tongue, at Coloyn, himself to advaunce,
> That every well disposed man may thereon loke.

The meaning of Wynkyn de Worde appears to be the expression of a wish that William Caxton, the printer of the first edition, should not be forgotten; he having, in order to improve himself in the Latin tongue, undertaken to translate the work, so that any disposed to read it, and not knowing Latin, might be enabled to do so.§

The principal works printed in what we may call Caxton's first type, or, rather, the Burgundian type, are the "Recueil des Histoires" (in French), the "Meditacions, &c.," the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," and the English translation of "Le Recueil des Histoires."

In 1475, the success in England of the books he was printing abroad, and their increasing circulation, appears to have determined Caxton to return to his native country, there to pursue the printing of books in English with greater effect. At his age—then about 63,—the breaking through all his long-acquired habits, and the giving up of kindly friendships of thirty years' standing with many warm-hearted Flemish associates,—friends both of the hours of business as well as

* The Museum specimen of this work is unique, and is described in the "Archæologia," 1846.

† A translation which he had probably made some time before.

‡ That is, despatched to England, and sold.

§ It may possibly be meant that Caxton printed the book at Cologne, to advance himself in the art of printing.

leisure,—must have been a great trial, as, after so long an absence, he could hardly hope to find many of his former friends and relatives alive in England,—and even such as still existed, altogether estranged,—insomuch that his English life would have, as it were, to be begun anew. But he had brilliant friends at court, who had frequently seen him at Bruges, especially the king, with whom I have been pleased to fancy that he spent some very pleasant hours in the Castle of Gruthuys; for Edward IV. was not a man to pine and sigh away his life under any kind of reverse. Whatever may be the value of these conjectures, it is evident that Caxton had a keen eye to business; and it was plain too that business could now be driven to greater advantage in England than in Flanders; and so hither he came, and established himself in the ecclesiastical precincts of Westminster, bringing with him a new set of types, most probably cast expressly for the occasion. The first work he printed in England was the Speech of the English ambassador Russell, before referred to, on the presentation of the insignia of the Order of the Garter to the Duke of Burgundy. This little quarto was probably a trial of the new types which he had brought from Cologne; and the only known copy of it is the one in the Spencer Library. It has been thought that the subject of this first essay, which appears an insignificant one, may have been adopted with the view of obtaining the influence of a powerful patron, and that of his family.

His English translation of the "Jason" seems to have been the first book of any extent that he printed in England, though in a subsequent preface, when speaking of his various translations, he places that work in his list, *after* the "Book of the Chesse;" but he may have had in mind the chronological order of the translations themselves, and not the printing of them; while the second edition of the original "Game and Playe of the Chesse," which was printed in England, and entitled, "A Book of the Chesse moralysed," is evidently a more recent work than the "Jason;" which, though without date, yet bears indications which necessarily place the time of its issue before that of the second edition of the "Game of Chesse," printed in 1480. For instance, Caxton informs us that he undertook his translation of the "Jason," with the permission of the king and the queen, when the young Prince of Wales, for whom the work was destined (according to the worldly wisdom of Caxton), was just beginning to read; that is to say, when he was four or five years old; and the little prince having been born in 1471, would thus give us the date of 1475 for the appearance of this book. These prefaces and epilogues of our noble old printer, which may have been considered rather verbose by his contemporaries, containing as they do a rather superfluous mass of talk, are yet full of interest for us, as affording most interesting glimpses into a state of society of which we have so few minute records. How touching for instance is his somewhat over-courtly dedication of this book to the little prince, when he says—"Whom I pray God save, and increase in virtue, and bring him unto as much wordship and good renommé as ever had any of his noble progenitors." Sadly ominous do these good wishes appear, when we know that, so soon afterwards, this flattered and almost worshipped young prince was to be cruelly assassinated, in cold blood, by the usurper of a throne which he appeared so certainly destined to ascend himself, with every prospect of a brilliant reign. Caxton must, indeed, have had some secret misgivings, even while he traced those flattering lines. He had seen the young king, Henry V., cut off by disease (or poison ?) in the full tide of youth and victory. He had seen his son, Henry VI., deposed, and eventually murdered in the same Tower that was destined to be the slaughter-house of the little prince to whom he was then dedicating his "Book of the Golden Fleece;" and having also seen that prince's father for a time a penniless exile in a foreign country, he must surely have had some inward conviction, with the superstition of his age, that a doom hung over that falling house of Plantagenet. If he had such presentiments, he lived to see them verified. But neither the catastrophes which befell his Royal patrons, nor even the eventual change of dynasty, seem to have interfered with his indomitable industry; for in 1483, the very year of the assassination of the young prince, styled for a brief term Edward V., he was as busy as ever with his printing-press; and when in 1485, Richard III., the murderer of

the young prince, was slain on the Field of Bosworth, and an entirely new dynasty ascended the throne, he was hard at work with that History of Charlemagne, which, commenced for the royal victim of the chances of war, was eventually presented, with many flattering words, to the fortunate victor, the first of the Tudors.

So much for the tragical associations of the dedication of the "Jason;" the prologue of which contains an interesting bit of gossip of quite another kind, a morceau especially interesting to archæologists. It is the description of the famous hall in the Castle of Hesdin, which Duke Philip, the founder of the Order of the "Golden Fleece," caused to be painted in the most elaborate manner, with the various episodes in the classical story of "Jason." Thus speaks William Caxton of this noble hall: "But well wote I that the noble Duke Philip, being founder of this said order, did do maken a chamber in the Castle of Hesdyn, wherein was craftily and curiously depainted the conquest of the Golden Fleece by the said Jason. In which chamber I have been, and seen the said history so depainted." For a specimen of Caxton's "Jason," see Plate 43, No. 2, from the copy in the Museum.

The first book that Caxton printed in England, with a date, was that of a noble author; for we find him always among courtly connexions. It was the work of no less a personage than Anthony Woodville Rivers, the brother of the queen; being an English translation, by that personage, of "Les Ditz Moraux des Philosophes." This English translation is entitled "The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," in which title there is certainly a little tautology, though it sounds very well; but the important point is the imprint, with the *date*, as follows, "emprynted by me, William Caxton, at Westminster, the yere of our Lord M CCCC LXXII." This is evidently the first edition, the second exhibiting technical advances in the process which denote a later period. The work of translation was performed by Lord Rivers in 1473, during a voyage to Spain, which he made for the purpose of visiting the shrine of St. James's of Compostello; and Caxton eventually added to the "Dictes and Sayings," then arranged by Lord Rivers, those of Socrates against women, which had been omitted; the apology which he offers for this omission on the part of the noble author being rather curious and characteristic. He supposes that "the sayde Lorde" left them out because "at that tyme amerouse on some noble ladye," &c.; "or ellys for the very affeccyon, love and good wille he hath onto alle ladyes and gentylwomen." After which, our talkative old printer goes on to state that, nevertheless, if these sayings of the great Greek philosopher be omitted, then none of his maxims were to be trusted, and so he deems it right to insert them, under the polite protest that the women of Greece were doubtless different from our English women; and at all events, whatever may have been the character of Greek ladies, he asserts roundly that "the women of this contre ben right good, wyse, playsant, humble, discrete, sobre, chaste, obedient to their husbands, trewe, secret,"—and, the old courtier, not knowing where to stop in his praises, goes on—"stedfast, ever besy and never ydle, attemperat in speakyng, and vertuous in alle their workes;" while, at last, fearing he should seem to be laying on the flattery too thick, he pulls up short, and adds—"or at leste shold be so;" finishing off by a final endeavour to make himself perfectly safe in every way by declaring to all who read the sayings in question, that "if they fynd ony fault" they are to "sette it to Socrates, and not to me."

Caxton's first English press was worked within the precincts of a monastery, that of Westminster, as that of Sweinheim and Pannartz, the first printers in Italy, had been in that of Subiaco; and his books were sold in the adjoining almonry, the character of which corresponded, as M. Bernard remarks, with *la grande salle du palais* at Paris, where booksellers used to have their stalls. These remarks are founded upon a kind of prospectus issued by Caxton, which is still in existence, though not a scrap of the pamphlet to which it refers,—"Salisbury Commemorations," is now in existence. It runs thus:—"If it plese ony man, spirituel or temporel, &c. &c.," to wish to possess the pamphlets in question, "late hym come to Westmonester, in to the Almonesrye, at the Reed Pale, and he shal have them good chepe." There is no doubt that Caxton drove a good trade at the said sign of the Red Pale,

This first chapiter of the first tractate sheweth vnder what kynge the play of the chesse was founden and maad .:.

Monge all the euyll condicions and signes that may be in a man the first and ye grettest is whan he feereth not/ne dredeth to displese and make wroth god by synne / and the peple by lyuyng disordynatly/ whan he rec-cheth not/ ner taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his vices/but sleeth them/In suche wyse as dide the emperour Nero/whiche dide do slee his maister seneque .For as moche as he might not suffre to be repreuid and taught of hym In lyke wyse was somtyme a kynge in babilone that was named Emlmerodach a Jolye man with oute Justice and so cruell that he dyde do hewe his

THE PLAY OF THE CHESSE. 1ST EDITION.
PRINTED BY CAXTON AT BRUGES(?) 1466

2

werkes / Cassandra was of fayr stature and clere. Round mouthed . wyse . shynyng eyen/ She louyd vir-gynyte/And knewe moche of thynges to come by astro-nomye and other sciences / Polyxena was a moche fayr doughter and tendre / And was the verray Raye of beawte / In whome nature fayllyd nothynge Saue only that she made her mortall / And she was the fayrest mayde that was in her tyme . And the beste four-med . Many moo were wythin the towne and wyth-oute . Duryng the siege . But thise were the pryncypall and grettest of name . And therfore Dares declareth the facion of them And reherceth not of the other .

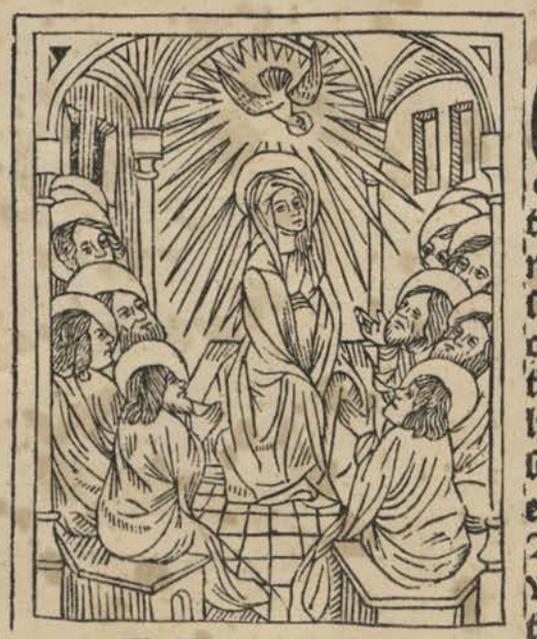
How the kynges Dukes erles and Borons of grece

THE HISTORIES OF TROYE.
TRANSLATED & PRINTED ABROAD BY CAXTON, ABOUT A.D. 1471.

For as it semed it was forto done
To enden in som vertuous sentence
And forto yeue hym place and audience
And bad to our ost he sholde to hym sey
That alle we to telle his tale hym preye
Our oste hadde the wordis for vs alle
Sir preest quod he now fair moot you befalle
Saith what ye list and we shul gladly here
And with that word he sayde in this manere
Tellith quod he your meditacion
But hastith you the sonne wol a doun

"THE CANTERBURY TALES" PRINTED BY CAXTON, IN LONDON 1476.

¶ Of the seuen yeftes of the holy ghoost capitulo lxxxvj



After the peticions & requestes that been conteyned in the holy Pater noster . vs byhoueth to speke in grete reuerence of so hye a matere as of the holy yeftes of the holy ghoost. like as he hym self of hys grace shalle enseygne and teche vs . And we shal saye fyrste whyche ben the yeftes of the holy ghoost . ¶ After wherfore they be callyd yeftes . and wherfore they be callyd of the holy ghoost. After wherfore they be seuen yeftes of the holy

4

FROM THE "ROYAL BOOK"
PRINTED BY CAXTON IN 1484

PL. 42

¶ Folio ij°

¶ Here begynneth the book of the subtyl historyes and Fables of Esope whiche were translated out of Frenshe in to Englyshe by wylliam Caxton at westmynstre In the yere of oure Lorde. M. CCCC. lxxxiij.

First begynneth the lyf of Esope with alle his fortune how he was subtyll/wyse/and borne in Grece/not ferre fro Troye the graunt in a Towne named Amoneo/ whiche was a nonge other dyfformed and euylle shapen/ For he had a grete hede/ large vysage/longe Jowes/sharp eyen/a short necke / corbe backed/grete bely/ grete legges/and large feet/ And yet that whiche was werse he was dombe/and coude not speke/but not withstondyng al this he had a grete wytte & was gretely Ingenyous/subtyll in cauyllacions / And Jo-youse in wordes

¶ This historye conteyneth/How he excused hym of that was Imposed to hym/that he shold haue eten the fygges of his lord

a ii

A PAGE FROM ÆSOPS FABLES
PRINTED BY CAXTON IN 1484

Anciently the kynges and Princes of hye felicite were attendaunt and awayted whan their seed sholde bringe forth generacion. But whan so was that they myghte not come therto. What prosperite they had Their lyf was trauersid in contynuell bewailing/ and they vysited temples and oracles vnto the comsumacion of their dayes. or vnto thenhaunsement of theyr oroysons.

SPECIMEN FROM CAXTONS TRANSLATION OF LEFEBVRES "JASON"

¶ Ca. viij ¶ Die lune ¶ Prima pars.

fruyte is a grete vyce and displesyng to god and good men/ & a token of an vnstable and a dissolute hert. as ageynward. scilence is a grete vertu. and for grete cause of goodnesse ordeined in religyon of the whiche vertu diuerse clerkes speken. that we shall passe ouer at thys tyme. and thus endeth this chapitre Of the Epiphanie that is open shewing of oure lord Ca viij

First touchyng thys solempne daye and worthy feste we shall vnderstonde that there is none feste that hath so moche dyuersse seruice in holi chirche as longyng ther to: as this feste hath not for hit is more worthi than other but for many grete thynges befelle and were done this daye. specially touchyng the state of holy chircher As first vnderstōdyng that holy chirch here in erthe stant in two maner of peple. that one is of hem that comen of the Jewes that had

PART OF A PAGE FROM THE SPECULUM VITAE CHRISTI
PRINTED BY CAXTON IN 1488

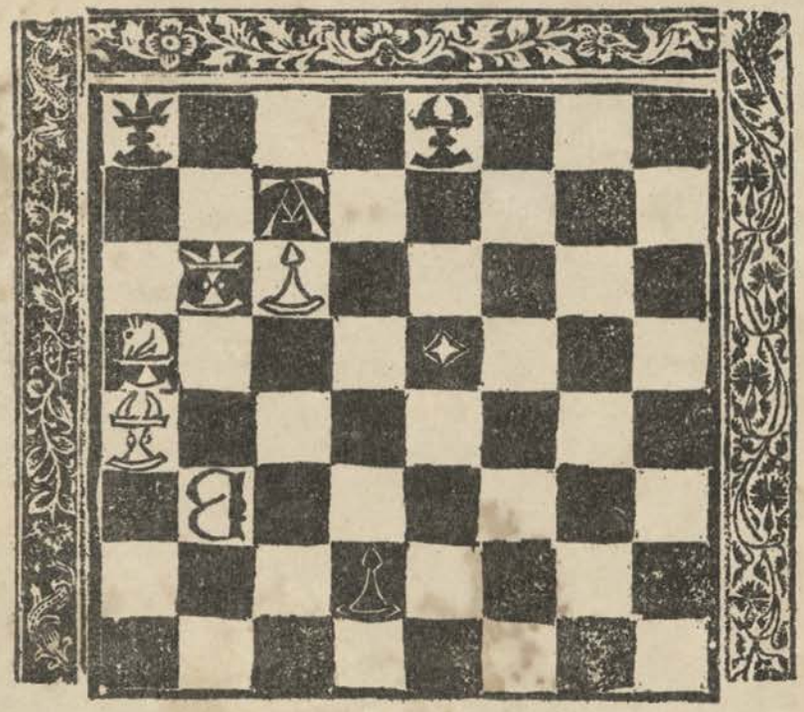
PL. 43.

This first chapitre of the first tractate ſheweth vn-
der what kyng the playe of the Cheſſe was founden and
maade. Capitulo primo

AMonge alle the euyl condicions & ſignes that may
be in a man the firſt and the greteſt is. Whan he ſe
weth not ne dredeth to diſpleſe & make wroth god by ſynne
& the peple by kyuyng diſordonatly / Whan he reteeth not-
nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his vy-
ces / But ſleeth them. In ſuche wyſe as did the emperour
nero. Whiche did do ſlee his mayſter ſeneque / for as moche
as he myght not ſuffre to be repreuyd & taught of hym. in
like wiſe was ſomtyme a kyng in babilon that was named

A PAGE FROM THE GAME OF THE CHESSE, 2nd EDITION, CAXTON. 1480.

Dela dama dedos.



El blanco tiene la mano y dize que dara ta-
quet mate al negro en dos lances ni mas ni
menos: el primero de peon en. a. 7 ſi el negro
os da taquecon ſu roque cobrir os conel caua
llo y dize mate. Item ſi juega del roque al pū
ro baze dama 7 dalde mate: 7 ſi baze el peō
negro dama cobrios conel caualio en. b. 7 de
zid endeſcubierta taque 7 mate y todos los
negros ſon aſſegurados.

A PAGE FROM A TREATISE ON THE GAME OF CHESS.
PRINTED AT SALAMANCA, ABOUT 1495

where, though he sold his wares "good chepe," he no doubt realized a most satisfactory profit. Certain it is that he continued for a long series of years a very active issue of works, principally English translations by himself from the works of French authors, and also a few translations from the Latin, of which language he appears to have been a tolerable master. One of the early works printed at Westminster, soon after the "Dictes and Sayings," by Lord Rivers, was an edition of the ever popular "Canterbury Tales" of Chaucer (the "Tales of Cauntyrburye"). This work, of which a specimen will be found in Plate 42 (No. 3), is placed in juxtaposition with the type of the works printed on the Continent, in order to exhibit distinctly the difference of the two kinds of type. A subsequent edition was illustrated with coarse woodcuts, which, notwithstanding their rudeness, are highly characteristic, and are, if of native execution, the first woodcuts at present known to have been executed in England; certainly earlier than those of the second edition of the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," which, under the title of the "Book of the Chesse moralysed," was printed about 1480, and the curious cuts have been considered by some the earliest examples of English wood-engraving. This "Book of the Chesse" is not a technical treatise, as some have supposed, but, as the English title imports, a series of moral maxims drawn from the principles of the game, of which the origin is given in a very graphically told story concerning "a kyng in Babilon," to which the singular illustration in the page given as a specimen, refers. This specimen, Plate 44, No. 1, is from the Museum copy, which was received with the library of George III.

In the same plate is a specimen from a work printed in Spain near the same time, which is an actual treatise on the game, with regular problems and illustrative diagrams. It was printed at Salamanca in 1495; the specimen (Plate 44, No. 2) being taken from the copy in the British Museum.

In 1478 Caxton printed another work by Lord Rivers, in the type made for use in England.* It is a translation in verse of the moral proverbs of Christine di Pisan, of whose original works a very magnificent manuscript copy is preserved in the British Museum. In the same year appeared the first edition of the "Cordyale," or the "Four Last Things,"—that is, Death, the Last Judgment, the Pains of Hell, and the Joys of Heaven; which was another translation from the same author. In 1481 he printed the history of "Renart the Fox," which he had translated himself from the German.

The "Royal Book," or book for a king, was printed in 1484, and is more carefully executed than any of the previous works of Caxton; the woodcuts being better executed, and the initials quite equal to similar features in continental works. The specimen (Plate 42, No. 4) is taken from a copy in the British Museum, forming part of the library of George III. The type is of a new fount, and is of a more upright and Gothic character than that used by our printer on the Continent, or in his first English works.

The "Fables of Æsop," entitled the "Subtyl Histories of Esope," illustrated with woodcuts of a very coarse description, was also printed in 1484, and exhibits another new kind of type. (See Plate 43, No. 1, from the volume in the Museum, purchased in 1844.) This was the first English version of "Æsop's Fables;" and the copy belonging to the Royal Library was retained by George IV., when that collection came to the Museum, and is now at Windsor. The "History of Charlemagne," extracted principally from the "Speculum Historiale" of Vincent de Beauvais, was printed in 1485.

The "Speculum Vitæ Christi" was printed in 1488, and illustrated with woodcuts, which are often exceedingly neat in execution. (See Plate 43, No. 2.) They are, however, very probably of

* It has been asserted by some among the critics who have examined Caxton's works the most closely, that the types of his continental works and those of his earliest English works are in some instances found mixed in the same work. But even if the assertion be correct, it only shows that, the new type having been made abroad, and in the same establishment where the first fount of type was used, some few letters of the old Burgundian type may have got mixed with the type manufactured for use in England, and afterwards been used without being detected by Caxton or any of his assistants.

foreign workmanship; one of them is certainly from a continental edition of the "Biblia Pauperum." The interest of the woodcuts of this period is indeed much lessened by the fact of their being repeatedly used, often incongruously, for different works.

About 1490 appeared the "Fifteen O's, and other Prayers," a very pretty volume, with illustrative woodcuts, and also decorative borders, being the only known work of Caxton's in which ornamental borders are found. (See specimens in Plate 45.)*

It was, apparently, about 1485 that Caxton left the Abbey, and established himself in King Street, Westminster. That being the year of the accession of Henry VII., his removal from his old quarters may have had something to do with the extinction of the last of his old patrons, the Plantagenets, on the Field of Bosworth, and the accession of the Tudor dynasty. In a work printed in 1484, a copy of which I lately examined in the town library of Bedford, there is a flattering dedication to Richard III., who was an enlightened patron of the "new art," and appears to have issued an edict in favour of the establishment of foreign printers, writers, and illuminators in England. But Caxton was too good a courtier, as we have seen, to allow any useless regrets to stand long between him and Court favour; and so, actively seeking for customers and patronage for his craft among the followers of the Tudor fortunes, he continued to print in his new office till 1491, in which year he died, at the ripe age of fourscore; and was styled by English writers of the succeeding century Prototypographus Angliæ. He was succeeded in his printing-office by Wynkyn de Worde, his assistant, who continued to print in the same house, and for a time even used the Mark of Caxton. He appears to have been a workman of Caxton's for many years, and perhaps, as some suppose, he may have been originally brought over by him to assist in the first setting up of the office in the Abbey; though, if so, he must have been very young at that time, as we find him still busily printing full sixty-five years after the establishment of the Press at Westminster.

It is not unworthy of notice that one of Caxton's last works is of a closely similar class to his first; both of them serving to gratify a literary craving of the time for an easily acquired knowledge, through the medium of free translations of a popular form, of the works of classical antiquity, especially of the narrative portions of the two great Epics. Caxton's first work, as we have seen, was a translation of Raoul le Fevre's stories from the "Iliad" of Homer, a compilation which was called "Historyes of Troye;" while one of his last was a precisely similar collection of stories taken from the narrative portions of the most celebrated Latin Epic, the "Æneid" of Virgil; the work being entitled the "Book of Eneydos," as embodying the chief events of that poem, reduced to English prose. This work, like the "Historyes of Troye," was a re-translation from a French author; and was published in 1490.

The works of Caxton are, at present, his only monument, but a worthy memorial to the

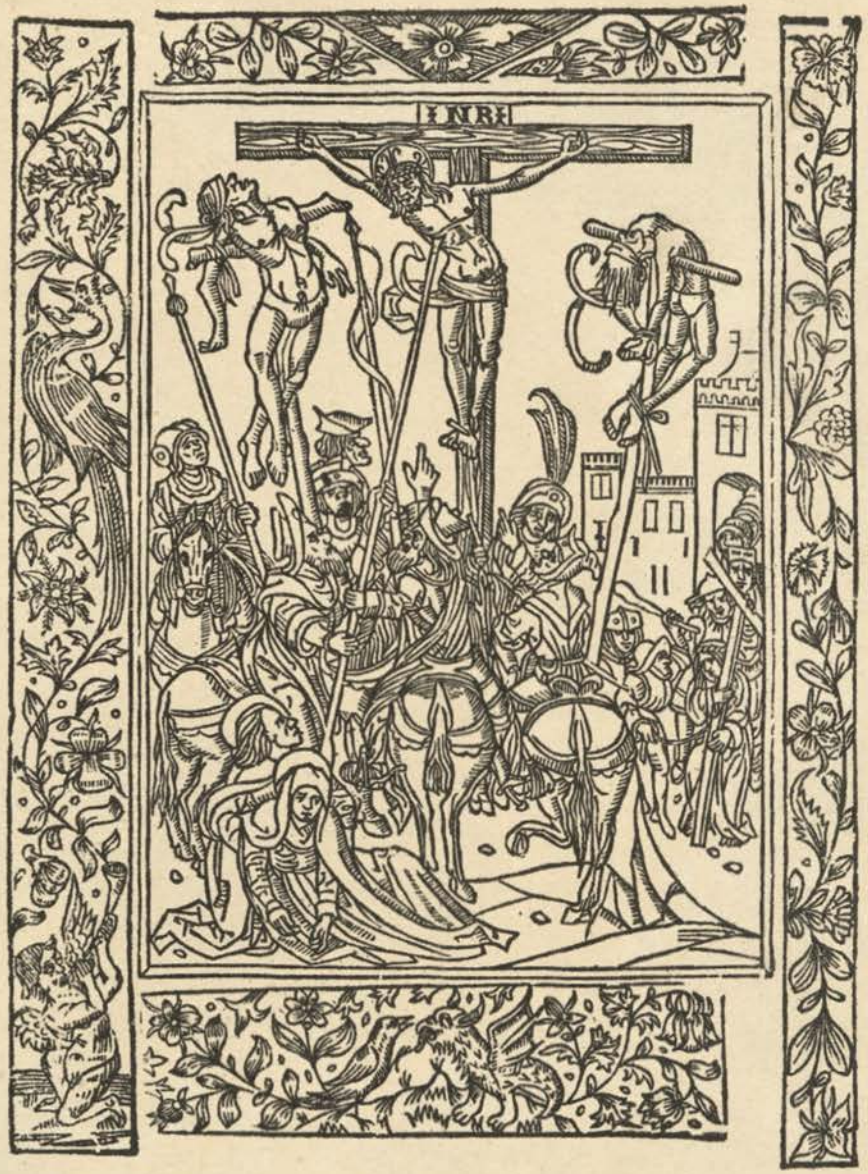
* Among the principal works of Caxton after 1480 may be enumerated the following, in the order given:—

The Cordyale (Earl Rivers), 2nd edition	1480
The Chronicles of England	1480
The Mirror of the World	1481
Renart the Fox	1481
The Book of Tulle, "of Old Age"	1481
Godfrey of Bologne	1481
The Polychronicon	1482
The Pilgrimage of the Soul	1483
The Liber Festivalis, &c.	1483
The Confessio Amantis	1483
The Golden Legend	1483
The "Book called Caton"	1483
The Order of Chyvalrye or Knighthode	1484
Blanchardin and Eglantyne	1488
The Doctrinal of Sapience	1489
The Fayt of Arms and Chyvalrye	1489
The Book of Eneydos	1490

Among those without a date may be enumerated:—

Troilus and Cressede.
A Book for Travellers, being a list of English and French names and terms.
The Lyf of St. Katherine of Senis.
A Lyf of Jhesu Cryste.
The Werke of Sapience.
Divers Fruytful Ghostly Maters.
The Curial of Master Alain Charretier.
The Lyf of Our Lady.
The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldren.
Statutes.
The Siege of Rhodes.
The Parvus Chato and Magnus Chato.

O Jhesu endles ſwetnes of louyng ſoules / O Jheſu goſtly ioye paſſing & exceedyng all gladnes and deſires. O Jheſu helthe & tendre louer of al repentaũt ſinners that liketh to dwelle as thou ſaydeſt thy ſelfe with the childrey of men/ For that was the cauſe why thou were incarnate/ and made man in the ende of the worlde. Haue mynde bleſſed Jheſu of all the ſorowes that thou ſuffredeſt in thy mãhode drawynge nyhe to thy bleſſed paſſion/ In the whiche moſt holſom paſſion was ordeyned to be in thy deuyne herte / by coũſeyle of all the hole trynyte. for the raũſon of al mankynde. Haue mynde bleſſed Jheſu of al the grete dredes & anguyſſhes & ſorowes that thou ſuffredeſt in thy tendre fleſſh afore thy paſſion on the croſſe/ whã thou were betraied of thy diſcyple Judas



2 PAGES FROM THE FIFTEEN O's, AND OTHER PRAYERS, PRINTED BY CAXTON. About 1490

Gaſparini pergamenſis clariſſimi orato/
ris/epiſtolarꝫ liber foeliciter incipit;

Audeo plurimum ac lætor in
ea te ſententia eſſe! ut nihil a
me fieri ſine cauſa putes. Ego
enī etſi multorꝫ uerebar ſuſpi
tiones/qꝫ a me ſemproniū antiquū fami/
liarē meū reiiciebā! tamē cū ad incredibi/
lē animi tui ſapiētiā iudiciū meū refere/
bā! nihil erat q̄re id a te improbari pu/
tarem. Nam cum & meos noſſes mores! &
illius naturā ñ ignorares! ñ dubitabā qd
de hoc facto meo iudicaturus eſſes. Non
igit̄ haſ ad te ſcribo lrās/quo nouam tibi
de rebus a me geſtis opinionem faciā! ſed
ut ſi quando aliter homīes noſtros de me
ſētire intelliges! tu q̄ probe cauſam meā
noſti/defenſionē meā ſuſcipias. Hæc ſi fe/
ceris! nihil eſt quo ulterius officium tu/
um requiram. Vale;

A PAGE FROM THE "LETTERS OF GASPARINO OF BERGAMO," PRINTED AT THE SORBONNE IN PARIS, BY ULRICK GERING, IN 1470. (THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN FRANCE)

GVILLERMI Fichet Alnetani/artium
& theologiæ pariſienſis doctoris/rhetori/
corum libroꝫ præfatio;

QVanq̄ ea reſ eſt dicendi p̄ceptio/
quę longū claro ſcriptori p̄rogat
æuum! hanc tamē nō auderem me/
diocri mea ſcriptiōe conari! niſi fre
quens & aſſidua pariſiorꝫ ſcholaſticorꝫ efflagi
tatio/mea conſilia repugnātiamq̄ uiciſſet. Nō
enī ampliſſima/qua maxime decet maieſtate/
tantā q̄ſpiam obibit prouinciā! niſi præcellen
ti ingenio/ſinguları facundia/diuina ſane reꝝ
omniū cognitione præcellat. Neq̄ fere quicq̄
oratoriū inuenias! quod in illis q̄dem græcis
ac latinis ſcriptoribus deſit/aut redundet.
Conttaq̄ nitunt̄/q̄ nos ad ſcribendi partes im
puleruntAuctores ſiq̄dem illi/quos p̄mores
ducesq̄ ſequaris! partim iam olim nō extant.
partim diuerſis diuerſi repugnant. Ipſe quo
q̄ Marcus Tullius/latini pater eloquii/non
uſqueadeo fonte ſuo manat/cum artem ſcribit!
atq̄ ex arte dicit. quin in illis q̄dem ſuis p̄ę/

A PAGE FROM THE RHETORICAL WORK OF FICHET, PRINTED AT PARIS, BY GERING, FRIBURGER AND CRANZ, IN 1471.

PL. 46.

Comment les quatre filz aymon furent chassés hors de paris par charlemaigne roy de france.

Vicunques vouldra scauoir listoire des quatre nobles et vaillans cheualliers nommes les quatre filz aymon dont le premier sappelloit Regnault laultre Alart laultre Guichart et laultre Richart Si lise premierement ceste presente table en la quelle on trouuera que ce present liure contient vingt et huit chapi

A PAGE FROM "THE FOUR SONS OF AYMON," LYONS 1480.

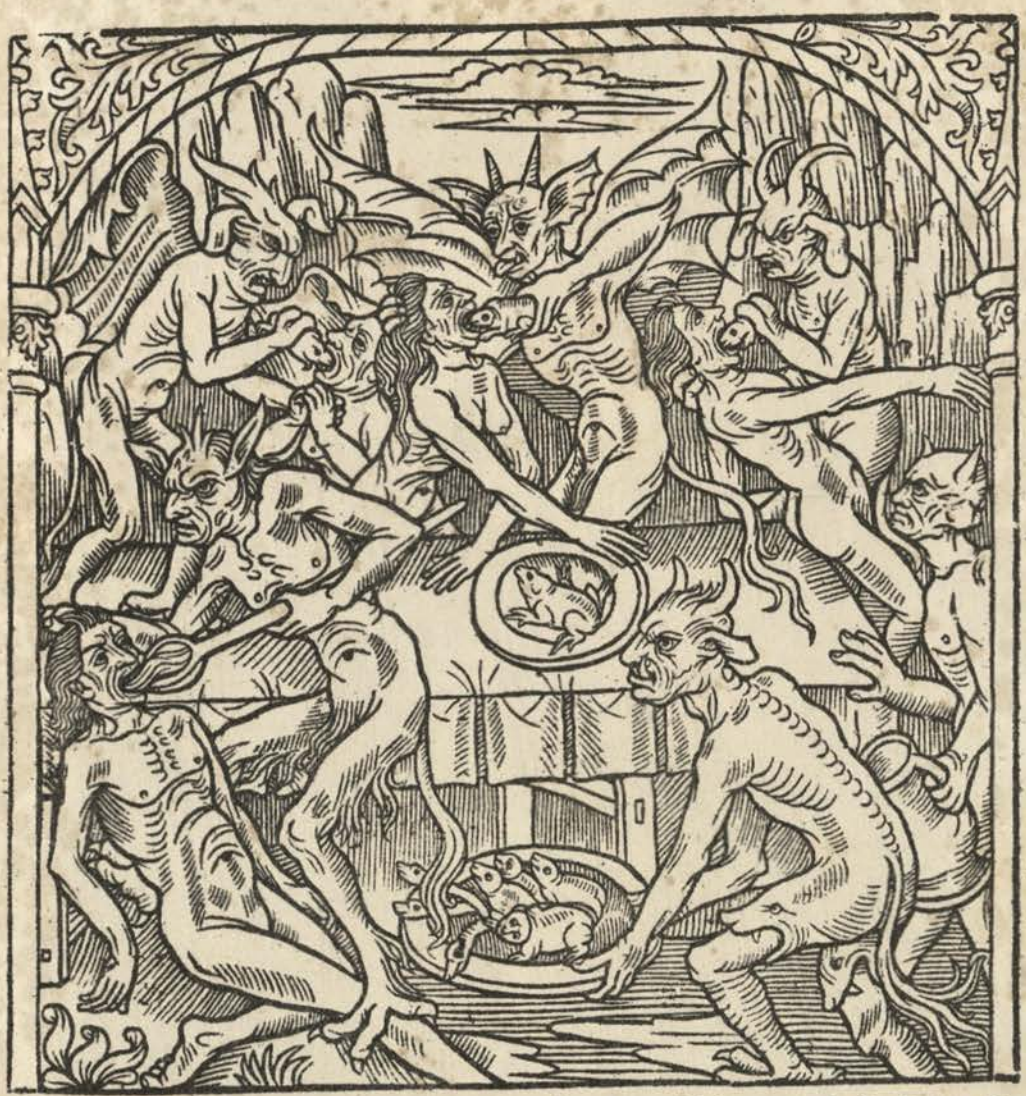
Comme on list es histoires des troyes aps la destruction de troye il y auoit vng roy moult noble qui se disoit frācus lequel estoit cōpaignon de Eneas leql quant il partit de troye il sen vint en la region de frāce et commenca a regner en grant prosperite Et pour la felicite de son nom il fist compser vne cite a laquelle il mist nō frāce Et puis ensuyuāt toute la region fut appellee frāce Et puys quāt frāce fut exaulcee et reduite a maieste royalle · Priamus fut le premier q regna sur les frācoys cinq ans Le second fut marcuri⁹ xxxiij · ans Le tiers pharamundus regna xi · ans Le quart clodius xviij · Le v · mesoneus x ans Laultre hildericus xxvij Et le vij · fut clodoneus le premier roy xpien leql regna sur les frācoys aps lincarnacio de nre seigneur cccc · lxxxiij · ans duql ientes faire vng petit de mencio sur sa conuersacio miraculeuse Comēt le roy cloys payen eut a femme la noble clotildis fille du roy de bourgoingne et assez merueilleusement Le ij · cha·

A PAGE FROM THE ROMANCE OF "FIERABRAS" PRINTED AT GENEVA BY LOYS GAIBIN A.D. 1483.

Quinto.

Que la cause de lẽpire de rõme et de tous autres ropaume nest point en estat par fortune/ou par la cõstellacion ou posicion des estoilles. i:

Pour ce que felicite ou beneurete est plainete de toutes les choses qui sõt a desirer laq̃lle nest pas deesse. mais est dõ de dieu Et pour ce ne doye aucũ dieu estre adoure des hõmes/fors celui seulemẽ qui les peut faire beneures/Dont se celle felicite estoit deesse ley auroit cause dadourer et le seule. Pour ce est il raison que nous veons cõsequãment pour quelle cause dieu qui peut donner ces biens que peuent auoir semblablement ceulx qui ne sõt pas bons Et par ce aussi ceulx q̃ ne sont pas beneures ait voulu lempire de romme estre si grant et durer si longuemnt pour ce que certes celle multitude de faulx dieux que ilz adouroient ne la pas fait. Et nous auons ia cy dit moult de choses et encores en dirons la ou il nous sẽblera



¶ Glowtonny.

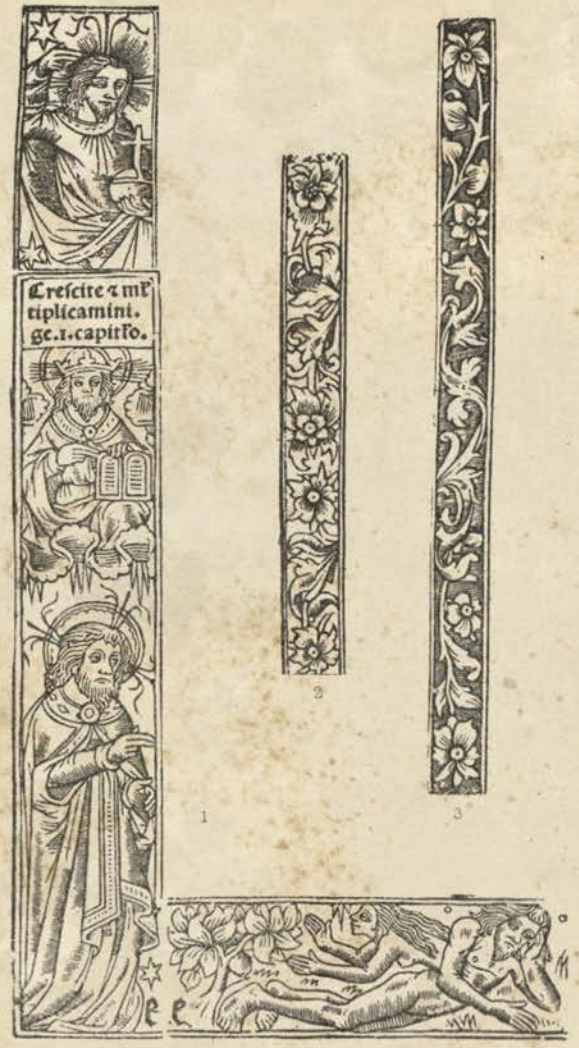
Lazar⁹ new roysyng from Deeth to lyue beyng in the hows of the sayd Symon the leprows reher=syt ⁊ sayd to the assystāst hat he beyn in the partys of hel he had seyng in oon flood fowl et styn=krand ⁊ abhomynabyl aboue the ryuayge thayr Was oon greyt qwantyte of saowlkys of men ⁊ Women that War glowttons et so gret oon nōbyr that Wyth payn they myght nōbyr them the qwych inpunyshon of theyr glowtonny Was fyllyt by the dewyllys of padolrys serpētys

Dominica prima aduentus domini.

Incipit missale secundū vsum Sar
Dñica prima de aduentu. Ad missam.
Introitus.

AD te leuaui a
nimā meā de
us meus in te
confido nō eru
bescā. neqz irri
deāt me inimi
ci mei etenim
vniuersi qui te expectant non con
fundentur. ps. Vias tuas dñe demon
stra michi: et semitas tuas edoce me. Re
petatur offm̄ et postea dicatur Gloria
patri. et Sicut erat. Tercio repetatur
offm̄. et sic fiat per totum annū tam in
dñicis q̄ i festis sctōz cū regimine cho
ri/ et in oībus missis de sancta maria:
nisi in dñica passionis dñi: et abhinc vs
qz ad cenā dñi ad missam de temporali
tm̄: tunc post psalmū repetatur offm̄ si
ne Gloria patri. Sequatur kyrie. non
dicitur Gloria in excelsis. per totū ad
uentū de quocunqz dicitur missa. nec a

A PAGE FROM A MISSAL ACCORDING TO THE RITUAL OF SALISBURY, PRINTED AT ROUEN BY MARTIN MORIN, 1492.



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Nos 1.2.3. BORDERS FROM A PAGE OF "HOURS" BY "PIGOUCHET" IN HIS FIRST STYLE INTENDED FOR ILLUMINATION
4.5. BORDERS, ILLUSTRATING THE INTRODUCTION OF PAGAN DEVICES & DOTTED GROUND, IN "HOURS" PUBLISHED BY SIMON VOSTRE.
6. SHEWING THE FURTHER ADOPTION OF DOTTED GROUNDS

THE TITLE PAGE OF "HOURS" BY "PIGOUCHET" WITH THE DEVICE OF PIGOUCHET PARIS, 1488.

OMnipotens sempiterne deus salus eterna credentium exaudi nos pro famulo tuo seu famula tua. N. pro quo vel pro qua misericordie tue imploramus auxilium: vt reddita sibi sanitate gratiarum tibi in ecclesia tua referat actionem Per dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum: qui tecum viuit et regnat in vnitate spiritus sancti deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Pour le tien amy qui est mort.

SUscipe piissime deus in sinu patriarche tui abrahe animam famuli tui. N. eamqz sanctis et electis omnibus adiunge: sed ne noceat ei culpa carnis ad penam prosit illi tue miseratio pietatis ad veniam. Per dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum. ꝛc.

Pour le pere et la mere.

DEus qui nos patrem et matrem honorare precepisti miserere clemẽter animabus patris et matris mee: eorumqz peccata dimitte: meqz cum illis in eterne claritatis gaudio fac viuere. Per dominum nostrum iesum christum filium tuum: qui tecum viuit et regnat in vnitate spiritus sancti deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Les sept oraisons sainct gregoire.

ODomine iesu christe adoro te in cruce pendentẽ ⁊ coronam spineam in capite portantẽ: te deprecor vt tua crux liberet me ab angelo percutiẽte. Pater noster. Aue maria

ODomine iesu christe adoro te in cruce vulnẽratum felle et

TWO PAGES FROM HOURS BY SIMON VOSTRE WITH ORNAMENTS OF THE GOTHIC PERIOD

litees ⁊ primi quidẽ fregerũt crura ⁊ alteri⁹ qui crucifixus est cũ eo. Ad iesũ autẽ cũ venissẽt vt viderunt eũ iã mortuũ nõ fregerũt ei⁹ crura: sed vnus militũ lãcea lat⁹ eius aperuit. Et cõtinuo exiuit sãguis ⁊ aqua. Et qui vidit testimoniũ phibuit et verũ est testimoniũ eius. Et ille scit qꝛ vera dicit vt et vos credatis. facta sunt enĩ hec vt scriptura impleret. Os nõ cõminuetis ex eo. Et iterũ alia scriptura dicit. Videbũt in quẽ transfixerũt. Post hec autẽ rogauit pylatũ ioseph ab arimathia eo ⁊ esset discipulus iesu occultus autẽ ꝓpter metũ iudeorũ: vt tolleret corp⁹ iesu. Et pmisit pylat⁹. Venit ergo ⁊ tullit corp⁹ iesu. Venit autẽ ⁊ nichodem⁹ qui venerat ad iesũ nocte primũ ferens mixturã mire et aloes quasi libras centũ. Acceperunt ergo corp⁹ iesu ⁊ ligauerũt eũ lintheis cũ aromatib⁹ sicut mos iudeis est sepelire. Erat autẽ in loco vbi crucifix⁹ est ortus ⁊ in orto monumẽtũ nouũ in quo nondũ quisq̃ posit⁹ fuerat. Ibi ergo propter parasceuẽ iudeorũ: qꝛ iuxta erat monumẽtũ posuerũt iesũ. Deo grãs. ℣. Oremus.

OEus qui manus tuas et pedes tuos ⁊ totũ corpus tuũ ꝓ nobis petoꝛib⁹ in ligno crucis posuisti: ⁊ coronã spineam a iudeis in despectu tui sanctissimi nomis sup caput tuũ ipositã sustinuisti et quiqz vulnera ꝓ nobis petoꝛib⁹ i ligno crucis passus fuisti. Da nobis hodie ⁊ quotidie vsũ penitentie: abstinẽtie: patiẽtie: hũilitatis: castitatis: lumẽ sensũ ⁊ intellectũ: ⁊ purã cõsciẽtiã vsqz in finẽ. Jesu xpe saluator mũdi: qui cũ patre ⁊ spiritu sancto viuis ⁊ regnas de⁹. Per oĩa secula seculorũ. Amẽ

xiij. oēs cuius cūq; eta. mozi.
xiiij. oīa elemta ardebunt.
xv. mortui ad iudiciū resur.
Egredietur virga de radice ieſſe. Et flos de radice eius aſcendet. Eſaie. Vndecimo.

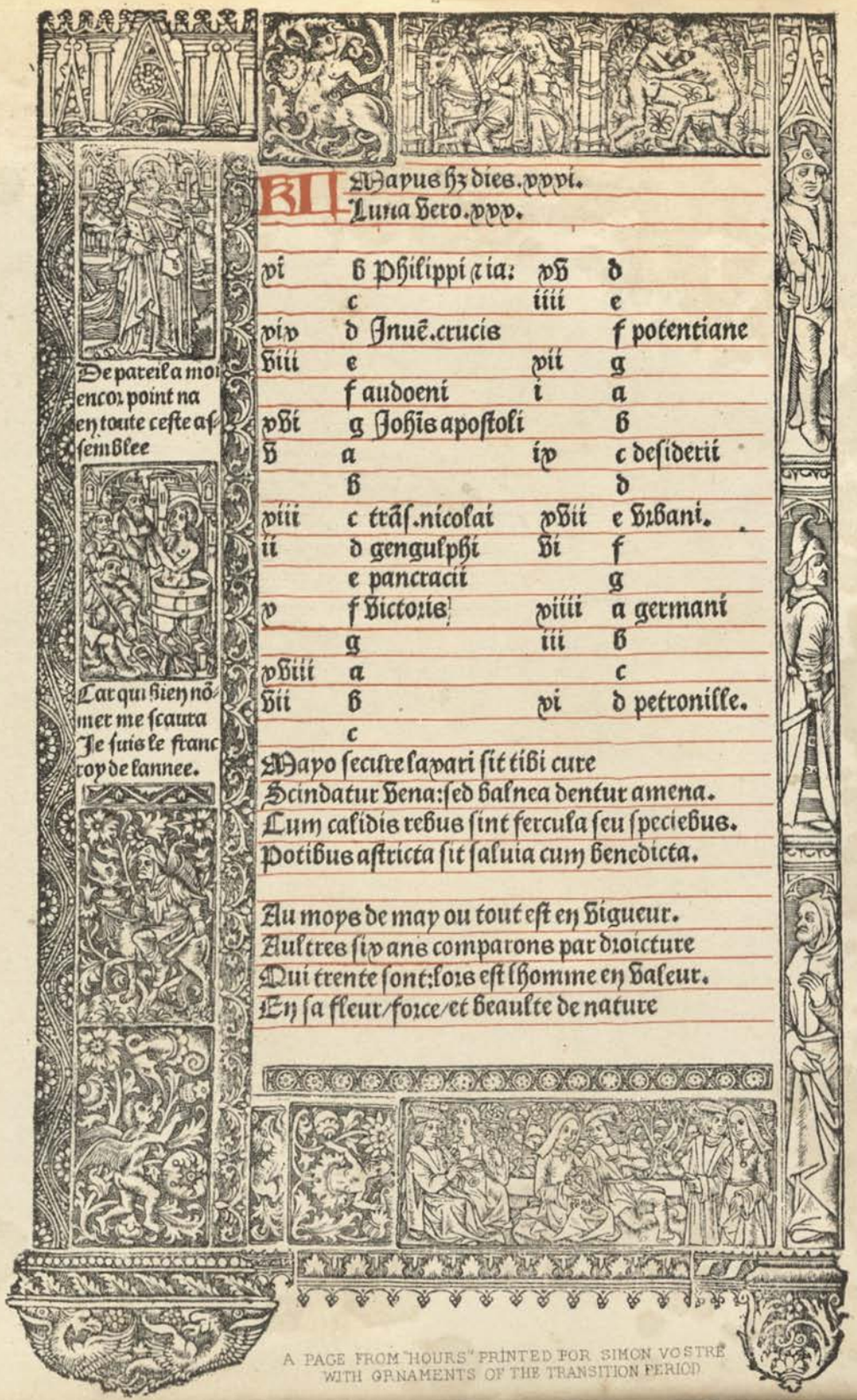
Benedictio dei patris cum angelis ſuis ſit ſuper me. Ame Benedictio ieſu pñi cū angelis ſuis ſit ſup me. Ame Benedictio ſācte marie cū filio ſuo ſit ſup me. ame Benedictio ſcte ecclesie eterne ſit ſup me Ame Nam & ſi ambulauero in medio vmbre mortis nō timebo mala qm̃ tu mecū es Nam & ſi ambulauero in medio tribulationis viuificabis me & ſup irā inimicorum meorum extendiſti manum tuā et ſalua me fecit dextera tua.
Sequitur officium de cōceptione beate marie virginis.

TWO PAGES FROM 'HOURS' PRINTED BY SIMON VOSTRE WITH ORNAMENTS OF THE GOTHIC PERIOD

Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neq; in ira tua corripias me. Miserere mei dñe quoniam infirmus sum. sana me dñe qm̃ conturbata sunt ossa mea. Et aia mea turbata est valde: sz tu domine vsquequo. Conuertere domine et eripe animam meaz saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam. Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui in iferno autem quis confitebitur tibi. Baboraui in gemitu meo lauabo per

dra de pa-
Il reuin-

A PAGE FROM "HOURS" PRINTED BY CHAPPIEL WITH SUBJECTS & ORNAMENTS STILL EARLIER GOTHIC



Mayus hz dies.xxxi.
Luna vero.xxx.

xi	b Philippi ꝛ ia:	xv	d
	c	iiii	e
xix	d Jnuē.crucis		f potentiane
viii	e	xii	g
	f audoeni	i	a
xvi	g Johis apostoli		b
v	a	ix	c desiderii
	b		d
xiii	c trās.nicolai	xvii	e vrbani.
ii	d gengulphi	vi	f
	e pancracii		g
x	f victoris	xiiii	a germani
	g	iii	b
xviii	a		c
vii	b	xi	d petronille.
	c		

De pareil a moi encor point na en toute ceste assemblee

Car qui bien nōmer me scaura Je suis le franc roy de lannee.

Mayo secure laxari sit tibi cure
Scindatur vena: sed balnea dentur amena.
Cum calidis rebus sint fercula seu speciebus.
Potibus astricta sit saluia cum benedicta.

Au moys de may ou tout est en vigueur.
Aultres six ans comparons par droicture
Qui trente sont: lors est lhomme en valeur.
En sa fleur/force/et beaulte de nature

A PAGE FROM "HOURS" PRINTED FOR SIMON VOSTRE WITH ORNAMENTS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

SIMON : VOSTRE :
Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Rouan au long sans requerir: auec les miracles nostre dame et les figures de lapocalipse: de la bible: des triũphes de Cesar. et plusieurs aultres hystoires faictes a lantique. ont este imprimees pour Symon Vostre Libraire: demourant a Paris.

1.

A TITLE PAGE FROM "HOURS" PRINTED FOR SIMON VOSTRE WITH BORDERS IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE STYLE.

2.

FROM A BOOK OF "HOURS" PRINTED FOR SIMON VOSTRE WITH ORNAMENTS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE STYLE.

TWO LARGE SUBJECTS FROM "HOURS" PUBLISHED BY SIMON VOSTRE.

Ad sextam Versus.

DEus in adiutorium meū intende. ℟. Domine ad adiuuandū me festina. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in secula seculorum. Amen. Alleluia. **Hymnus.**

in duo, à summo vsq; deorsum. Videns autem centurio qui ex aduerso stabat, quia sic clamans expirasset: ait. Verè hic homo, filius dei erat. Erant autem & mulieres de longe aspiciētes: inter quas erat Maria Magdalene, & Maria Iacobi minoris & Ioseph mater, & Salome, & cum esset in Galilæa sequebantur eum, & ministrabant ei, & aliæ multæ quæ simul cum eo ascenderant Hierosolymam. **Euangelium.**

ET cum iam sero esset factum (quia erat parascēue quod est ante sabbatum) vēnit Ioseph ab Arimathæa nobilis decurio, qui & ipse erat expectās regnum dei. Et audacter introiuit ad Pilatum, & petijt corpus Iesu. Pilatus autem mirabatur si iam obijsset. Et accersito centurione, interrogauit eum si iam mortuus esset. Et cum cognouisset à cēturione: donauit corpus, Ioseph. Ioseph autem mercatus sindonem, & deponens eum inuoluit sindone, & posuit eum in monumento quod erat excisum de petra, & aduoluit lapidem ad ostium monumenti. **Die mercurij.**

℣ Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum Lucam. 22. Cap.

IN illo tempore, Appropinquabat dies festus azymorum, qui dicitur pascha: & quærebant principes sacerdotum & scribę quomodo eum interficerent, timebāt vero plebem. Intrauit autem satanas in Iudam qui cognominabatur Iscariotes, vnum de duodecim: & abijt & locutus est cum principibus sacerdotū & magistratibus quemadmodum illum traderet eis. Et gauisi sunt: & pacti sunt pecuniam illi dare.

1 & 2. FROM A BOOK OF "HOURS" PRINTED BY GEOFFROY TORY IN THE PUREST RENAISSANCE STYLE OF ORNAMENT, A.D. 1521.

¶ Des liures inutilz

¶ Le premier fol de la nef ſuis
Les voiles regis de ma main
A liures auoir me deduys
Leſquelz ie ne voy ſoir ne main
De ceulx que iay leuz faiz dedain
Du ne les entendz. ſomme toute
Tel cupde bien ſcauoir qui doubte.

¶ Le premier ſuis en la nauire
Les cordes ie tourne ie vire
Je ſuis des compaignons vagans
Je ſuis des grans folz nauigans
Sur la mer du monde parfonde
En ſens et raiſon mal me fonde
Et ſuis bien fol de me fier
Et mon cueur et corps dedier
En la multitude des liures

Combien que aux eſperitz deliures
Ne donne pas petit eſpoir
Japete tous les iours de veoir
Liures: leſquelz ne puis apprendre
Ne la ſubſtance deulx comprendre
Toutesfois bien les contregarde
Et en tout honneur ie les garde
De pouldre et dimmundicite
Car par grant curioſite
Souuent mes poulpitres balaye
La ou de doctrine tournoye
Tous les iours diſputacion
Ma maiſon et ma manſion
Eſt de liures reſplendiſſante
Deſquelz veoir ouuers me contente
Me confortant veoir ſeulement
Mes grans volumes vainement
Sans en comprendre mot en ſomme.
¶ Ptolomeus qui fut riche homme
Conſtitua quon luy ſerchaſt
Par le monde et quon luy trouuaſt
Liures excellens bien exquis
Leſquelz quant ilz furent tous quis
Pour grant treſor les maintenoit
Et toutesfois il ne tenoit
Lenſeignement ne la doctrine
De la ſapience diuine
Combien que ſans celle ne peuſt
Quelques liures que lors il euſt
Riens de la vie diſpoſer
Ne choſe de bien compoſer
Qui luy fuſt pour lors incolume
Comme leu iay en maint volume
Ou ie regarde bien petit
Et en paſſe mon appetit
De veoir ſeullement la verdure
Dont eſt taincte la couuerture
Car ce ſeroit a moy folie
De mectre tant mon eſtudie
Es liures et leurs diuers ſens
Que apres ien troublaſſe mon ſens
Car cil qui trop ſcauoir procure

Ptolome⁹ philadelfus cui⁹ memi= nit ioſeph⁹ li. xij.

A SPECIMEN PAGE FROM THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE "STULTIFERA NAVIS" OF BRANDT.

Les mots francois selon lordre des lettres, ainſi que les fault eſcrire: tournez en latin, pour les enfans.

A PARIS
De limprimerie de Rob. Eſtiẽne Imprimeur du Roy.
M. D. XLIIII.

Auec priuilege du Roy.

№ 1. SPECIMEN OF THE PRINTING OF THE FIRST OF THE ESTIENNES, 1544.

Vers Epars.

A Monſſr de la Vie, Conſeillier en parlement à Bordeaux: ſur la deſpeſche d'un procez.

Y vous veluit tant d'honneur & bonté
(Mignon des ſeurs du mont voiſin de Thrace)
Que ne le merite, à l'œil de tout ſurpaſſé
Le ſacré lieu ou vous eſtes monté.
Ie boy touſiours ha bonne volunté
Et nuyt celuy qui ſoy agde pourchaſſe,
Pource aſſez donq entrer en voz grace,
Puis ie auoir peur de m'eſtre meſconté?
Vertu pluſtoſt que fortune labile,
Vne bonne aduis, bien, & ſens immobile,
Donq moy ſans cauſe à mon portez la Vie;
L'occaſion monſſr vous la ſcauez,
Et eſt pourtant que de pluſieurs auez
Et voſtre maiy, & la mere, & la vie.

Eſtrenes à vn prelat, ſon Seigneur: pour le premier iour de l'An.

J'ay grand deſir de vous bien eſtrener,
Noble prelat, Mais vn ſeul point m'arreſte,

Vers Epars.

Ie n'eſtrene? moy, car elle eſt toute preſte,
Et moy auſſi preſt à vous la donner.
Et ſeulement qui me vient deſtourner,
Et ſi le meſpris qu'auez de choſes telles.
Et nonobſtant premis vous eſt par elles
Vn futur bien: faut il que ie les nomme?
Et ſont deux cleſz, mon poinct de feu, mais celles
Qui tiennent lieu de l'aigle noir à Rome.

Eſtrenes à luy enuoyées par vne Damoyſelle.

J'ay ceu gand que ie vous enuoye,
Gentilz, mignons, et parfumez
Et peau ſi nete, que i'amoie
O cil ne ſe treuue qui les voye.

Centre eſtrene.

Pour vos Sans, leſquelz bien ie garde,
Ie vous enuoye vne ceinture
Et ſin or, qui de ſa nature
Et perd ſoudain qu'on la regarde.

2 & 3. SPECIMENS OF THE CURSIVE TYPE, INVENTED BY GRANJON OF LYONS, 1558.

founder of the printing-press in England, and a very noble one too, will one day form a more important feature in the monumental decorations of this metropolis, either in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, or some principal open arena, than many of those now serving to illustrate men and events that the British nation will hereafter cease to deem worthy of public commemoration; and such unmerited tributes will be removed to make place for worthier memorials.

It is in the preface to the "Eneydos" that we get one of the last peeps at the venerable master-printer, in a picture drawn by his own hand, where he describes himself "settyng in his studye where laye many and dyverse pamflettes and bookys," as he worked at the translation or corrected the proof-sheets of the "Eneydos," the style of which evidently delighted him, as we find him, in continuation, stating that the "fayre and ornate termes" gave him "grete plasyr." He had then removed from his old establishment in the Almonry, at the sign of the "Red Pale," but was still close to the Abbey; and we may imagine him listening to the heavy strokes of the clock, hour after hour, as he sat diligently at his work, while quietly rejoicing in the busy sounds of the neighbouring press-room, where Wynkyn de Worde, and his young apprentice, Richard Pynson, were busily employed to his certain profit,—a scene which Mr. Blades, in his exhaustive work, has taken great pains in enriching with many interesting accessories from the stores of his congenial studies, aided somewhat by the vivid suggestions of a picturesquely-inclined imagination.

Those who would know more of the history, and especially of the various productions of the first English printer, must be referred to the works of various authors on British typography, especially to Ames, as edited by Dibdin, and to the recent and exhaustive volumes of Mr. Blades, with whom I do not entirely agree, in his theory that Mansion of Bruges was the instructor of Caxton; nevertheless, his volumes must be considered by all bibliographers as a magnificent tribute to the founder of the English "Press."

Some years previously to the death of Caxton, other printing establishments had sprung up, and, as on the Continent, some of the earliest were founded in the monasteries; as in that of St. Alban's, where the "Bokys of Hauking and Huntyng," written by Dame Juliana Berners, Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, was printed in the year 1486. A printing-press had also been established in a scarcely less monastic establishment, namely, the University of Oxford. But before glancing at the productions of the English successors of Caxton, I must retrace my steps to some extent, in order to describe the further progress of the printing-press on the Continent, more especially in the region of its first signal development, the states of Central Germany.

CHAPTER XII.

Illustrations of the art of Printing in Germany from the close of the Fifteenth to the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

IN concluding my chapter on German printing from the original development of the art in Mayence to the close of the 15th century, I took occasion to state that, immediately after the first great success had been achieved, so rapid was the spread of the new art, that only a very few, even among the most remarkable works of the German printers, could be referred to in a work so restricted in its scope as the present. It is still more necessary to make a similarly apologetic statement with regard to the books which issued from the teeming presses of Germany during the period which I shall attempt to illustrate in the course of the present chapter. So great, indeed, is the number of books from which I am about to select a suitable series of examples, that although I have exercised much care in making that selection, it may seem like one taken almost at random, so great is the number of remarkable works that I have been compelled to pass over unnoticed. After these remarks, I will proceed at once to describe the series of illustrative specimens which I have, after the practice of great self-denial in the rejection of others, selected for my purpose; and I think I may add that, however imperfect my selection may be, such an extensive series of illustrations of the books of the period, in perfect fac-simile, and often consisting of entire pages, has never before been reproduced from the originals.

After the complete establishment of the art of printing in most of the leading cities of Germany, and the public conviction of its immense importance, the city of Nuremberg, which during the latter portion of the Middle Ages had always been a brilliant centre of Germanic art, became one of the most celebrated seats of the Printing-Press; and Anthony Koburger, who established himself there, was at once acknowledged as one of the most enterprising of the German printers. The number of woodcuts which he engraved himself, and caused to be produced by other artists, under his direction, is really marvellous, as his illustrated Bible and many other works sufficiently prove; but the most remarkable of all his productions, most of which are extremely rich in illustration, is "Schedel's Chronicle," commonly known as the "Nuremberg Chronicle," printed in 1493. This work is a kind of general history, beginning with the creation of the world and the origin of mankind, and carrying on the subject to the reign of the Emperor Maximilian, with whose characteristic portrait the volume closes. In the crude divisions of this history there is yet a kind of order, both in the general arrangement and in the details, which is very remarkable for the period. It is divided into seven great epochs, or "ages." The first illustrations represent the orbs of heaven and earth; the orb of heaven filled with angels, the orb of the earth void. The next picture represents the separation of the earth from the water; and each of the five following devices represents the progress of a day of Creation.

The "first age" (*prima etas mundi*) comprises the times of Adam and his family; in which series the engravings of the Creation of man and his expulsion from Paradise display great merit; the cross hatchings of the engraver's work being truly wonderful for their freedom and artistic spirit. The next cut represents Adam as a tiller of the earth, at work with a rude pick, formed of the branch of a tree, of suitable shape. But the most decorative part of the profuse illustrations of this gigantic volume are those which represent the genealogies,—the successive representatives of a race being made to form ornamental borderings, by means of their decorative linking together with foliage and

Prima etas — Linea Christi — mũdi

Abel secũdus filius Ade natus est anno. 30. Ade cũ sorore delbora. Iste abel primus martyr ecclam inchoauit qz i gra t iusticia pmãsit. Si ei ab Adã ichoata fuisset nõ foret cõtinua. Hũc ãt iustũ t scm̃ pmeorãt euãgelia Qui ab ineũte etate iusticiã colere t deũ timere didicit. Cui⁹ quersatio pastoralis erat: t de oib⁹ pmicias deo offerebat. Et pterea de⁹ ad eius sacrificia respiciẽs. t ei⁹ oblatões gtam hñet germão pñte. q̃ viso vult⁹ cayn p ofusiõe odidit et iuidie stimulo sauci⁹ cayn i eũ osurrexit ac iterfec. Qui celestẽ citatẽ pm⁹ odidit. Et ipi⁹ aduem se pmũ ostituit Centenario t eo amplius Abel mortuo. Adã post centesimũ annũ Seth genuit filium.

Anno. cxxx. bm heb. Scom lxx. iter ptes. ccxxx. Adaz genuit seth q̃ fuit terci⁹ fili⁹ ade t nat⁹ ẽ ãno pris sui. cxxx. inchoãte bm he. ve. b̃ ẽ ãno mũi. 130. cõpleto vixit ãt ãnis. 912. Iste seth nat⁹ est 230. ãno ad. q̃r. c. moyses ptermisit qb⁹ luxit filiũ suũ abel i valle plorationis pe eb30. ipe ec̃ p oleo mie ipetrãdo paduz adiit. In his duob⁹ primus filijs Ade. s. Cayn t abel ortũ hũerit due ciuitates bm Aug. 14. li. d. ci. dei. fecerit itaq̃ duo amores duas ciuitates. terrenam. s. amor sui vsq̃ ad ptẽptũ dei. Celestes vo amor dei vsq̃ ad ptẽptũ sui denicq̃ illa i seipa: b in dño gliat. Illa q̃rit ab hoibus gliam. huic ãt de⁹ oscie test̃ maria ẽ glia. ad illã ptinet cayn q̃ pmo nat⁹ ẽ t citatẽ odidit. Ad istã ptinz abel. q̃ scdo nat⁹ ẽ t tãq̃ pe

grin⁹ b̃ uersat⁹. qz gra pdestinat⁹ ciuis sursus erat. demicq̃ vt citas dei sue aduersarie coopatõe clarescat. aliq̃ facta reprobo rum cõmemorare necesse fuit.

Cayn prie genit⁹ ade t eue cũ sorore sua calmana nat⁹ ẽ ãno ade. xv. i agro damaseno. Hic prim⁹ agrozũ cultor fuisse phibet cupidissim⁹ q̃dẽ t aliene licitatis ipatietissim⁹ ac scelerat⁹ volens mũera sua reprobata a deo et mũera fris sui accepta mor⁹ iuidia frem suũ ductus i agrũ iterfecit. pter qõ a deo pũit⁹ fuit vt oib⁹ dieb⁹ vite sue eẽt vag⁹ t pfug⁹ sup terrã. Cũq̃ cayn pfect⁹ eẽt senio t iter frutecta aliq̃n sederet a pnepote suo lamech q̃ senectut̃ vicio cec⁹ fact⁹ dũ venatõi ist̃ stẽt pueri ductor̃ suasu credẽs cayn ferus sagitta occisus fuit.

Eras plimas drsor regũ gẽtiz aut opm magnificor: aut psonaz sublimũ hic ide ãotaut: qb⁹ vtiq̃ astronomi

i suis calculatõib⁹ ab adã vsq̃ ad alphonsum. Et nõ q̃ era ẽ tps famosus alicuius gẽtis vel secte incipiẽs ab aliq̃ effectu q̃ ẽ nõbilis bonitat̃ vel malicie t vulgariter õt dici datũ: iuxta qõ publice oscriptões fiũt. Vñ t scus leo hui⁹ nois pm⁹ freq̃nter b̃ termino era vtiq̃ in Epistolis suis.

Enos filius Seth nat⁹ ẽ ãno Seth ev. anno vo mũdi. 435. bm lxx. bm heb. 235. ãni vite eius. 905. Iste enos incepit inuocare nomẽ dñi forte per aliqua deprecatoria verba que inuenit.

Caynã filius Enos natus ẽ ãno patris sui. xc. Mũdi vo bm. lxx. 625. bm heb̃. ccc. xxv. ãni vite ei⁹ extiterũt 910.

In linea iustorz tres notãt̃ celebr⁹ decorati. Prio enos q̃ primo nomen dei inuocauit. Secundo Enoch q̃ cũ deo ambulauit: t trãslatus ẽ in paradisũ. Tercio Noe q̃ pfectus fuit in generatõibus suis humanũ genus saluauit ab aqs diluuij. In linea vo petõz tres decorantur terrestribus. Primo Jabel qui fuit pater habitantium in tentorijs atq̃ pastorum. Secundo Jubal qui fuit pater canentũ in Cithara t organo. Tercio Tubalcha yn qui fuit malleator in cũcta opera eris.

A PAGE FROM SCHEDEL'S NUREMBERG CHRONICLE (THE GENEALOGY OF ADAM)
PRINTED BY KOBURGER AT NUREMBERG, 1493.

2/3rds the size of the Original

DE homib⁹ diuersaꝝ formaꝝ dicit Plí. li. vij. ca. ij. Et Aug. li. xvi. de ci. dei. ca. vij. Et Isi dorus Ethi. li. xi. ca. iij. oia q̄ sequūtur in in dia. Cenocephali homines sunt canina capita habē tes cū latratu loquūtur aucupio viuūt. vt dicit Plí. qui omnes vescūtur pellibus animaliū.

Cicoples in India vnū oculum bñt in fronte sup na sum bij solas ferarū carnes comedūt. Ideo agriofa/ gite vocātur supra nasomonas confinesq illorū ho mines esse: vtriusq nature inter se vicibus coeūtes.

Calliphanes tradit Aristotiles adijcit dextram mā mam ijs virilem leuam muliebrem esse quo hermo frodytas appellamus.

Ferunt certi ab oriētis pte intima esse homines sine naribus: facie plana eq̄li totius corpis planicie. Ali os supiore labro orbas. alios sine linguis ⁊ alijs cō creta ora esse modico foramine calamis auenaꝝ po tū hauriētes.

Item homines habentes labiū inferius. ita magnū vt totam faciem contegant labio dormientes.

Item alij sine linguis nutu loq̄ntes siue motu vt mo nachi.

Pannothi in scithia aures tam magnas bñt. vt con tegant totum corpus.

Artabrite in ethiopia ꝑui ambulāt vt pecora. ⁊ ali qui viuūt ꝑ annos. xl. quē nullus supgreditur.

Satiri homūciones sunt aduncis naribus cornua i frontibus bñt ⁊ capraꝝ pedibus similes qualē in so litudine sanctus Antonius abbas vidit.

In ethiopia occidentali sunt vnipedes vno pede la/ tissimo tam veloces vt bestias insequantur.

In Scithia Ipopedes sunt humanā formaꝝ eq̄nos pedes habentes.

In affrica familias quasdā effascinātiū Isigonus ⁊ Hemphodorus tradūt quaꝝ laudatōne intereāt ꝑ/ bata. arescāt arbores: emoriātur infantes. esse etiā dem generis in tribalis et illiryjs adijcit Isogon⁹ q̄ visu quoq effastinent tratis p̄cipue oculis: quod eo rū malū facilius sentire puberes notabili⁹ esse q̄ pu pillas binas in oculis singulis habeant.

Item boies. v. cubitoꝝ nūq̄ infirmi vsq ad mortez Hec oia scribūt Plí. Aug. Isi. Preterea legit i gest Alexādri q̄ i india sunt aliq̄ boies sex man⁹ bñtes.

Itē boies nudi ⁊ ptiosi in flumine morātes.

Itē boies manib⁹ ⁊ pedib⁹ sex digitos habentes.

Itē apotbami i aq̄s morantes medij boies ⁊ medij caballi.

Item mulieres cū barbis vsq ad pect⁹ ꝫ capite pla/ no sine crinibus.

In ethiopia occidētali sūt ethiopes. iij. oculos bñtes

In Erithia sunt boies formosi ⁊ collo grunno cū ro stris aialium boimq effigies mōstriferas circa extre mitates gigni mīme mirū. Artifici ad formanda coꝝ pora effigiesq celandas mobilitate ignea.

Antipodes āt eē. i. boies a ōnia pte terrebi sol oriē q̄n occidit nob aduersa pedib⁹ nr̄is calcare vestigia nulla rōe credēdū ē vt ait Aug. 16. de ci. dei. c. 9. In gēs tñ b pugnāx ꝑtraq vulgi opioes circūfundi ter re boies vndiq cōuersisq iter se pedib⁹ stare et cūcti silem eē celi vticē. Ac sili mō ex q̄cūq pte media cal cari. Cur āt ñ decidāt: mirēt ⁊ illi nos ñ decidere: nā eiñ repugnāte: ⁊ quo cadāt negātevt possint cadere. Nā sic ignis sedes nō ē nisi i ignib⁹: aq̄rū nisi i aq̄s. spūs nisi in spū. Ita terre arcentibus cūctis nisi in se locus non est.

A PAGE FROM SCHEDELS NUREMBERG CHRONICLE PRINTED BY KOBURGER AT NUREMBERG 1493

⅔rds the size of the Original

De Insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis

De Insulis nuper inuentis

Epistola Christoferi Colom (cui etas nostra multum debet: de Insulis in mari Indico nuper inuentis: ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense: auspiciis & ere inuictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarū Regis missus fuerat) ad Magnificū dominū Raphaelem Sanxis: eiusdem sereníssimi Regis Thesaurarium missa: quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco: ab Hispano ideomate: in latinum conuertit: tercio Kalendas Maii. M. cccc. xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

QVoniam suscepte prouincie rem perfectā me consecutū fuisse: gratum tibi fore scio. Quas constitui exarare: quæ te vniuscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere geste inuēteq; admoneāt. Tricesimotercio die postq̄ Gadibus discessi: in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas Iusulas innumeris habitatas hominibus reperi: quarū omnium p̄ fœlicissimo Rege nostro: præconio celebrato / & vexillis extensis: cōtradicente nemine possessionē accepi. primeq; earum: diui Saluatoris nomē impositi. cuius fretus auxilio: tam ad hanc q̄ ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Eam vero Indi Guanahanyn vocant. Aliasq; etiam vnā quanq; nouo nomine nūcupaui. Quippe aliam Insulam Sancte Marie Conceptionis. aliam Fernandinam. aliam Hysabellam. aliā

branchwork, often treated with great boldness and beauty. Plate 60 is a reduced* copy of the page commencing the genealogy of Christ (*linea Christi*), which, like so many of the genealogies drawn up during the Middle Ages, begins, as a matter of course, with Adam. The composition is very similar in character to the well-known Gothic design of the Tree of Jesse, but having its own peculiarly German character. The side compartments exhibit in circular frames of branchwork the respective sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and the subsequent fratricide, the whole being well treated, not only from a decorative point of view, but also as regards the characteristic drawing and grouping of the figures which form the pictorial subjects.

The "second age" commences with the building of the Ark; and then occurs a curious chapter concerning the monsters that appeared upon the earth after the Deluge. Pliny is cited,† and also St. Augustine,‡ for their respective accounts of races of men of strange forms, differing from the original type; and similar accounts are extracted from other classical authors. A series of monstrous varieties of the human race is made to form a kind of bordering to the page in which they are described, as shown in the fac-simile (Plate 61); in which the dog-faced apes (Cynocephali) are represented as perfect men, with the exception of the head, which is as perfectly that of a dog. Next come the Cyclops, with the single eye in the centre of the forehead; and then the race of men "with heads beneath their shoulders." The Hermaphrodite—half man, half woman—is represented with one side of the face smooth, as a woman's, and the other side bearded, as a man's. There are many other monstrosities of ancient fable which are amply illustrated; but one figure, the second from the top of the right-hand column, seems founded on nature, and not the artist's fancy, and has given rise to some very interesting discussions concerning the discovery of America, the great topic of the day when "Schedel's Chronicle" was published,—namely, the year 1493. The figure in question, with its hanging under lip, represents very accurately a Bolocudo of the Brazils; and the deformity is known to be produced in that tribe by a Coloquinte cruse suspended to the under lip, in which food can be kept. The question naturally arises, how could the Nuremberg artist obtain a model, or drawing, to work from at a time when Columbus had not yet seen the mainland of the American continent? and this question is answered by a curious and very interesting statement in this "Chronicle," which is not very generally known, and which is to the effect that one Martin Beham, of Nuremberg, actually visited the Brazilian coast of the mainland of America before its discovery by Columbus. It is further stated that Beham sailed from the coast of Portugal on the 3rd of August, 1492, and reached the coast of the mainland of America in the same year, returning to Europe in March, 1493. If this be true, Beham, as the discoverer of the mainland, certainly preceded Columbus, who only discovered the West Indian Islands in 1492, and did not extend his discoveries to the mainland for several years afterwards. Isabella, daughter of John of Portugal, is said to have furnished Beham, after his discovery, with a vessel, in which he sailed to Fayal, where he remained twenty years. It has been recently asserted that the autograph letters of Beham are still in existence in the archives of Nuremberg; but if so, it appears strange that they should have remained unknown both to De Mure and Humboldt. But my space does not admit of digressions of this kind; so, without saying more on the subject of the Beham discoveries, I must at once conclude my account of this fine volume, which is one of the most remarkable among the productions of the printing-press of any age.

The "second age" (*secunda etas mundi*) includes also the epoch when the city of Jerusalem was built, as also Babel and Nineveh, which are represented in full detail by the inventive powers of the Mediæval artist, who, in illustration of the same period, favours us with clever representations of groups of Amazons, in the complete plate armour of his own day. No doubts, indeed, ever restrain our inventive artist, or act as any check upon the vividness of his imagination; and we

* The size is two-thirds that of the original.

† Book VII., chap. ii. ‡ Lib. XI., cap. iii.

have, therefore, a very complete view, in great detail, of the city of Sodom, with fine Gothic steeples coming down by the run under the effects of the shower of burning brimstone. On the other hand, as we approach modern times, some of the views of cities are more or less accurate representations of the places; that of Venice, for instance, which appears to have been copied in part from the well-known large engraving in "Breydenbach's Travels to the Holy Land." The city of Troy is also represented in full detail, as confidently as Venice; so that one might imagine the artist to have really seen the ruins of some ancient city of the East, upon which he had founded his design, but for the fact, really unaccountable in a work where mere labour appears to have been no object, that the same design is made to serve afterwards for Pisa! and eventually for the capital of England! without the slightest alteration. Among the decorative genealogies of Germany, the most attractive in treatment is that of the Roman emperors, terminating with the finely-executed figure of Maximilian, the then reigning emperor of Germany, on the last page of the volume.

I have perhaps devoted too much space to a very inadequate description of this book; but I have deemed it more instructive to describe a few works, typical of their class, at some length, than to give a mere list, with slight descriptions, of a much greater number; as it appeared to me that an ordinary reader would obtain by that means a fuller and better general knowledge of the subject. In concluding this notice of the "Nuremberg Chronicle," it should be observed that the usual colophon, or epilogue, contains a few brief observations in praise of printing, which, it states, was invented in Mayence in the year 1440; and tells us further, as I read it, that the devices (2,200 in number) were *engraved* by Wolgemuth and Pleydendorf. The former was Albert Durer's master in the art, which renders it all the more interesting to have specimens of his work. Whether Koburger himself *designed* the illustrations, or whether they were designed as well as engraved under his directions by the artists above named, is still a matter in dispute. The colophon in question goes on to state that the work was completed "on the 12th day of July, in the year of our Salvation 1493, in the most famous city of Nuremberg." We learn from Trithemius that the author of the "Chronicle" was Harlman Schedel, a physician of Nuremberg, who compiled it from various sources, "adding some things on his own authority." These latter were doubtless contemporary events, such as the discovery of America by a native of Nuremberg, &c. &c. The neatness of the type, and especially of the capitals, which are all printed, and not left for the rubricator to fill in, should be noticed; the type being in a fine, free, and rather rounded German Gothic.

While speaking of the book productions of Nuremberg, I can scarcely pass over in total silence the Nuremberg Missal, printed by Stochs, which is a very fine book; some of the type being as grand in character, and perhaps as large, as that of the famous Bamberg Missal previously described.

About the close of the 15th century, Strasburg, like Nuremberg, became a special mart for printed books, profusely enriched with woodcuts. Mentelin, as I have stated in a previous chapter, appears to have inaugurated the printing-press in Strasburg very soon after Gutenberg had first developed its power and influence at Mayence; but it was not till towards the close of the century that the Strasburg books became of a highly-decorative character, at which period some of the books of devotion, which I have only space thus to allude to *en passant*, almost rivalled (though in a much less florid style) the celebrated "Hours" of the Parisian printers. The most characteristic books, however, issued by the Strasburg printers at the time I am alluding to, were undoubtedly the small folio editions of the classics, which, as they serve to illustrate, in a very picturesque and interesting manner, the German costumes of the period, are much sought by collectors. These illustrations have great merit as regards their artistic treatment, notwithstanding the singular anachronisms of the Mediæval costumes, which have a strange effect, in connection with the classical subjects they are intended to illustrate.

The well-known edition of "Horace," printed at Strasburg in 1490, and described by Dibdin

Liber Primus

Argumentum Prime odes

Prima ode ad Mecœnatem loquitur. quandoquidem huius hominis auxilio sustentatus fuit
p ceteri quoq; poetę. Idcirco Virgil. in primo. g. ipm mœcenatē inuocat / & decus suū appel-
lat. cū ait. Tuq; ades inceptū vna decurre laborem O dec⁹ o fame merito pars maxima nostre
Mœcenas pelagoq; volans da vela patenti. Summarium plenius patet in ver. Sunt quos curriculo.

a MECOENAS atauis. Beni-
uolentiā captat ipm mecoenatē a
generis vetustate laudando. Sic
Virgil. Dardanide duri. ite nate
dea nā te maioriḃ irep altū. Au-
spiciis manifesta fides: sic cōtra vi
tuperauit vt bellū etiā p cede boū
stratisq; iuuēcis laome dontiadę

Prima ode ad Mece.

p.n. in lucem generate.
a b c
m Ecœnas atauis edite regibus

preterea magna Auxesi vsus est qui dixerit atauis regibus.
Nō eni solū nobilitatē. verū etiā vetustatē in nobilitate lau-
dauit preclarū enim munus fortune est nasci ex rege. sed pre
clarius ex eo rege cuius quoq; maiores regnauerint. Eritq;
ordo o mecoenas edite atauis regibus.

b ATAVIS. In agnationis gradiḃ⁹ ascēsus descēsusq; est
Ascēdit aūt hoc pacto. vt q; tege
nuerit patrē appelles. Deinde est
auus ab euo noiatus. ḡa prē anti
gor est. post Auū p auus. q. ppe
auū. inde abauus: ḡa sit iā procul
ab ipso auo postremo est atauus
& tritauus. post tritauū maiores
dicimus. Eadē erit rō in descensu
primo fili⁹ inde nepos. q. natus post. Deide sequunt p nepos
abnepos &c. Ex lateriḃ⁹ hēmus patruū prīs fratrē. & auū
culū mīs fratrē. Qui aūt aui frater sit magn⁹ patruus dicit
c EDITE. est em Edo ex ee (q auię magnus auūculus.
do. E aliq̄n in cōpositione auget. vt eluceo. ideſt valde luceo.
aliq̄n vim habet prepositionis extra. vt emitto extra mitto.

A

A PAGE FROM THE WORKS OF HORACE. (THE ODE TO MECŒNAS.)
PRINTED AT STRASBOURG, 1490.

Kathedra Musarum

Calliope

Musarū

Chorus

Horatius Poeta Lyricus

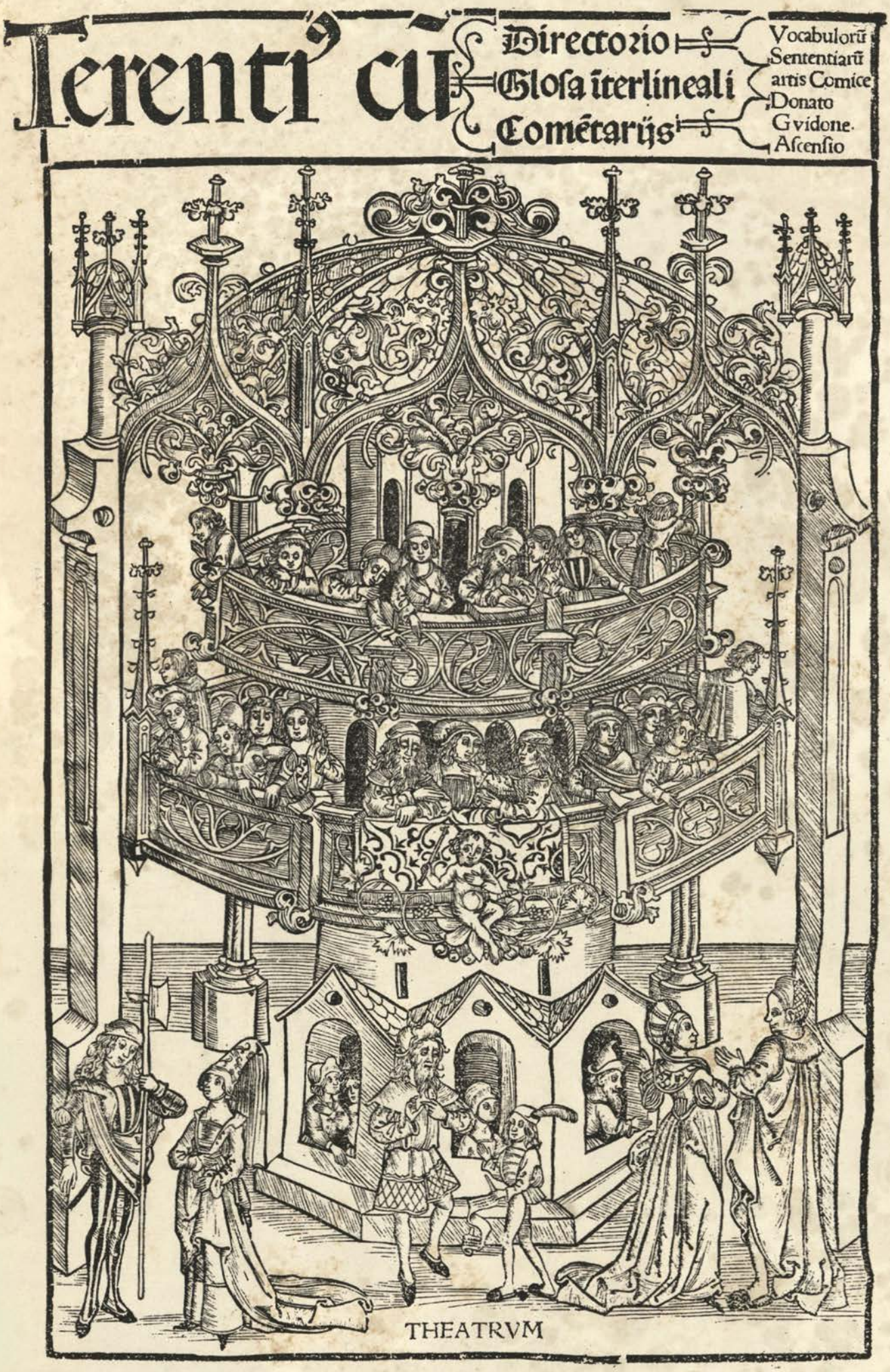
Loquitur Calliope Horatium coronans

En ego calliope turbis comitata sororum.
Exorno vatis tempora clara mei.
Dignus vt aonius in summo vertice lauros
Efferat: & placida munera fronte gerat.

Nō alij Septē memorat quos sancta vetustas
Versibus hunc poterunt exuperare virum:
Noster erit semper: nutritus semine nostro
Ab teneris annis nostra fluenta bibit

THERENTII VITA EXCERPTA DE DICTIS. D.F. PETRARCHA.

E Terentij vita in antiqs libris multa reperiuntur. Plura etiā in modernis scripta per varios scholasticos rerum ignaros: veris falsa miscentes. Illud primū rei totius fundamentū. Multi ponunt carthaginensem patria fuisse Terentiū. Quod aut dubie vere ē sicut epithaphiū eius dare indicat. Quāuis hoc ipmqdem negent vt inferius patebit. Cæterum & q hoc dicunt vero huic falsum illd implicant. Dicūt enī Scipione Romam reuertente euersa Carthagine interfecto. Annibale hunc terentiū inter cæteros captiuos solutū & pileatū incessisse post triumphalē Scipionis currū: q̄ res multipliciter a veritate semota ē. Nā in primis Scipio carthaginē qdē vicit: & tributariā fecit. Nō euertit tm ipam carthaginē. Sed nepos eī adoptiuus Africanus mīor. Annibalē ptērea bello vicit fugauitq; sed nequaq; interfecit. Nempe qui victus in Asiam profugit & sub antiocho rege Siriæ militans consilio atq; opera sua & regis potentia nouū cū romanis bellū denuo gessit. Quæ hystoria oībus q in talibus ingeniū exercēt plenissime nota est. Deinde scipionis triūphātis currū / nō hic Terentius pileatus, psecutus est. Sed alter huius nominis / romanus ciuis. Et vt Valerius Maximus testat: præterea familia ortus & inter paucos senatorij ordinis splēdidus. Qui etiā post id tps tūc scilicet quom Scipionis frater accusatus est / rome prætura gessit Hic ergo triūphantis currū Scipionis, psecutus est pileo capiti imposito qd donatæ libertatis signum erat. Quattuor milia siqdē romanorē ciuiū q bello punico capti erāt & in seruitutē redacti / victor Sci-



THE TITLE PAGE OF THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE. STRASBOURG. (1490?)

publii Virgilij Maronis Geor. Liber Secundus.

Hactenus aruorum cultus: et sydera cœli:
Nunc te bacche canam: nec non syluestria tecum

HActe nus aruorum ꝛc: S. Mire iterauit illum versū. Quid faciat lętas segetes ꝛ quo sydere terram? In hoc aūt libro exequitur culturam agri consiti: q oīm arborū cōtinet genera. Et sciēdū ē Virgiliū. vites quoq; arbores dicere: vt nec seci⁹ omīs in vnguē arborib⁹ positis secto via limite quadret. A. Huius quoq; secundi voluminis argumentum carminibus patet. Sed cur poeta ab agrorum cultura incœperit. postea vitium. de exordio scribens apparuit: vbi & vitium arborumq; culturas Emolphum Atheniensem primū inuenisse: Plinio referente edocuit. CRI. Quoniā poetarū est curare: vt seq̄ntes libri antecedentibus ānectant. Facit hoc Maro plurimū p cōiūctionem: vt: Te quoq; magna pales. Et alibi. Postq̄ res asię. Item. At regina graui tandudum saucia cura: & sic facit lachrymans: Hic vero vt idem p̄stet vtit̄ colore Rhetorico: quā transitionem appellant: quo facile his quę dicta sunt: ea quę dicenda restant adnectuntur. In p̄cedenti igitur libro. & aruorū cultu: & ea q̄ ad rationem syderum ꝑtinerēt descripserat. Nunc quod secundo loco sibi proposuerat explicat: scilicet vlmisq; adiungere vites ꝛc.

a Hacten⁹. S. vt multi volūt est vna parsorōnis et est aduerbiū significās hucusq̄: alii duas ꝑtes eē volūt. et aduerbiū: vt sit: tenus hac. sicut Crurū ten⁹ a mēto palearia pendēt: sed meli⁹ est vnā accipe ꝑtēoratōnis, hactenus. A. Hacten⁹. cecini. s. est enim Mesozeugma.

b Sydera cœli. S. Pleonasmos. nec enim sunt alibi q̄ in cœlo sydera. A. Pleonasmus. est in dictiōe cœli: id est superabūdantia. de qua late Fabius libro. ix. c Te bacche. SER. Inuētorē ꝑ vitib⁹ posuit. de quibus catęxochen

A PAGE FROM THE WORKS OF VIRGIL, (THE 2ND BOOK OF THE GEORGICS.)
PRINTED AT STRASBOURG IN 1502.

and other bibliographers, may serve as my first example of this class of books. The frontispiece (No. 1, Plate 64) is very ingeniously and characteristically devised and decorated; the principal feature being a well-conceived design representing the seat of the Muses (Cathedra Musarum). Calliope, as indicated by her name, occupies a canopied throne, while the other Muses, grouped about her on either side, chant a chorus (Chorus Musarum) to the strains of Horace (described as Poeta Lyricus), who, to the accompaniment of a small harp, sings at the feet of Calliope, while she crowns him with a wreath of ivy, "the prize of learned brows."* But for the crown of ivy, the figure of the poet might pass for that of David, with the conventional harp, as represented in devotional books of the period; it is, nevertheless, very cleverly drawn, the drapery especially being exceedingly well disposed and cleverly executed.

The illustration to the Ode to Mæcenas, with which the book opens (Plate 63), is equally good. The poet, crowned with ivy, holds a scroll on which is inscribed the first line of the ode, which declares his patron to be descended from a line of kings ("Mæcenas atavis edite regibus"); Mæcenas himself wearing, in token of his regal descent, not a crown of ivy, but one of gold; and being attended by two courtiers, one in the cap and robe of a seneschal, and the other attired as a knight, or esquire. The double Gothic arch which forms the upper part of the framework of the picture is rendered very decorative by its foliations, being an amplification of a similar feature found in the early block-books, and more especially in the illustrations of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis." The illustrations of the successive odes and other pieces are generally inferior to those of which I have given specimens; they are probably by a different hand, and the same figures are used for different subjects; each figure being engraved separately, two or more of them are set up together, without any regard to the joining of the backgrounds or other accessories; but many of them are very spirited and picturesque, though coarsely executed. It will be observed that, while the type of the poems and the smaller type of the running commentaries are of the rounded Italian style, the titles and headings are in the angular Gothic, showing that the printers already understood the effect to be produced by contrasting the two styles.

The contrast of the Gothic and Roman letter is turned to good account in the Strasburg edition of the "Comedies of Terence," which will furnish the next specimen. In Plate 64 (No. 2) will be found the commencement of Petrarch's "Life of Terence," printed in rounded Italian type, with a heading in Roman capitals, while the large initial D is in the florid Gothic style of the true black-letter, and is a very grand specimen of that class of initials which is founded on the flourishes of genuine penmanship, and not on the devices of the pencil. The frontispiece or title-page (Plate 65) of this well-known Strasburg edition of the "Comedies of Terence" is as well worthy of examination as the frontispiece and first illustration of the "Horace." It represents, after the capriceful fancy of the artist, a Gothic theatre; in the lower and more solid portions of which are enclosed "lodges," or "boxes," and above them the open galleries, both filled with spectators, in various attitudes of attention and excitement. In the front are the actors, on the stage; and lest the nature of the design should be mistaken, the word "Theatrum," in Roman capitals, is added. The secondary illustrations to this work are apparently by the same artists as those of the "Horace," and, like those, are invariably in the quaint costumes of the 15th century.

An edition of the works of Virgil, printed at Strasburg in 1502, from which the next specimen is taken, is similar in style to the "Horace" and "Terence" just described, though the illustrations are by a very inferior hand. The page selected as an example (Plate 66) is the first of the second book of the "Georgics;" in which device the poet himself is seen seated at a canopied desk, as the author of the book generally is in books of the 15th century; and in this case the usual

* Me, doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Dis miscent superis.—*Ode to Mæcenas.*

conventional figure is only individualized by the addition of a label with the name. Bacchus, in his chariot, is similarly distinguished, and by no means unnecessarily so, as the creatures harnessed to the chariot might not, otherwise, be taken for the Bacchic panthers. A satyr playing the bagpipe is characteristic enough; as is Silenus, reeling tipsily, cup in hand, upon an ass, who, feeling the bridle fall loosely upon his neck, is quietly settling down to graze at his ease; while a kind of Merry-Andrew seems to be keeping the game going by beating a tambourine, as part of the entertainment of a general harvest-home. The type used in this work is of precisely the same character as that of the "Horace," and is possibly the same; while the large initial letters are of a distinct and more decorative character. I believe that specimens, consisting of entire pages from these interesting examples of the Strasburg press, are now reproduced for the first time, for the purpose of illustrating the present volume.

Between the period of the book-illustrations of the class just described, and the next well marked artistic epoch, a great chasm was crossed, or rather leaped, for the transition was as rapid as it was striking, and principally effected by the genius of a single artist, whose celebrity forms the great glory of the school of German art, namely Albrecht Dürer, better known to English readers as Albert Durer, the first really great master of the art of wood-engraving. In 1495, we have seen Coburger, or Wolgemuth, the reputed master of Durer, illustrating the "Schedel Chronicle" with fine free drawings, in which little or no attempt was made to heighten the general effect by masses of shade, the chief reliance of the artist being based upon his strong and vigorous outline, aided by a few bold cross hatchings; while in the engravings by Durer, which we are about to examine broad masses of background in deep shadow are treated with much force and grandeur; while the drawing of the human face, and also of the hands and feet, exhibits a striking advance, both in correctness and delicacy, accompanied by a profuse development and execution of details never before attempted. It is true that, in the best engravings of Wolgemuth, we find the germ of many of the excellences of Durer strongly foreshadowed; but in the higher field of well-defined and appropriate expression, and the correct and grand treatment of the heads, the pupil moved far onward, into a sphere of art never contemplated by his instructor and precursor.

Albert Durer is, in fact, one of the great "representative men" in artistic history; he is the German representative of that school of artists, at once painters, architects, engravers, and sculptors who in Italy illustrate the story of art, as did Da Vinci, Raffaello, Buonarotti, and Cellini. It is however, only within the scope of the present work to speak of those works of Albert Durer which are strictly book-illustrations, used in combination with his work as a printer, in which he was also an adept, though not exercising that branch of his artistic knowledge to any great extent; and of the books, both illustrated and printed by Albert Durer, I shall only mention two. The first, and perhaps most beautiful, is that truly grand folio, the "Life of the Virgin Mary." The title of this work (Plate 68½), set up in fine Roman capitals, is enriched with an exquisite figure of the Virgin seated on a rich cushion, supported by clouds and the crescent moon; the whole of which design with all its accessories, is very nobly conceived, and executed with an artistic freedom and grandeur of style that would be remarkable at any epoch. The illustrations which follow consist of full-page engravings, all of which are so beautiful, in their peculiar style, that it became very difficult to make a selection of a single specimen. The architectural details developed in many of this fine series of designs are truly exquisite; and the entire composition of the "Assumption" is one of the finest treatments of the subject achieved in any school of art. As exhibiting great richness of architectural features, combined with a noble group of figures, and many interesting details, and at the same time showing the artist's knowledge of the effect to be produced by a mass of dark background I have selected as a general specimen the "Marriage of the Virgin" (Plate 67). My restricted space does not permit me to dilate upon the variety of physiognomy, the rich costume, and the appropriate action and expression exhibited in the treatment of this subject; but they are, in fact

A PAGE FROM ALBERT DÜRER'S LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY.
PRINTED BY ALBERT DÜRER, IN 1511.

MARIA INDICIO FRONDENTIS VIRGE DESPONSATVR IOSEPHO A TEMPLI PONTIFICE.

His Maria ſtudijs duo luſtra peregerat: de
Peruigil in ſacra virginitatis amans.
Stat: puræ decus immortale capeſſere vitæ.
Iuraq; ſtat veſtæ non hymenæa ſequi.
Tum cœlo veniens ſtellatis nuntius alis
Parthenicen adijt talibus elogijs.
Virgo noua virtute deo gratiſſima ſalue.
Cuius iam pridem venit ad aſtra decus.
Vota pater mundi tua confirmauit. & vnam
Te ſibi primitias virginitatis habet.
Es tradenda tamen ſed non violanda marito:
Cui tecum placeat viuere ſorte pari.
Audijt interea flamen quoq; cœlitus illi
Sponſum quo dignum quæreret indicio.
Præcipe ferre procos in ſtemmate virginis ortos
Virgam quemq; ſuam. mox & adeſſe ſacris.
Cuius ibi infixum templo floreſcere ramum
Videris. huic eſto iuncta puella viro.
Mox igitur ſacris edicit adeſſe tribules
Virginis. & ramum figere quemq; ſacrum.
Connubij talis. iuuenum. ſpe ducta. caterua
Conuenit. & virgas. præſule iuſſa: locat.
Mane. aridis reliquis. viſa eſt frondeſcere ioſeph
Virga. cui coniunx. innuba. iure datur.

Paſſio domini nostri Jesu. ex hieronymo Paduano. Dominico Mancino. Sedulio. et Baptista Mantuano. per fratrem Chelidonium collecta. cum figuris Alberti Dureri Norici Pictoris.

CHas ego crudeles homo pro te perfero plagas

Atq; meo morbos sanguine curo tuos.

Vulneribusq; meis tua vulnera. morteq; mortem

Tollo deus: pro te plasmate factus homo.

A PAGE FROM ALBERT DURER'S (GREAT) PASSION OF CHRIST
PRINTED BY ALBERT DURER IN 1511

THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE TITLE PAGE OF ALBERT DURER'S LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY
PRINTED BY ALBERT DURER IN 1511.

Oratio ad suū ꝓpriū angelū.

DEus ꝓpitius esto mihi peccatori. Et sis mihi custos oībus diebus vite mee. Deus Abrahā. Deus Ysaac. Deus Jacob miserere mei. Et mitte in adiutoriū meum proprium angelū gloriosissimū: qui defendat me hodie: et ptegat ab oībus inimicis meis Sctē Mihael archangele. Defende me in plio: vt non pereā in tremendo iuditio. Archangele christi. Per gratiam quā

A PAGE FROM THE PRAYER BOOK OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, 1514.

each so excellent as scarcely to require the critic to take the epoch of their execution into consideration, so truly masterly is the treatment of the whole composition. The Latin verses in which the narrative is carried on are printed in rounded Italian type, the headings and larger type being Gothic (Plate 67½). The work bears the date of 1511, and forms one of the chief glories of the printing-press of Nuremberg.

Durer's "Passion of Our Lord" (Plate 68)—generally known as the "Great Passion," the artist having treated the subject several times on various smaller scales—is perhaps finer than the "Life of the Virgin." It is, at all events, in a still grander style, and executed with a greater degree of freedom and facility, of which the title-page will convey a sufficiently striking idea. It represents the scoffing soldier in the act of presenting the reed as a mock sceptre to the self-announced King of the Jews; and the position of mock humility—the hollowness of which there is no attempt to conceal—is wonderfully expressed in every action of the face and figure, even to that of the extended hand; to the insolent mockery of which the agony and submission of the Saviour are made to form an impressive contrast. This design is, indeed, though so slight, a truly grand and remarkable piece of work. The Great Passion was also produced at Nuremberg in the year 1511; my fac-similes being taken from the copies now in the British Museum; both of them from the library of George III.

It has been shown that there was a great disposition on the part of some of the German printers, especially Albert Durer, to adopt the rounded Italian type; others preferring the crisp angularity of the Gothic black-letter, even for general purposes; while for books of devotion it appears to have been deemed the more orthodox; the Italian style of type being deemed an innovation. The black-letter was, therefore, obstinately preserved by the Catholic Church north of the Alps as part of its established formulæ; and as a peculiarly fine example of its treatment at a comparatively late period, I have selected a page from the Prayer Book printed expressly for the Emperor Maximilian (Plate 69), which imitates the large black-letter writing of actual penmanship in a truly marvellous manner. It was printed in 1514, by Johann Schoensperger, of Augsburg, for the especial use of the emperor, who was a steady and munificent patron of the newly developed art of printing.

Another example of a fine and picturesque treatment of the angular or Gothic letter is afforded by a very remarkable work of the period, the celebrated German poem entitled "Tewerdannck." This singularly decorative work, both as regards the type and the illustrations, may indeed be ranked among the finest productions of the German printing-press in the first half of the 16th century. "Tewerdannck" is an allegorical poem, in German, written on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor Maximilian I. with Maria of Burgundy, and printed by Jannsen Schoensperger, at Nuremberg, in 1517. From the free style of the Gothic type, heightened in effect by flourishes which might be taken for the flowing lines of the pen, this work was pronounced by comparatively recent bibliographers to be a block-book of the later period. But more recent and searching investigation has proved that the letter-press of this work is printed from moveable metal types, which must, however, have been designed and cast expressly for the occasion; certain letters for the lowest line having long flourishes running deep into the lower margin, while others to serve for the ends and beginnings of lines have been made to suit their respective positions in a similar manner with regard to the side margins. At first sight it seems impossible that these flourishes should be produced otherwise than by the pen, or written by the pen on wood, and then engraved, on the block-book system. But upon examination we find that a letter in the lower line of a certain page, with its long flourish into the margin, is used again and again, as opportunity occurs, in the lower line of other pages, in which the very same flourish may be easily identified by some little mark or defect, proving satisfactorily that the work is a strictly typographic one. Plate 70 is a fac-simile of an entire page of this remarkable book, in which the peculiarities

described will be found well exemplified. The illustration also is remarkable for its picturesqueness, the schloss or castle on the crest of a steep conical hill, with the town in the plain at its base, being highly characteristic of German scenery, and strongly reminding me, as I write, of the town of Weinheim, in Bavaria, with the castle known as the Emperor's Seat (Kaiser Stuhl). The armour, dresses, weapons, &c., are treated in the picturesque style of the period, as exemplified in the works of Burgmeyer, Schoengauer, and other contemporary designers, and are always effective. In the present illustration, the helmet and plumes of the good knight Tewerdannck, or, as he is called, "the Hero, in combat with the fourth knight," may serve as a good example of that free and florid style. In Plate 71 will be found a fac-simile of another page from this remarkable book, selected as exhibiting an interior view, in contrast to the landscape of the previous plate; the subject being another tilt or tournay of the "Hero Tewerdannck." Copies on paper of this remarkable and interesting volume, with its almost countless illustrations, may be occasionally purchased for £4 or £5; but those on vellum, of which few are known, are worth from one hundred to two hundred guineas, according to their condition. My specimens are taken from the superb vellum copy in the British Museum, which formed part of the munificent bequest of Mr. Grenville. The "Tewerdannck" has been described in detail by several bibliographers, but by none in greater detail and with a juster appreciation of the subject than by M. Didot, in his recent "Essai sur la Typographie." The colophon, in German, of this interesting work is as follows,—"Gedrucht in der Kaiserlichen Stadt Nuremberg durch den Ettern Johnnsen Schoensperger, Burgher zu Augsburg."

Among the profusely illustrated German works of this period, a book or two with designs from the exuberant pencil of Lucas Cranach must not be omitted. As a first specimen, I have selected a small volume of what may be called "Satirical Piety." It is called the "Passional of Christ and Antichrist," in which the chief scenes in the life of the Saviour are contrasted, in juxtaposition with scenes in the life of the reigning Pope. In the pair of subjects selected (Plate 72), Christ, on the one side, is seen entering Jerusalem, "Meek and sitting upon an ass," while on the other, the Pope, with bloated face and deep double chin, significant of luxurious feasting, is seen entering Rome, on a highly caparisoned steed, ostentatiously wearing his triple crown, and accoutred with all his pontifical trappings. He is surrounded by an array of bishops and cardinals in full canonicals, whose gluttonous or sinister countenances contrast strongly with the innocent earnestness portrayed in the faces of the followers of Christ. As the Papal pageant advances, preceded by its running pikemen, a glimpse of Cranach's pictorial idea of the Papal future is shown behind a projecting rock, in the shadow of which frantic demons are seen, evidently discounting the future, and rejoicing by anticipation in the possession of their certain victims, while above them, bat-winged monsters of various forms are hovering in equally ominous expectation. Cranach was the personal and intimate friend of Luther, and highly patronized as an artistic partisan at the Protestant Court of Saxony, where the satirical and ready pencil of the artist was no doubt highly prized as a powerful auxiliary weapon on the side of the Lutheran Reformation. Luther himself had a fund of rough-and-ready humour at command, which often told with greater force upon his less educated auditors than his most cogent reasoning; and one may conceive that he and his friend Cranach chuckled merrily together over the compositions of this class of device, the great reformer often suggesting an extra touch in the expressive curl of the tail of a devil, the bloated double chin of a pope, or the sinister sidelong glance of one of Cranach's raciest conceptions of a Romish cardinal. The title to this series is, in a decorative point of view, more original and graceful than anything else in the volume, and consists simply of a large leaf, the veining and dentated edges of which are very delicately executed, and are so treated as to serve as a kind of background for a plain tablet or panel placed upon it, which bears the four words of the title in bold black-letter. The little volume with this graceful title, and from which the pair of plates just described are taken was purchased for the British Museum in 1846. It was printed in

Wie Tewrdanck der Held mit dem Vierdten Ritter kempffte zů fůss vnnd In absiget.

10+

ALs die Sonn was vnndergangen
Tewrdannck het zum Turnir verlangen
Sass zu ross hin zů den schrannckhen rayt
Darinn eim yeden was berait
Ein schön gezelt aufgeschlagen
Darein so het lassen tragen

A PAGE "FROM TEWERDANCK" A POEM.
PRINTED AT NUREMBERG, IN 1517

Der Ritter ist auf mich geritten
Also hab Ich nach spils sytten
Im wider begegen müessen
Vnnd helfen seinen stoltz püessen.

Wie der Manndlich Held Tewrdanneck mit dem Andern Ritter ein Turnier zů füss thet vnnd In überwande.

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A PAGE FROM "TEWERDANCK" A POEM.
PRINTED AT NUREMBERG, IN 1517.

Passional Christi vnd

Christus.

Sich an /dein konigk kompt dir demütigk vff einem iungē esel Mathei 21. Alßo ist Christus kommen reyttendt vffinn frembden esell arm vnd sanfftmütigk vñ reydt nicht zu regiren ßonder vns allen zu eynem seligen todte Johannis 12.

Antichristi.

Antichristi.

Die geystlichen seint alle konnige vnnd das betzeygt die platten vffinn kopffē. duo 12 q. 1.

Der Bapst magk gleych wie der keysser reytten vñ der keyßer ist seyn thrabant vff das bischofflicher wirdē gehalt nicht gemindert werde c. constantinus 10. c. 6. dis.

Der Bapst ist allen volckern vnd reychen vorgesatzt ex vag sup gentes Johannis 22.

C ij.

SPECIMENS FROM THE "PASSIONAL CHRISTI UND ANTICHRISTI," WITH CUTS BY LUCAS CRANACH 1521

INVICTISSIMO CAESARI CAROLO, EIVS NOMINIS QVINTO, D. ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS, S. D.

AVD quaquam ignarus, CAROLE Cæsar inuictissime, quanta religio, quantáq; reuerentia debeatur, quum omnibus sacris literis, quas nobis sancti patres diuini numinis afflatu prodiderunt: tum præcipue ijs, quæ nobis bona fide referũt, quæ pater ille cœlestis ad totius orbis salutem per filium suũ Iesum, uel gessit, uel proloquutus est, simúlq; conscius indignitatis propriæ: quum ante annos aliquot primum admolirer manum epistolis Paulinis, paraphrasi explanandis (nam id mihi tum ultro suggessit impetus animi) uidebar mihi facinus aggredi uehementer audax, & improbum, ac periculosæ, quod aiunt, aleæ: adeo ut posteaquàm in uno alteróue capite feciſſem operis periculum, planè contractis uelis destiturus fuerim ab instituto cursu, ni me mitus amicorum eruditorum consensus, uti pergerem perpulisset. Nec mihi licuit per horum efflagitationes conquiescere, donec quicquid esset apostolicarum epistolarum absoluissem, cum ipse non sumpsissem tractandas, nisi eas, quæ citra cõtrouersiam à Paulo conscriptæ sunt. Non semper mihi prospere cessit amicorum instigationibus obsequũdasse. Sed hac tamen in re mihi gratulatus sum eam audaciam expectatione fuisse feliciorem: tum autori, cui minimum peperit inuidiæ, tum euangelicæ philosophiæ cãdidatis, qui mihi certatim gratias agunt, quod hac mea industria ad cognitionem apostolicæ sapiẽtiæ, uel excitati sint, uel adiuti. Sed hac defunctus prouincia, non expectabam posthac unquàm mihi rem fore, cum hoc scripti genere. Et ecce R.D. Matthæus Cardinalis Sedunensis, cuius hortatu perfeceram epistolas canonicas, quum illum è Vuormaciensi cõcilio reuersum, salutandi gratia cõueniſſem Bruxellæ, primo statim colloquio, uelut hoc meditatus incipit hortari, ut quod feciſſem in epistolas apostolicas, idem facerem in Euangelium Matthæi. Ego protinus excusare multa, plus satis audax fuisse facinus, quod id tentassem in apostolicas literas: uiros quidem diuinos apostolos, sed tamen homines fuisse: cæterum Christi maiestatem esse maiorem, quàm ut in

ERASMUS'S PARAPHRASE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
PRINTED BY FROBEN, AT BASLE IN 1530?

AD INVICTISSIMVM

ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, HYBERNIAE QVE
Regem, fidei defenſorem, HENRICVM, nominis
eius octauum, POLYDORI Vergilij Vrbinatis
in Anglicam hiſtoriam ſuam præfatio.

AM INDE ab initio cunctis mortalibus, HENRICE Rex maxime, gloriam uirtutis, rerumq; geſtarum memoriã perpetuandi cõmune ſtudium fuit: Hinc ſanè urbes conditę, illisq; conditorũ nomina impoſita: hinc ſtatuę repertæ, hinc pyramidum moles, multaq; id genus magnifica opera extructa ſunt: hinc item fuere ſemper, qui non dubitarint patriæ tuendę cauſa, etiam immaturam oppetere mortem. Ea tamen omnia cum temporis curriculo partim corruerẽt, partim obliuione obſcurarentur, deinde homines cœperunt & ipſa opera & facinora celebrare literis, quæ uſq; eò ſempiterna reddiderunt omnia, ut poſtea pro ſe quiſq; benefacta pariter ſequenda, atq; malefacta multo diligentiſſime declinãda curarit: quando hiſtoria ut hominũ laudes loquitur, & patefacit, ſic dedecora nõ tacet, neq; operit. quæ idcirco ad uitæ inſtitutionẽ longe utiliſſima cenſetur, quòd alios ob immortalem gloriã conſequendam, ad uirtutẽ impellat, alios uero infamiæ metu à uitijs deterreat. Hæc ſcilicet una propè res eſt, quæ ad ſummam laudem regni tui Angliæ deſideranda uidebatur: quod cum rebus omnibus beatiſſimũ ſit, eius tamen magnitudo in bene multarum gentium ignoratione erat, quod nulla fermè foret hiſtoria, qua cognoſcere liceret, quæ Britanniæ, quæ nũc Anglia eſt, ſoli natura, quæ gentis origo, qui regũ mores, quæ populi generatim uita, quibus artibus à principio, tantũ comparatũ atq; auctum imperium, ad eam aſpiraſſet magnitudinẽ. Quamuis Bedas homo Anglus, ab aduentu Caij Iulij Cæſaris, in inſulam, uſq; ad ſua tempora, qui floruit circiter annũ ſalutis humanæ DCC, res geſtas breui admodũ opuſculo perſtrinxerit. & ante eum, Gildas aliquid lucis attulerit Britanorũ antiquitati. ac de ea poſt illos, quidã alia prodiderint, quæ etiã nunc tenebris circũfuſa dilucere nequeunt. atq; ad extremũ, nõnulli alij negocium ſuſceperint de rebus in dies propè ſingulos geſtis ſcribendi. Ii autẽ confecerũt annales, in quibus tanta cum diſpoſitionis, tum orationis omnis ieiunitas inerat, ut meritò uiderẽtur cibus, ſicut

POLYDORE VERGIL'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. THE FIRST PAGE OF THE DEDICATION
PRINTED AT BASLE, IN 1534.

POLYDORI
VERGILII VRBINATIS ANGLICAE HISTORIAE LIBER PRIMVS.

BRITANNIA omnis quæ hodie Anglia & Scotia duplici nomine appellatur, insula in Oceano contra Gallicū littus posita, diuiditur in partes quatuor: quarum unam incolunt Angli, aliam Scoti, tertiam Vualli, quartam Cornubienses. Hi omnes uel lingua uel moribus seu institutis inter se differunt. Anglia ab Anglorū incolatu ita nuncupata, pars longe maxima, in nouem & triginta diuisa est conuentus, quos uocant comitatus: ex quibus, decem, Cantium, Suthsexia, Surra, Suthantonensis, Bercheria, Vuilceria, Dorcestria, Somersetus, Deuonia, & Cornubia, primam insulæ partem continent, quæ ad m̄eridiem uergens, inter Thamesim & mare intercedit. Deinde usq; ad Trentam amnem, qui per mediam labitur Angliam, sexdecim ponuntur comitātus. quorū sex priores ad ortum solis sunt, Essexia, Midelsexia, Hertefordiensis, Suthfolchia, Northfolchia, Cantabrigiensis: decem posteriores magis mediterranei, Bedfordiensis, Huntyngtona, Buchyngamiensis, Oxoniensis: tametsi huius pars citra Thamesim producitur: Northantonensis, Rotelandia, Lecestrensis, Notyngamiēsis, Varuicensis, & Lincolniensis. Post hos, sunt sex, qui ad Vualliam, occidentemq; solem spectant, Gloceſtrensis, Herefordensis, Vigornienſis, Salopiensis, Staffordiensis, & Ceſtrensis. Cir

A PAGE FROM POLYDORE VERGILS HISTORY OF ENGLAND. PRINTED AT BASLE 1534.
(THE FIRST PAGE OF THE BODY OF THE WORK.)

ONE OF THE CUTS BY LUCAS CRANACH IN LUTHER'S NEW TESTAMENT (1530?)

ONE OF THE CUTS BY LUCAS CRANACH IN LUTHER'S NEW TESTAMENT (1530 ?)

Die Epistel an die Ebreer.

Das Erst Capitel.

Nach dem vorzeyten Got manchmal vnd mancherley weyse geredt hatt zu den vettern durch die propheten/hat er am letzten ynn disen tagen zu vns geredt durch den son/wilchen er gesetzt hat zum erben aller ding/durch wilchen er auch die welt gemacht hat. Wilcher/syntemal er ist/der glantz seyner herlickeyt/vñ das ebenbild seynes wesens vnd tregt alle ding mit dem wort seyner krafft/vnd hat gemacht die reynigung vnser sund durch sich selbs/hat er sich gesetzt zu der rechten der maiestet ynn der hohe/so viel besser worden denn die engel/so gar viel eynen andern namen er fur yhn ererbet hat.

Denn zu wilchem engel hat er yhe mals gesagt/du bist meyn son/ heutte hab ich dich gepornt? Vnd abermal/Ich werde yhm eyn vatter seyn/vnd er wirt myr eyn son seyn. Da er aber/abermal eyn furet den erstgepornen ynn die welt/spricht er/Vñ es sollen yhn alle Gottis Engel anbeten. Von den engeln spricht er zwar/Er macht seyne Engele geyster/vnd seyne diener fewr flammen. Aber von dem son/ Got/deyn stuel weret von ewickeyt zu ewickeyt/das zepter deynes reychs ist eyn richtiges zepter/Du hast geliebt die gerechtickeyt vnd gehasset die vngerechtickeit/darumb hat dich gesalbet Got dein herr mit dem ole der freuden/vber deyne genossen. psal. 2. psal. 88. psal. 96. psal. 103. psal 44.

Vnd/du herre/hast von anfang die erden gegrundt/vnd die hymel sind deyner hende werck/die selben werden vergehen/du aber wirst bleyben/vnd sie werden alle veralten wie eyn kleyd/vñ wie eyn gewand wirstu sie wandeln/vñ sie werden sich verwandeln/Du aber bist der selbe/vnd deyne iar werden nicht abnemen. Zu wilchem Engel aber/hatt er yhe mals gesagt/Setze dich zu meyner rechten/bis ich lege deyne feynde zum schemel deyner fusse? Sind sie nicht alle zumal dienstbare geyster/ausgesant zum dienst vmb der willen/die ererben sollen die selickeyt? psal. 101. psal. 109.

Das Ander Capitel.

Darumb sollen wyr deste mehr warnehmen/des/das wyr horen/das wyr nicht etwa verfliessen/Denn so das wort fest worden ist/das durch die engel geredt ist/vnd eyn ygliche vbertrettung/vnd vngehorsam hat empfangen seyn gerechte belohnunge. Wie wollen wyr entfliehen/so wyr eyn solche selickeyt aus der acht lassen? wilche nach dem sie angefangen hat/vnd geredt worden ist durch den herrn/ist sie auff vns befestiget/durch die/so es gehoret haben/durch das mit zeugen Gottis/mit zeychen/ wunder/ Exo. 20.

1521, at Wittenberg, when Luther, as professor in the University recently founded by Frederic, Elector of Saxony, first made known his great powers, both in philosophy and theology, and about the time that he became intimately acquainted with Lucas, surnamed Cranach (from his birthplace Cranach, in Westphalia), who had recently settled in that city, where he soon became one of the leading and most highly esteemed artists of the day.

As further exemplifying the facile powers of this remarkable artist, I have selected two of his illustrations to Luther's translation of the New Testament, Plates 76 and 77, in which it will be seen that, even in the Bible itself, it was not deemed inopportune to attack the Papacy with the fullest force of a recklessly, but too often coarsely, satirical pencil.

My example, reproduced in Plate 77, illustrates the five first verses of the seventh chapter of the Revelation of St. John. In the centre of the upper portion of the design is seen "an Angel descending from the East, having the seal of the living God;" the seal being of course represented by the Cross. The Heavenly Messenger appears in the act of speaking to the angels "to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads,"—an office which is performed by a special angel, who marks the sign of the cross on the foreheads of the chosen, while the four angels of the tempests remain quiescent during the completion of the rite. There is considerable dignity in the *pose* and grouping of the angels, and a well-expressed sentiment of devotional feeling in the groups kneeling to be sealed; but the general design, like nearly all those of Lucas Cranach, is wanting in refinement and elevation. The example reproduced in Plate 76 illustrates the sixteenth chapter of Revelations, where the seven angels are bidden to "go forth and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth." The crudely literal manner in which this command is represented, would be simply ridiculous but for the magnificence of the pencil-power with which the grouping of the angels is magisterially traced out, and the fine treatment of the floating draperies, which imparts a certain dignity to the whole composition, and prevents the attention from dwelling on the too literal treatment of the fourth angel, directed to pour out his vial upon the sun, and who vigorously dashes its contents against that luminary, represented under the conventional form of a human face surrounded by rays. But the strong Lutheran spirit comes out most forcibly in illustration of the mission of the fifth angel, who poured out his vial upon the "Beast;" when "unclean spirits like frogs" came out of the Dragon, &c. &c. It is needless to add that the "Seat of the Beast" is interpreted as the throne of the Pope, the Dragon being the Pope himself, as clearly indicated by the triple crown, which is made to look like the natural crest of the Dragon. The "frogs," which came out of the mouth of the Dragon are represented with great realistic power, and in very minute and careful detail, in reference to the fourteenth verse, in which these creatures are described as the spirits of devils, which go forth unto the kings of the earth; the crowned Emperor, and a group of those German princes who sided with the Pope, being made to represent the "kings of the earth" in question.

Plate 78 is an ordinary page from the body of this edition of the New Testament, the beginning of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the decorative initial being, in all probability, the work of Cranach himself, as well as the large illustrations. The type is semi-Gothic, and very regular, but presents no especially remarkable features.

While upon the subject of books connected with Luther, it may be as well, though somewhat out of chronological order, to describe in this place the first edition of the great Reformer's German translation of the Bible, which was printed at Wittenburg in 1541, by Hans Lufft. The title-page to this folio volume is a remarkable composition, forcibly illustrating the Reformer's views of the Reformation; and I must remark in this place, that while many of the lesser illustrations of the "Books of Hours," and also of books of secular character, had often no reference whatever to the text of which they formed the decorations, the illustrations of the printed Bibles were generally suggested by the

context, and their title-pages, after the beginning of the 16th century, were generally clever artistic compositions, bearing directly upon the subject, and not unfrequently in a very pointed manner, on the religious controversies of the time, as we shall see in the instance under description, and also in the title-page of the great English Bible. The title-page of Luther's Bible is divided into two equal parts by the trunk of a tree, branching at the top. On one side the whole scheme of revelation is exhibited as turned to evil account by the errors of the Papacy, and the top branches of the tree, on that side, are barren and leafless, while on the other, where the redemption of man is being effected through the influence of true Christianity, the upper branches of the tree are full of luxuriant foliage. On the first side God the Father is seen surrounded by Cherubim, ordaining the redemption; while man, by a false interpretation, turns the redemption to a curse. The image of Christ has been removed from the cross, and a serpent occupies his place, while the tents of a battle-field are scattered around, and the dead and dying strew the ground, for the name of Christ has been made a war-cry, and Malice and Force have taken the place of Love and Peace. Beneath these devices the original temptation is represented, as still unredeemed, while Death is seen, below, driving man into eternal fire, in which a pope and a tonsured monk are already suffering, and Satan, *in propriâ personâ*, disguised in the hat of a cardinal, pursues the victims; a conclave of princes and prelates quietly continuing their evil councils on earth, undisturbed by the results of their disastrous system of government. The other side of the picture represents the advent of Christianity to those fit to receive its precepts. The infant Saviour bearing His cross is seen descending on a ray towards the Virgin Mary, while angels announce the glad tidings to a group of simple shepherds. Below, Christ is seen rising from the sepulchre, triumphing over Sin and Death, —represented by a hideous dragon and a skeleton. In the lower portion of the composition the Saviour appears upon the cross, and St. John the Baptist points out to man that a ray of redemption is descending towards him from the wound in the side of the Redeemer, along which the Holy Ghost, in the image of a dove, descends to the heart of the man, to purify him from inherited sin, through the medium of the blood of Christ, while at the foot of the cross the true banner of Christ is borne, not by a steel-clad warrior, but by a lamb, the emblem of meekness and Christianity. Such is the somewhat laborious symbolism of the original title-page to Luther's Bible. It is imbued with the strong spirit of relentless reform, conscious in the purity of its own cause, and fully convinced of the ignorance and wickedness of that of its opponents. The device is somewhat laboured in execution as well as in idea; and yet, though it has so little of the bold simplicity of outline of Lucas Cranach, it is not without merit, even in an artistic point of view, and must have irresistibly attracted the attention and interest of all classes among the early Reformers.

Plate 81 is a fac-simile of an entire page from this Bible. Its typography presents no peculiar features, being an average example of the semi-cursive Gothic character of the period. The illustration, which is a fair sample of those of the rest of the volume, exhibits but little of the bold simplicity of the works of the earlier masters; and still less of the advanced artistic merits of the great epoch of Durer and his immediate successors. These devices have, however, a kind of merit peculiar to the time,—namely, a great fulness and accuracy of detail, while they generally express unmistakably the character of the scene which they serve to represent, which, in the present instance, is the death of Saul, who, finding himself vanquished by the Philistines, called upon his armour-bearer to thrust him through with his sword. "But his armour-bearer would not, for he was sore afraid. Therefore, Saul took a sword and fell upon it; and when his armour-bearer saw that Saul was dead, he fell likewise upon his sword, and died with him." Many Bibles were printed in Germany of very similar character to the one here described, both as to type and illustrations; but Luther's Bible obviously serves my purpose best, as a type of its class. Having travelled a little out of my prearranged chronological order for the purpose of bringing together several examples associated with the name of Luther, I shall have to retrace my steps in order

to notice the progress of printing at one of the most celebrated of its later seats in Germany,—namely the city of Basle.

BASLE, though it cannot be ranked among the earliest of the German cities that adopted the Printing-Press, was yet not far behind; and as one of those that became celebrated as great book marts at a rather more advanced period, Basle is entitled to very high rank. Among the first of the interesting books produced there, may be cited an edition of the celebrated letter of Columbus, describing the great West Indian island, which he named Hyspana (Hispaniola), situated in what he termed the Indian Sea; which letter was first printed at Rome in 1493, only eight months after the great discovery. The specimen selected is not, however, the Roman edition of 1493, but that of Basle of 1494, translated from the original Spanish into Latin by Aliander de Casco. The cut introduced by way of frontispiece may be considered a contemporaneous illustration of the first interview of Columbus with the natives of the New World, and from that point of view is very curious. The type is of the rounded Italian class, which many of the printers of Basle appear to have preferred to the favourite German Gothic. A specimen will be found (Plate 62) opposite page 171, where the discoveries of Columbus are incidentally referred to.

But it is the Press of the Frobens, father and son, that forms the great feature in the history of printing as connected with the city of Basle. These great printers, and Erasmus, one of the great literary glories of the early part of the 16th century, worked long together in that ancient Swiss city, and with Holbein as their occasional illustrator, they formed an association of book-producers, which may be considered in some respects unrivalled. Froben became a proficient in the Greek language at the University of Basle; for, like all the greatest of the early printers, he was at the same time a distinguished scholar; and consequently his editions of the works of "The Fathers" are among the most esteemed and laborious products of the Printing-Press. The Latin octavo Bible of 1491 in small type, a Bible in Gothic type issued in 1495, and a biblical Concordance issued in the same year, were, however, the earliest works of the Frobens. As an example of the style of the works of the younger Froben, I have selected a page from the Paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus (Plate 73). The type is of that well-rounded Italian character, in the treatment of which the printers of Basle displayed more taste and skill than any of their *confrères* north of the Alps. It is extremely legible, and of beautiful regularity. The decorative borders, like those of the French "Hours," display a somewhat singular selection of pagan imagery, considering the nature of the subject; but then, except in the illustrations of some of the German Reformers, such decorations, being considered merely in the light of ornament, were treated accordingly; and classical learning being a leading fashion of the day, the pagan mythology naturally suggested subjects for ornament, when ornament alone was the object. Consequently, the initial letter commencing the Dedication of the Paraphrase to Charles V. is ornamented with a group of Hercules and Antæus, instead of a sacred subject; while in the border will be found a series of devices concerning Jupiter, Mercury, Tantalus, Julius Cæsar, and Hector, executed in a bold and strongly-marked style, peculiar to much of the book-decoration of Basilean artists.

I may name here, *en passant*, a few of Froben's other books. There is, for instance, the Basle edition of Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia," printed in 1518,—a very pretty example, the first page of which, containing the preface, has a handsome border; while the frontispiece, consisting of a view of the Happy Island, is cleverly done, and its intentions assisted by the superadded names of all the public buildings and institutions. The Colophon is accompanied by the imprint of the Froben press, formed of the caduceus, held by two hands,—those of the two patrons of the establishment. Erasmus's "Encomium Moriæ" of 1519 has also a pretty title-page, which has, however, been used for other works, though originally designed for this one, as shown by the *eared* cap of the principal figure. The "Encomium Moriæ" of 1522 is another nice specimen of the Froben press, and has a good title in the style of Holbein. The edition of Erasmus's Paraphrase

of the New Testament, printed 1512, has also a finely-designed, though roughly-executed, title; but the copy in the British Museum is more distinguished by a fine border and device at the commencement of the Gospel of St. John, an illustration added in a subsequent edition as a decoration to the dedication to Prince Ferdinand, and seemingly the work of Holbein, in his later and most Italianized style.

Among the books printed at Basle I have not met with a page suited to my purpose, with illustrations by Holbein. It is true the title-page to the works of Erasmus is designed by Holbein, with the portrait of Erasmus in a niche; and the design is very fine; but then it is only an outline. There is also a "Passion" by Holbein; and in the collection of the "Epistles of Erasmus" printed by Froben there are some fine initial letters with picture subjects, making a background to the form of the letters. But neither of these exactly suited my purpose, and I therefore, after some hesitation, determined to take my specimen of the book decorations of this accomplished Basilean artist from illustrations executed by him for the brothers Treschel, of Lyons, the eminent French wood-engravers and printers of the period. The most striking of the designs executed by him (?) for these enterprising printers and engravers consists undoubtedly of the series known as the "Dance of Death," a mediæval fancy previously treated by various artists in various feelings as to detail, but always with the one leading feature of Death, as a grim skeleton, suddenly overtaking the unsuspecting mortal in every walk of life, from the Pope to the pauper. In this series Holbein has not departed from the typical character of the established order and spirit of the subjects, though treating each according to his own individual feeling, both artistically and imaginatively; and commencing with the Temptation and Fall in Paradise, when sentence of death was pronounced as the penalty of disobedience. The two specimens selected (Plate 79, Nos. 1 and 2) are, first, Death and the King; in which the unsuspecting sovereign is seen accompanied by a crowd of courtiers, and followed by beggars anxiously soliciting alms from his munificence,—while he himself suddenly becomes a beggar, pleading in vain for another moment of life, as he is seized upon with terrific alacrity by the subduer of all. Above the head of the fated prince, in a niche in the castle-wall, a small time-glass, with the sand run out, has been placed with grim humour by the artist instead of a statue, indicating that the hour is come, and that the royal victim must yield to the imperative invitation, which is couched in quaint French verses, of which the following are a rough translation:—

Come, prince, with me, and leave behind
All worldly state, so quickly past;
For I alone, as thou wilt find,
Can crush thy pride and power at last.

These verses are accompanied by a suitable motto from Ezekiel xxiv. and xxvii.—"The prince shall be clothed with desolation,"—"I will also make the pomp of the strong to cease."

In the next subject Death calls jauntily upon a jolly mitred abbot to accompany him without delay; and the surprise and indignation of the well-fed prelate are extreme; he tries to push the unwelcome intruder away, and flourishes his richly-bound breviary as a protection; but the summons is but too evidently peremptory and final; for the cassock is firmly clutched in the bony grip of an inexorable enemy, who has gaily placed the abbot's now useless mitre on his own skull, at the same time shouldering the rich and massive crosier, in order to facilitate the exit of the astounded abbot, who is all unconscious that in a little hour-glass slily placed in the fork of two branches of a tree, just above his head, the sand has all run out; and then Death prepares to dance off with his victim, singing—

Yes, he must die, for he's received
No sense or love of discipline;
By his own folly long deceived—
Folly that makes him surely mine.

Nº 1.

Princeps induetur mœrore. Et quieſcere faciam ſuperbiã potentium.

EZECHIE. VII

Vien, prince, auec moy, & delaiſſe
Honneurs mondains toſt finiſſantz.
Seule ſuis qui, certes, abaiſſe
L'orgueil & pompe des puiſſantz.

Nº 2.

Ipſe morietur. Quia nõ habuit diſciplinam, & in multitudine ſtultitiæ ſuæ decipietur.

PROVER. V

Il mourra, Car il n'a receu
En ſoy aulcune diſcipline,
Et au nombre ſera deceu
De folie qui le domine.

D iij

Nº 3.

RVTH colligens ſpicas in agro Booz, inuenit gratiam coram eo. Collectas ſpicas defert ad Socrum.

RVTH II.

Ruth ua aux champs les eſpicz recueillir,
Au moins ce qui des moiſſonneurs reſtoit:
Alors Booz a qui le champ eſtoit
En grand doulceur uint la dame accueillir.

Nº 4.

IVDAS dux Iſraëlitarum expugnat Chananæos. Adonibezec cæſis manuũ ac pedum ſummitatibus, in Ieruſalẽ captiuus ducitur.

IVDICVM I.

Le Duc Iudas Chananée guerroie,
Puis apres fut Adonibezec pris,
Mains, piedz, tranchez, tout lié & ſurpris
En la cite Ieruſalem l'enuoie.

F

Nos 1 & 2 SPECIMENS FROM HOLBEINS CELEBRATED "DANCE OF DEATH", LYONS, 1536.
Nos 3 & 4 SPECIMENS FROM HOLBEINS SERIES OF SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS LYONS 1539.

The verse is not so pointed as the design, but it is supplemented by a quotation from the fifth book of Proverbs, v. 23,—"He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray." It will in these examples be seen that Holbein, as a draughtsman, is even greater than Holbein as a painter; the constant freedom and grace of his pencillings not being always found in his oil pictures. His designs appear to combine the grace and classic simplicity of the Italian style, with the *verve* and crispness and more daring character of the Germanic school; the mere mannerism of which it will be seen that he has entirely abandoned, especially in his draperies, which, instead of the picturesque angles and crinkles so carefully developed by Albert Durer and Lucas Cranach, are simple, flowing, and natural, without any artificial elaboration being devised in order to impart a factitious and conventional effect of richness and intricacy. This series of designs was first issued in 1538.

A fine alphabet of initials, in which the subjects of the Dance of Death are made use of to form a picture at the back of each letter, have also been attributed to Holbein, in consequene of their having been used by the printer Cralander, of Basle; but they were also used by Cephalæus, of Strasburg.

The series of Scripture subjects (Plate 79, Nos. 3 and 4) are said to have been executed by Holbein for the same enterprising engravers and publishers, and though less striking in their composition, are perhaps more elegant. Taken together, these two series of designs are, when considered from a purely artistic point of view, superior to any other works of the kind of the epoch, either German or Italian. The Scripture subjects are entitled "Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones ad vivum expressæ," and they are accompanied by a short Latin poem, by Nicol Borbonius, in praise of sacred subjects, and, as it would seem, of the execution of the present series by Hansus Holbius, whose fame is placed above that of Parrhasius and Zeuxis; and the attribution appears borne out by the style of some of the Holbein drawings in the Museum at Basle—a fine collection, but little known—which are well worthy the careful attention of students. They are also accompanied by a short piece in French verse, in which Scripture subjects are recommended for all kinds of decorations, and in which the rich are especially recommended to have sacred subjects in their tapestries instead of the abominable Venuses and other pagan goddesses by "Corroget."

It has been thought that the Frobens of Basle, aided by the advice, and the pencil also of Holbein, were the first printers to produce really decorative title-pages. Some of their works of this class, however, are rather coarsely executed, and others, it has been remarked, are coarsely conceived; as for instance, the title to Erasmus's second edition of the Greek Testament. It should be reiterated also that the ornaments in these title-pages have seldom any reference to the subject of the book, as may be seen by reference to some of this artist's titles to English books; his Tarquin and Lucretia, and Mutius and Porsenna, so well known in Basle books, being appended to works of all classes, without the slightest regard to appropriateness.

Though the Frobens, in consequence of their scholarship and their intimate connection with Erasmus, and also with Holbein, are by far the best-known printers of Basle, there were others who, in an artistic point of view, produced as fine books. Among them was Bebelius, who printed the magnificent edition of Polydore Vergil's "History of England" for Henry VIII., and prefaced it by a laudatory dedication to that prince. This book, duly considering the beauty of the type and the extreme elegance and beauty of the border decorations, may indeed be considered, on the whole, the most perfect volume that issued from the press either in the 15th or 16th centuries.

The first page, containing the Dedication, of which an entire fac-simile is given in Plate 74, is alone sufficient to establish the position of this volume as a specimen of early 16th century printing of the very highest class. The graceful borders in the Italian style of ornament of the period are signed I. F. They are of the highest class of this kind of decorative design. The type, also in the Italian style, has never been surpassed for beautiful regularity and distinctness, while the evenness of the printing is also most remarkable. The commencement of the work itself, of which

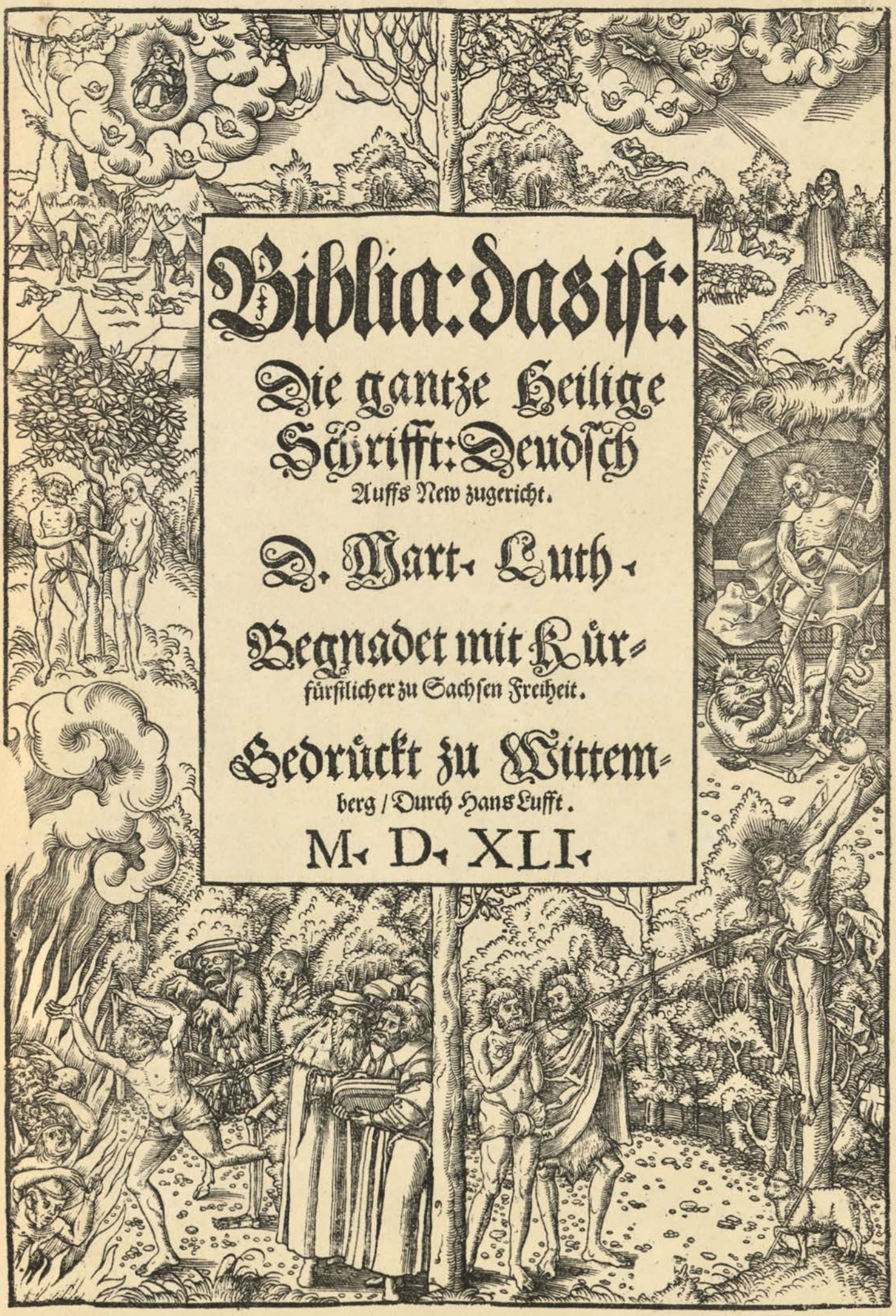
the first page is given entire, in fac-simile (Plate 75), is surrounded with border decorations which are even superior to those of the Dedication. The elegantly treated grotesques of the upper and lower borders have been attributed to Holbein, but are scarcely in his style. Nevertheless, the humour displayed in the frantic pursuit of the fox carrying off a goose, in the upper one, and the spirit of the village dance in the lower one, have in them a Holbeinesque spirit which may prove to have actually emanated from his pencil; the simplicity of the drapery being certainly in his manner; while the ornamental columns of the side-borders, round which branches are gracefully twining, among which cupids are seen gathering fruit, are in the highest style of decorative design, and worthy of the greatest master of the art. The type is not seen to so much advantage as in the Dedication, in consequence of the fac-simile being taken from a weak impression.

Another Basle edition of Polydore Vergil's "History of England" appeared in 1546, with the same cuts, but with new type, which is, if possible, a still more perfect specimen of the Germano-Italian form. A subsequent edition, by Guarinus, does not contain the woodcuts.

Before quitting the subject of the Basle printing at this period, a word should be said of Herbst and Winter, whose German names, signifying autumn and winter, were exchanged, after a "learned" affectation of the time, into the Greek Operinus and Chimerinus, by which names alone these artists are known as printers. They kept six presses in constant activity, and employed more than fifty workmen; but notwithstanding the learning and accomplishments of Operinus and his partner, they managed their affairs badly, from the business point of view, and both ended their days in poverty. The works they produced were of a heavily scholastic character; such as "Scholia in Ciceronis Tusculanas Quæstiones;" "Annotationes ex diversis Doctorum Lucubrationibus collectæ in Demosthenis Orationes;" with others of the same class. Their devices or imprints are, however, equal in artistic merit to those of the Frobens.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, at a somewhat later period, had her eminent printers, like other great German cities; but I have only room for an allusion to a single specimen of Frankfortian printing, and that only for the interest of the subject; namely, an account of the different trades as they were carried on at that period (1568), more especially that of the printer. This illustrated book of trades is one of the ingenious works of Jobst Amman, a native of Zurich, who for a time settled at Frankfort, and eventually removed to Nuremberg, where he died. He was not merely a printer, but also a painter upon glass, a designer upon wood and metal, and also an author; and surpassed most of his contemporaries by the number and comparative excellence of his works; among which may be cited the series of French kings from Pharamond to Henry III.; his Bible illustrations, with rhymed descriptions by Rebenstock; his plates for an edition of Livy's "Roman History;" his illustrations of the "Art of Equitation," and "Le Livre des Dames," showing the female costume of the time, in every station of life; all of which are well-known works, and of superior merit. The plate selected from his Book of Trades and Professions (No. 1, Plate 88), is that representing the printer at his work; by which it will be seen that in the middle of the 16th century the general manipulation of the art, at a hand-press, had already become very much like what it is at the present day. The compositor is at work, and type is being sorted in small compartments, much as in the offices of our greatest contemporary establishments. The verses beneath the engraving describe the art of printing as having originated at Moguntia (Mayence), and set forth its value and importance as an art. Amman entitles this little work "Πανοπλια Omnium Artium."

While alluding to the works of Amman, I am tempted to give one more specimen of his skill, as also bearing on the subject of printing. It consists of designs for a pack of playing-cards, the pips of one of the four devices being composed of the dabbers then used by printers for charging the type with the printing ink. The ace of the suit consists of a single dabber, supported



THE TITLE PAGE OF LUTHER'S GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, PRINTED AT WITTENBERG, IN 1541

Saul kompt Das Erste Buch

vmb mit dreien Sönen etc.

Atach/ denen zu Hebron/ vnd allen Ortern da Dauid gewandelt hatte mit seinen Mennern.

XXXI.

DJE Philister aber stritten wider Jsrael/ Vnd die Menner Jsrael flohen fur den Philistern/ vnd fielen erschlagen auff dem gebirge Gilboa. Vnd die Philister hiengen sich an Saul vnd seine Söne/ vnd schlugen Jonathan/ vnd Abinadab vnd Malchisua/ die Söne Sauls. Vnd der streit ward hart wider Saul/ vnd die Schützen troffen auff jn mit Bogen/ vnd ward seer verwund von den Schützen. 1. Par. 10.

Da sprach Saul zu seinem Waffentreger/ Zeuch dein Schwert aus vnd erstich mich damit/ das nicht diese Vnbeschnittene komen vnd mich erstechen/ vnd treiben ein spot aus mir. Aber sein Waffentreger wolt nicht/ denn er furchtet sich seer. Da nam Saul das Schwert vnd fiel drein. Da nu sein Waffentreger sahe/ das Saul tod war/ Fiel er auch in sein Schwert/ vnd starb mit jm. Also starb Saul/ vnd seine drey Söne vnd sein Waffentreger/ vnd alle seine Menner zu gleich auff diesen tag. DA aber die Menner Jsrael/ die jenseid dem grunde vnd jenseid dem Jordan waren/ sahen/ das die Menner Jsrael geflohen waren/ vnd das Saul vnd seine Söne tod waren/ verliessen sie die Stedte vnd flohen auch. So kamen die Philister vnd woneten drinnen.

DEs andern tags kamen die Philister die Erschlagene aus zuziehen/ vnd funden Saul vnd seine drey Söne ligen auff dem gebirge Gilboa. Vnd hieben jm sein Heubt abe/ vnd zogen jm seine Waffen ab/ vnd sandten sie in der Philisterland vmb her/ zu verkündigen im hause jrer Götzen/ vnd vnter dem volck. Vnd legten seinen Harnisch in das haus Astaroth/ Aber seinen Leichnam hingen sie auff die maur zu Bethsan.

DA die zu Jabes in Gilead höreten/ was die Philister Saul gethan hatten machten sie sich auff was streitbar Menner waren/ vnd giengen die gantze nacht/ vnd namen die Leichnam Saul vnd seiner Söne von der maur zu Bethsan/ vnd brachten sie gen Jabes/ vnd verbrenneten sie daselbs. Vnd namen jre Gebeine vnd begruben sie vnter den bawm zu Jabes/ Vnd fasteten sieben tage. 2. Reg. 10. 2. Par. 16.

Ende des Ersten Buchs Samuel.

1 בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת
2 הארץ: *והארץ היתה תהו ובהו וחשך
על־פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על־
3 פני המים: *ויאמר אלהים יהי־אור
4 ויהי־אור: *וירא אלהים את־האור כי־טוב ויבדל
5 אלהים בין האור ובין החשך: *ויקרא אלהים לאור
יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי־ערב ויהי־בקר יום אחד:
6 *ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדיל
7 בין מים למים: *ויעש אלהים את־הרקיע ויבדל בין
המים אשר מתחת לרקיע ובין המים אשר מעל לרקיע

GENESIS. Translat. B. Hierony. *Creatio.*

CAPVT PRIMVM.

1 IN principio creauit Deus cæ-
2 lum & terrã. *Terra autem
A erat inanis & vacua: & tene-
bræ erant super faciẽ abyssi: Heb. 11. a
& spiritus Dei ferebatur su- Psal. 88. Hie. 10. b
3 per aquas. *Dixitq́; Deus, Fiat lux. Et facta est
4 lux. *Et vidit Deus lucem quòd esset bona: &
5 diuisit lucem à tenebris. *Appellauitq́; lucem
diem; & tenebras noctẽ. Factumq́; est vespere
6 & mane dies vnus. *Dixit quoque Deus, Fiat
firmamentũ in medio aquarum; & diuidat a-
7 quas ab aquis. *Et fecit Deus firmamentum,
diuisitq́; aquas quæ erant sub firmamento, ab
his quæ erant super firmamentũ. Et factum est

Interp. ex Græc. lxx. GENESIS.

CAPVT PRIMVM.

IN principio fecit Deus cælum & 1
terrã. *At terra erat inuisibilis et* 2
incõposita, et tenebræ super abys-
sum: & spiritus Dei ferebatur su-
per aquam. *Et dixit Deus, Fiat* 3
lux, & facta est lux. *Et vidit Deus lucẽ, quòd bona:* 4
& diuisit Deus inter lucem, & inter tenebras. *Et* 5
vocauit Deus lucẽ diẽ: & tenebras vocauit noctẽ:
& factũ est vespere; & factũ est mane, dies vnus.
Et dixit Deus, Fiat firmamentũ in medio aquæ: & 6
sit diuidẽs inter aquã, & aquã. *Et fecit Deus firma* 7
mentũ, & diuisit Deus inter aquã; quæ erat sub fir-

ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ. μεθερμήνευσις τῶν ο' 3

1 ΙΝ ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
2 *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκευάστος· καὶ
σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου. καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέ-
3 ρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. *καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτω
4 φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. *καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς, ὅτι
καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀναμέσον τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ
5 σκότους. *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκά-
6 λεσε νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία. *καὶ εἶ-
πεν ὁ θεὸς, γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος· καὶ ἔστω διαχωρίζον
7 ἀναμέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος. *καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα. καὶ διε-
χώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀναμέσον τοῦ ὕδατος ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος,
8 καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερεώματος. *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ

SPECIMENS FROM PLANTIN'S CELEBRATED POLYGLOT BIBLE — ANTWERPT, 1555.

PL. 82.

2

Divitijs inhient, quos urget avara cupido,
Me tener æternùm molliter urat amor.
Tybia blanda ſonet, poſcantq; ſonora choreas
Tympana, virgo veni, tu meus ignis eris.

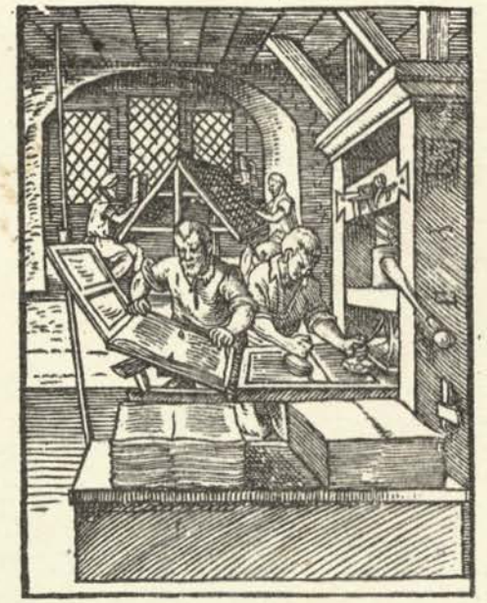
Ein ander tracht nach Gelt vnd Gut/
Die Liebe allein mich zwingen thut.
Pfeiff auff Spielman/ Jungfrewlein jr
Solt allein ſein mein frewd vnd zier.

C

1

Typographus. Der Buchdrucker.

ARte mea reliquas illuſtro Typographus artes,
Imprimo dum varios ære micante libros.
Quæ prius aulta ſitu, quæ puluere plena iacebant,
Vidimus obſcura nocte ſepulta premi.



Hæc veterum renouo neglecta volumina Patrum
Atq; ſcolis curo publica facta legi.
Artem prima nouam reperiſſe Moguntia fertur,
Vrbs grauis, & multis ingenioſa modis.
Qua nihil vtilius videt, aut precioſius orbis,
Vix melius quicquam ſecla futura dabunt.

C 3 Char-

3

Multum artis vitrum iactat: nec me ſine docta,
Aurifabri facilis conficit arte manus.
Sint artes fragili: mihi ſint meo commoda lucro:
Quin mea poſt fatum membra ſoluta valent.

Seinr Kunſt vnd arbeit rhümet ſich
Das Glaß: ſo thut auch machen mich!
Nicht ohn arbeit deß Goldtſchmids handt.
Durch kunſt in aller Welt bekandt/
Hab dir dein Kunſt mein Gleſelein/
So hab ich mir die nutzung mein/
Bricht man mich ſchon/ frew ich mich doch/
Daß man mein drümmer brauchet noch.

SPECIMEN OF GERMAN PRINTING IN THE LAST HALF OF THE 16 CENTURY
Nº 1 FROM AN ILLUSTRATED BOOK OF TRADES BY AMMAN 1568.
2 & 3 FROM A SERIES OF DESIGNS FOR PLAYING CARDS 1588.

1.

racionis assignet Si inquam hec secundū
tradicionis supra exposite regulam con-
sequantur aduertimus deprecemur vt
nobis et omnibus qui hoc audiunt conce-
dat dominus fide quam suscepimus custo
dia cursu consumato expectare iusticie
repositam coronam : et inueniri inter eos
qui resurgunt in vitam eternam. liberari
vero a confusione et obprobrio eterno .
per cristum dominum nostrum per quem
ē deo patri omnipotēti cū spiritu sancto
gloria et imperium in secula seculorum
amen .

¶ Explicit exposicio sancti Jeronimi in
simbolo apostolorum ad papam laurē
cium Impressa Oxonie Et finita An
no domini . M . cccc . lxviij . xvij . die
decembris .

1 A SPECIMEN FROM THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED AT OXFORD IN 1478.

2

tricē extra orbitas legesq; suas abducē atq; de
ducē ad ea q̄ ut dap̄nū ꝯtumeliāq; ꝓpli ārt rerū
oīm opificē dedecus ꝯuterent ¶ Nec aūt qm̄ sicut
a p̄nci° dictū ē cumulata eloq̄ncia arte exerci°
imitacoēq; ꝓgredit ꝛ coalescit enitendꝫ erit ab
hijs . q̄s delectauit hꝰmodi nr̄a p̄cepta e fontibꝫ
Ciceronis aliorꝫq; ī dn̄di arte doctorꝫ ꝑtissiōrū
deducta ꝑlegē ꝛ obseruaē : talit exercitacoī īcū
bē limatissiōrūq; oratorꝫ scripta ꝑuestigaē : pro
nūciacoēmq; ꝯtemplando imitari : vt nil eis ad
bene apte copioseq; dicendꝫ defuisse uideat
Que oīa tribꝫ libris ꝑstrinximꝰ ad laudem ꝛ
gloriā ꝛ honorē summi ueri ꝛ īmortal dei C ui
in trinitate ꝑfecta uiuit ꝛ regnat ꝑ īfinita secu
la seculorꝫ ⁂ A ⁂ M ⁂ E ⁂ N ⁂ //

2 SPECIMEN FROM THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED AT ST ALBANS ABBEY IN 1480.

In so moch that gentill men and honest persones haue gre-
ete delite in haukyng and desire to haue the maner to take
haukys : and also how and in waat wyse they shulde gyde theym
ordynateli : and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of
theyr haukys : and to vnderstonde theyr sekeneses and enfirmi-
tees : and also to knawe medicines for theym accordyng . and
mony notabull termys that ben vsed ī hawkyng both of their hau
kys and of the fowles that their hawkys shall sley . Therfore
thys book fowlowyng in a dew forme shewys veri knawlege of
suche plesure to gentill men and ꝑsonys disposed to se itt .

Thys is the maner to begynne to kepe hawkys ; bot not
all maner hawkys . bott oonli Goshawkys : and Ter-
cellis of Goshawkys . andꝫ spare hawkys . andꝫ in watt maner
thay shall be taake .

The maner to speke of hawkis fro an eeg to thei be habull to be takene .

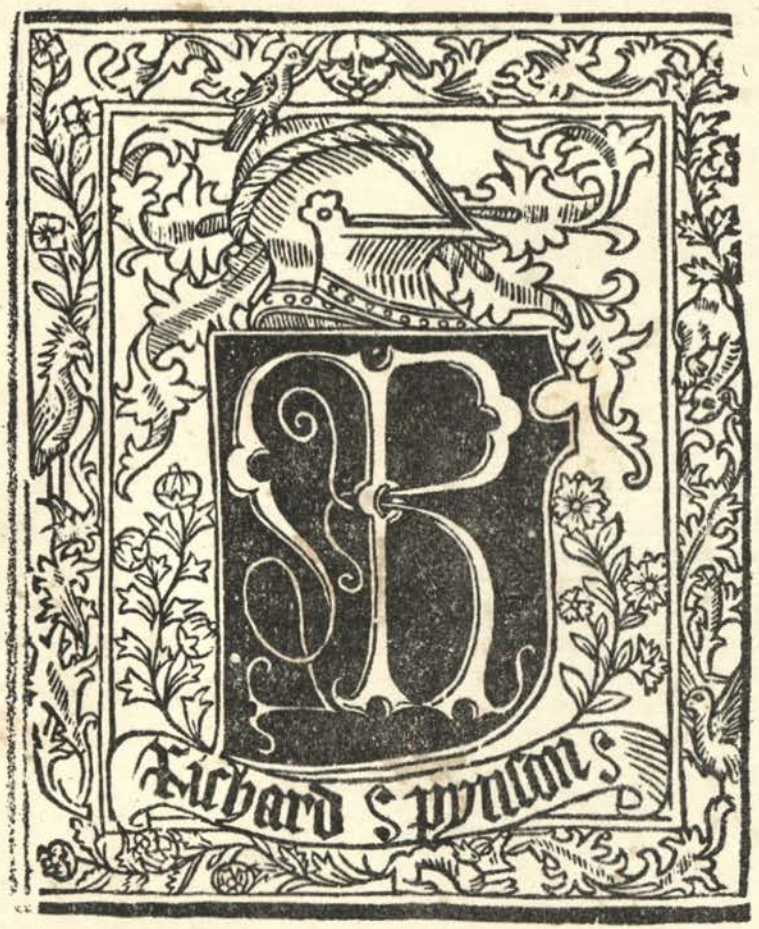
Now to speke of hawkys . first thay been Egges . and af-
terwarde they bene disclosed hawkys . and communeli gos
hawkys been disclosed . as sone as the chougke and in some place
more tymeli after the contre is of hete . and tymeli bredyng .
¶ And we shall say that hawkis doon Eyer . and not brede :
in the woodes . And we shall say that hawkys doon draw when
they bere tymbering to their nestes . and nott they beld ne ma-
ke ther nestes And in the tyme of their loue they call . and not
kauke . And we shall say that they trede .
¶ And when they bene vnclosed and begynneth to feder any
thyng of lengthe Anoon be kynde they will draw somwatt out
of the nest : and draw to bowis . and come agayn to ther nest

a ij

A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF ST ALBANS, 1486

PL. 84.

1



2

Argumentum Eunuchi familiarissimum.

Omnes Terentii comedie orte sunt in celiberrima/et doctissima Athenarum vrbe gretie. Ergo pro breui/ac dilucida huius secunde comedie(que Eunuchus dicitur)declaratione accipe.

¶ Quedam femina nata in insula Samo: ad insulam Rhodi venit cũ filia Thaide. Quidam predones peruulam genere nobilem pamphalã ab athenis raptam: Rhodum aduexerunt: et vendiderunt. Quidam mercator athenensis istarum ignarus rerum puellam emit: ⁊ Thaidis matri dono dedit. eam eduxit: vt suam: et sororem Thaidis appellauit ista mater moritur. Interea Thais delecta magnopere a quodam etiã atheniensi mercatore: cum Athenas secuta est mercator statim moritur Mox Phedria iuuenis/ filius Lachis ciuis atheniensis eam perdite amauit: cum tamen antea eam quidam miles stolidus/ et vana gloriosus amasset Sed hic miles in miliciam profectus: Rhodum forte venit. ibi publice in foro quidam senex auunculus Thaidis pamphilam illam vendebat. eam miles emit. et Athenas cum ea rediit. eãq; Thaidi dedit ignarus: ꝙ eam antea Thais vnq̃ viderit. Thais consanguinios puelle inuenit. et eam integrã eis virginem reddidit. miles Thraso ex ea re iratus est. nam eam Thaidi dederat: vt Thais ab sese Phedriam segregaret. tamen/vt inter sese cetera componerentur: Phedria Thaidem retinuit amatricem. Miles vero Thaidem in amore meretricio habuit. Et Cheria adolescens Phedrie frater/ qui se eunuchum simulauerat: pamphilam ipsam vxorem duxit.

Argumentum Eunuchi.

Sororem falso dictitã Thaidis idipsũ ignorans: miles aduexit Thraso ipsiq; donat. erat hec ciuis attica. Eidem eunuchum/ quem emerat: tradi iubet Thaidis amator Phedria: Thrasoni oratus biduum cõcedere. Ephebus frater phedrie puellulam/ cum reperiret dono missam Thaidi: ornatu eunuchi induitur: introiit: Viciat Virginem suadet Parmeno. Sed atticus ciuis imprimis repertus frater collocat Viciatam ephebo

a i

SPECIMENS FROM THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE,
THE FIRST CLASSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, BY RICHARD PYNSON, 1487.

Argumentum Eunuchi familiarissimum.

Omnes Terentii comedie ote sunt in celiberrima/et doctissima Athenarum vrbe grecie. Ergo pro brevi/ac dilucida huius secunde comedie(que Eunuchus dicitur)declaratione accipe. ¶ Quedam femina nata in insula Samo: ad insulam Rhodi venit cū filia Thaide. Quidam predones peruulam genere nobilem pamphalā ab athenis raptam: Rhodum aduexerunt: et vendiderunt. Quidam mercator athenensis istarum ignarus rerum puellam emit: ⁊ Thaidis matri dono dedit. eam eduxit: vt suam: et sororem Thaidis appellauit ista mater moritur. Interea Thais delecta magnopere a quodam etiā athenensi mercatore: cum Athenas secuta est mercator statim moritur Mox Phedria iuuenis/ filius Lachetis ciuis athenensis eam perdite amauit: cum tamen antea eam quidam miles stolidus/ et vana gloriosus amasset Sed hic miles in militiam profectus: Rhodum forte venit. ibi publice in foro quidam senex auunculus Thaidis pamphilam illam vendebat. eam miles emit. et Athenas cum ea rediit. eāq; Thaidi dedit ignarus: q eam antea Thais vnq viderit. Thais consanguinios puelle inuenit. et eam integrā eis virginem reddidit. miles Thaidem ea re iratus est. nam eam Thaidi dederat: vt Thais absese Phedriam segregaret. tamen/vt inter sese cetera componerentur: Phedria Thaidem retinuit amatricem. Miles vero Thaidem in amore meretricio habuit. Et Chremes adolescens Phedrie frater/ qui se eunuchum simulauerat: pamphilam ipsam vxorem duxit.

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SPECIMENS FROM THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE,
THE FIRST CLASSIC PRINTED IN ENGLAND, BY RICHARD PYNSON, 1487.

by suitable figures, and accompanied by descriptive verses in German and Latin, by Schroeter, the Imperial Poet Laureate. The specimen reproduced in fac-simile (No. 2, Plate 88) may be termed "the five of dabbers." The figures and verses, except those accompanying the ace of each suit, bear no immediate reference to the *sign* of the *suit*, but consist of a series of subjects of various character, connected with public festivals, games, or popular romances. The illustration No. 3, Plate 88, is the "Ace of Drinking-glasses;" the glass being the device of the *suit*. As the first of the *suit*, it is, like the others, supported by appropriate figures, and accompanied by verses in which the importance of glass-making and the arts immediately connected with it are set forth.

In this brief survey of the general character of the works of the German printing-press from the closing years of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th, many works have necessarily been omitted which ought to have found a place even in so slight an outline as the present, not only on account of their importance in a literary point of view, but also as abounding in a great variety of highly attractive illustrations engraved on wood or metal. Some of the cuts, in volumes of this class, contain examples of armorial bearings treated in a remarkably grand and artistic manner, though with the accompanying spice of quaintness belonging to the period; and such illustrations, with many others, often form records as interesting as those contained in the text of the works themselves. Many books of the period are especially devoted to the illustration of contemporary arms and armour, as well as general costumes, which are always exhibited in a highly characteristic manner; while scientific works, richly embellished with quaint and highly-interesting illustrations, abound; as well as works on history, volumes of poems, romances, and books of devotion, a bare list of which would fill all my remaining space; so that in endeavouring in the present volume to give a comprehensive view of the origin of the art of printing towards the middle of the 15th century, and follow its rapid progress for about a century afterwards, in all the countries that can boast of being more or less connected with its early spread and development,—namely, Holland, Germany, Italy, England, France, Belgium, and Spain,—I have necessarily been compelled to restrict myself very severely in the number of my illustrations; but in order to compensate as far as possible for omissions necessitated by such an arrangement, I have endeavoured to give a tolerably complete account of such examples as I have been able to adopt; sometimes greater than their individual merits called for; but which nevertheless aided me materially in my endeavour to bring the general progress of the art into the form of a continuous narrative; which I have sought to realize by linking the characteristics of the career and productions of each printer whose works have furnished me with illustrations, to those of his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. This was no very easy task; but it is hoped that such an arrangement, with all its shortcomings, may have enabled me to give to general readers a comprehensive and general view of the subject, such as they could not very well obtain in any other way.

I originally contemplated giving a tolerably complete series of all the "marks" or "imprints" of the German, French, and Italian printers, attached to my examples from their works; but finding that other and more important illustrations would have had to give way in order to make room for them, I determined to give up that addition to the present volume. It is a branch of the subject, however, which I hope to investigate in a separate form, on some future occasion.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Progress of the Art of Printing in England, after the time of Caxton, till the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

DURING the career of Caxton, the undoubted founder of the Printing-Press in England, a considerable trade in foreign books was carried on, in addition to all that he could pour forth from his own very active press; for no sooner had the "new art" so reduced the price of books as to make them luxuries attainable by many sections of society to which they had hitherto been inaccessible, than the demand for them increased, with a rapidity that seems more commensurate with the rapid kind of progress achieved in the present age, than with the generally supposed sluggish advance of civilization in the days of Caxton and his contemporaries. Even before the Caxtonian press had seated itself in the Almonry at Westminster, we know that he had, while still in Bruges, sent over cargoes of books for the English market. It is probable that they were mostly his own productions; but he doubtless, as a general merchant, forwarded the works of other printers to the English market; and at a somewhat later period, as we have seen, Missals were executed by foreign printers expressly for the use of the English Church establishments, more especially for that of Salisbury, the ritual of which must have become as well known to several continental printers as that of Rouen, Chartres, or Paris.

Among the remarkable books executed on the Continent for the English market towards the close of the career of Caxton were the well-known York Missals, printed by Olivier of Rouen, whose works have been referred to in a previous chapter, and also the Missal for the same Seat executed by Guillaume Bernard and Jacob Cousin. The specimen of the York Missal printed by Olivier, of which I have given the title as a specimen (Plate 86), bears the date, as I read it, of 1516; the large initial being a fine and remarkably-executed letter in its way, produced in close imitation of those large engrossed capitals of the period which were entirely executed with the pen. The grotesque heads and other figures executed by mediæval penmanship have often great merit of a certain kind, and this reproduction of their style by the wood-engraver is very characteristic. It should be remarked that the printer has inscribed his name on a scroll in the centre of the letter, the spelling with H, as M. P. Holivier, being unusual. This was among the latest of the Roman Catholic Missals executed abroad for the use of English churches, the ritual of the Reformation having been adopted in 1534. I may here observe that it was not only for England that the French printers executed Church Services and other books of devotion, but, as I have previously mentioned, a Spanish Missal was executed at Lyons; and I may here refer to a Dutch Missal printed at Paris in 1494, for William Houtmert, of Antwerp. The Missals printed abroad for the Church of York, and also according to other English Rituals, being very numerous, I must not attempt their description here; especially as I have to show that it was not religious books only that foreign printers produced for English circulation, and also that the trade was not confined to books in Latin, which was the common language both of science and religion at that period; but that popular books in the English language were also produced in the foreign presses expressly for the English market, often with tolerable correctness, while in other instances teeming with the most ridiculous errors. This is no place to give a list of books of the kind; but I have selected a good specimen of the class as a general example. It consists of the title-page of "The Chronicles of England," printed in English at Antwerp, by the well-known printer Gerard Leew, in 1493 (Plate 86); which title, in fine large Gothic type, reads, supplying the abbreviations, "Cronycles of the Lond of Englond." The border, in the style

Cronycles of the londe of Englōd

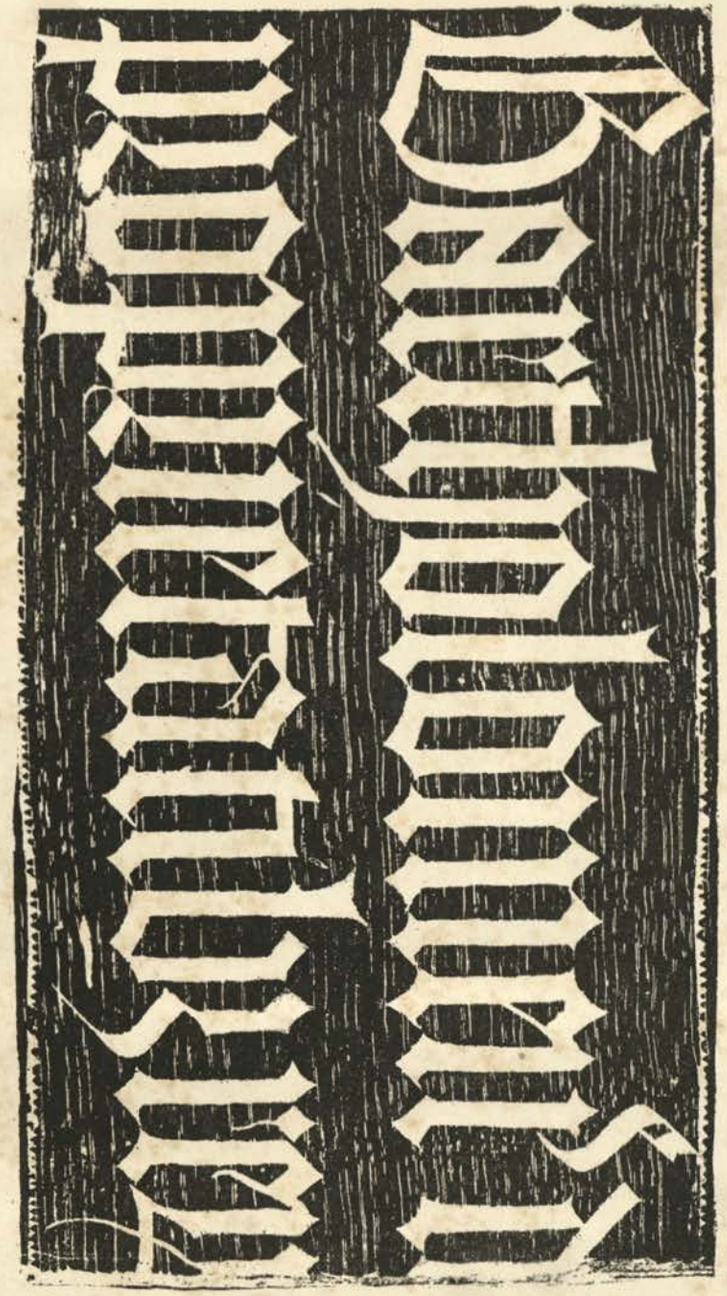
THE TITLE PAGE OF THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND.
PRINTED BY GERARD LEEW, AT ANTWERP, IN 1493

Missale

Ad vsum celeberrime ecclesie Eboracensis optimis caracteribus recēter Impressum cura peruigili maximaq; lucubratione mendis q̄ pluribus emendatum. Sumptibus ꝛ expensis Johannis gachet mercatoris librarii bene meruti iuxta prefatam ecclesiam commorantis. Anno dñi decimosexto supra millesimum et quingētesimū. Die vero quinta Februarii completum atq; perfectum.

THE TITLE OF THE YORK MISSAL.
PRINTED AT ROUEN, BY OLIVERI, IN 1490

PL 36



Quid sit numerus sexqz alterus Capitulum ·C.xlv.
Complecio tocius operis ·C.xlvi.

¶ Explicit Tabula

Here foloweth the seconde boke of this present volume treatynge of angelles.

FROM BARTHOLOMEW DE GLANVILLE'S "DE PROPRIETATE VERUM"
PRINTED BY WYNKYN DE WORDE 1495

of the more ordinary illuminations of the period is only in outline, but it produces a good contrast to the massive black-letter title above; an effect which is borne out by a similar treatment of the two angels which are made supporters to the royal arms of England. There are some effective illustrations and ornaments of a similar character in the volume, especially the Gothic tower at the end; the type of the body of the work being a black-letter of average size and character. This volume is one of the many valuable monuments of the early printers bequeathed to the nation by Mr. Grenville, and forms part of the Grenville Library in the British Museum.

Next after the Caxton press came, as it ought, that of the Seat of our leading university, Oxford. Indeed the priority of the University press over that of William Caxton has been claimed by stanch supporters of the University as the great English centre of literary enterprise and progress; but such a claim cannot be sustained, having been set up upon the strength of a book misdated by a typographical error of a kind by no means unusual at that period. The volume in question is St. Jerome's "Exposicio in Simbolum Apostolorum," and it is plainly dated "Oxoniæ, 1468," a date which would not only place it before the earliest book printed in England by Caxton, but even before his first book was printed on the Continent, and only two years after Ulric Zell, the pupil of Schoiffher, had brought the new art to Cologne, one of the first towns to which Gutenberg's system was carried direct from Mayence. The explanation is as follows. Theodore Rood, the printer, a native of Cologne, did not come to England till 1478, when he was engaged by the heads of the University to print for them, and did in fact print the book in question in Oxford in the same year, the error in setting up the date, MCCCCLXVIII instead of MCCCCLXXVIII having led to all this controversy. Dr. Middleton, in his Latin dissertation on the origin of printing, published at Cambridge in 1735, clearly proves the incorrectness of the date in question, and it is also satisfactorily explained by both Ducarel and Meerman. The pamphlet of Richard Atkyns, published in 1664, and entitled "The *Original* and Growth of Printing, collected out of history and the records of the kingdom, &c. &c.," was the first claim, set forth in print, to the priority of Oxford on the score of this obvious misprint. To support his views, Atkyns pretended to quote from an ancient MS. chronicle in Lambeth Palace,—the original of which has never come to light. The summary which he published, and which he described as having obtained from that source, is a tissue of absurdities, founded principally, as it would seem, upon the passages relating to Koster in the work of Junius previously referred to, and strangely and ignorantly confused with the names of Gutenberg and Caxton. He makes Gutenberg the inventor of the art at Haärlem, instead of Mayence, and then makes King Henry VI. of England despatch his valet Turnour along with Caxton to Holland to obtain the secret by treachery. And then, one Frederic Corsellis, a servant of the Haärlem printer, betrays his employer, and is brought to London, whence he is conducted to Oxford, and there sets up a press; a strange rhodomontade, which, while proving nothing for Oxford, is yet a very interesting corroboration of the existence of the well-founded claims set up by Haärlem in opposition to Mayence. When at Oxford a few months ago, I was enabled, by the kindness of the chief librarian of the Bodleian Library, the Rev. E. Cox, to examine the little volume in question: and although I found the date, plainly enough MCCCCLXVIII, yet the style of the setting up and printing, and also of that of the type, were fully ten years in advance of the actually printed date. As a specimen of printing, the book possesses no remarkable feature whatsoever, but I have nevertheless given a fac-simile (No. 1, Plate 84) of a portion of one of its pages, as being, even at its true date, a monument of considerable interest in the history of the establishment of the Printing-Press in England.

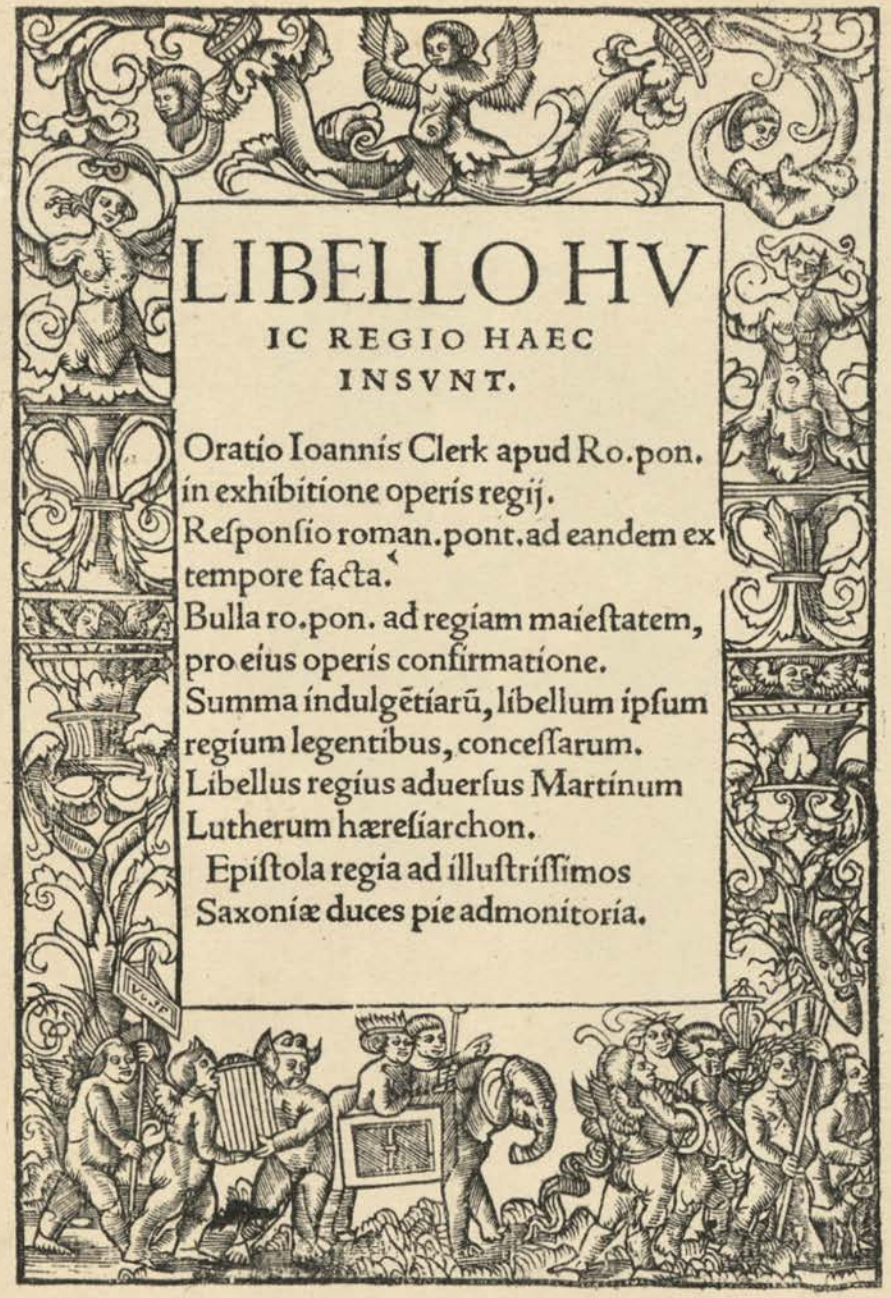
One of our monastic institutions of the period, St. Alban's Abbey, was the scene of the next attempt to establish a printing-press of analogous character to that of Oxford; and the first book printed there was the "Exemplà Sacræ Scripturæ," printed in 1481, with types so similar to those of Caxton, that if not absolutely the same founts, they must assuredly have been furnished by him. A fac-simile

of a portion of one of the pages will be found in Plate 84, No. 2, taken from a volume which formed part of the library of George III. The second work that issued from the St. Alban's press, printed in a similar type, is commonly known as the book of St. Alban's, and is entitled "The Bokys of Haukyng and Huntyng, and also of Cootarmuris," written by Dame Juliana Barnes or Berners, Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, near St. Alban's. This book was printed in 1486, and is minutely described in the fourth volume of the "Bibliotheca Spenceriana." A fac-simile of this rare book, consisting of an entire page, will be found in Plate 84, reproduced from a volume which is considered the most perfect copy known, and which is now in the British Museum, forming part of the munificent bequest of Mr. Grenville.

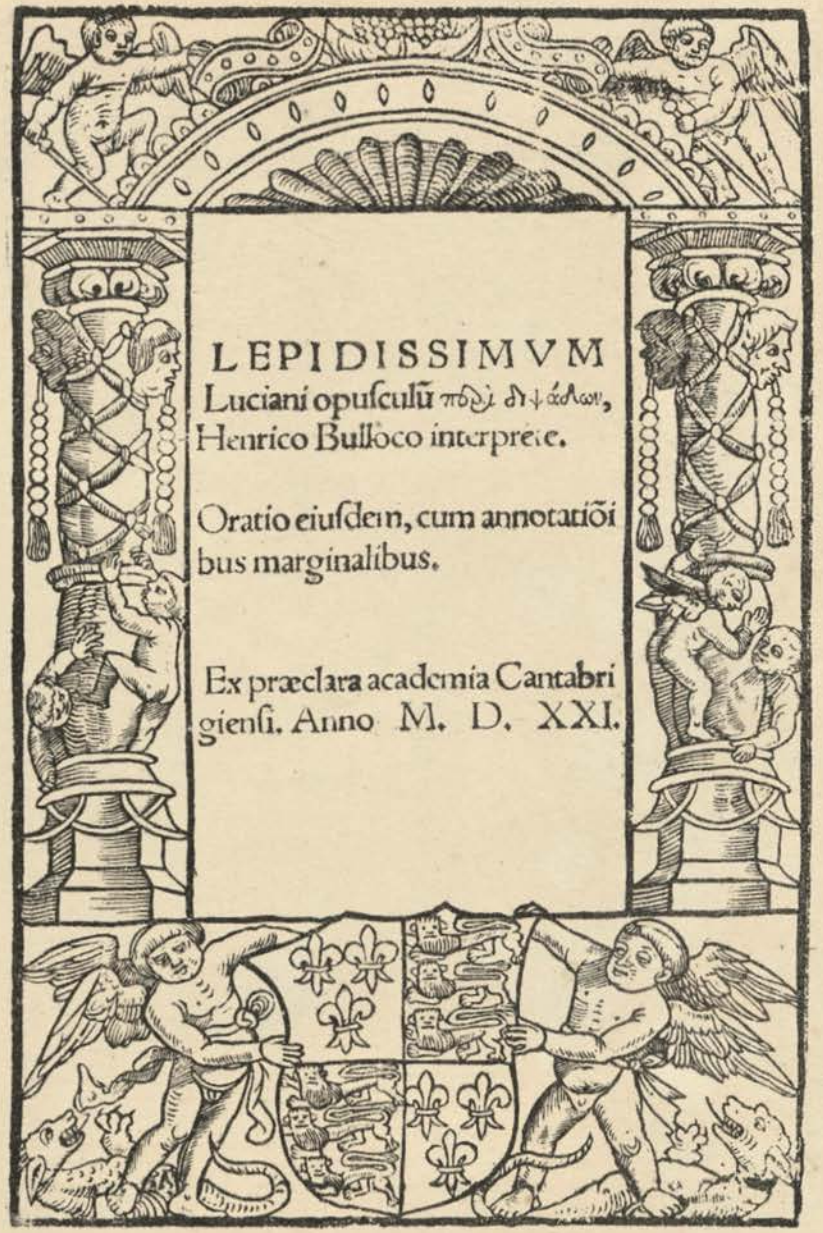
The University of Cambridge followed, with its own press, after a long interval; in fact, after a lapse of time that appears almost incredible; and for which I have not space to offer a speculative explanation. This nevertheless appears the more convenient place to give a short description of one of the first books printed at Cambridge, though it carries me, chronologically, beyond the period at which I have at present arrived in reference to the progress of printing in England. The book from which I have selected a specimen (Plate 88, No. 2), as one of the first Cambridge books, is entitled "Lucian. Lepidissimum Opusculum περι Διψαδων. H. Bulloco interprete;" printed at Cambridge by John Siberch in 1521; the volume from which my specimen is taken being now preserved in the British Museum.

One of the earliest books printed in London in rivalry with those of the Caxton press, was Walton's "Speculum Christiani," printed by William de Machlinia, in 1480; but the true successors of the fame and important position of Caxton, and his most immediate successors as leaders of the English press, were Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, two of his assistants; and both the type and the woodcut illustrations of the books of these printers exhibit an advance upon those of Caxton, forming very interesting illustrations of the progress of the art of printing and engraving in England; though how much of their type and how much of their engraved illustrations were actually English work it would be difficult to prove. It is probable that great part, if not the whole, of the type of our early printers, was imported from Germany, through the Low Countries, and, consequently, the engravings must have been the work of foreign artists, the engraved blocks being imported, at second hand, from the Continent, and frequently introduced in English books without the slightest regard to their fitness either in subject or character. But, in fact, little is known upon this subject. Strutt and Evelyn, in speaking of the early use of wood-engraving in England, confuse the distinct arts of engraving on wood and on copper, while a writer in Chambers's "Cyclopædia" is no clearer, but infers that the art was "brought here from Antwerp, by John Speed." Dr. Henry, of Biblical celebrity, satisfies himself with a reference to Walpole's superficial catalogue of engravers; all tending to prove that next to nothing is accurately known of the first stages of the art of wood-engraving in England. Some of the rude engravings in Caxton's "Mirror of the World," 1481, have, indeed, been thought to be of British workmanship, as also the plates of the second edition of the "Game of the Chesse," &c. &c.; but even if so, they may yet be copies from foreign works, as we know that he copied a design from the "Biblia Pauperum" to illustrate his "Life of Christ." The cuts of the second edition of the "Canterbury Tales" have, however, a fairer claim to be considered English work, from certain peculiar characteristics of style, though beyond this there is no proof whatever.

Richard Pynson, who surpassed his master in the regular setting up of his type, the evenness of the impression, and the character of his illustrations, produced, as early as 1487, in the reign of Henry VII., and during the lifetime of Caxton, his excellent edition of the "Comedies of Terence;" a specimen of which well-executed piece of printing will be found in Plate 85, being a fac-simile of the first page of the "Eunuch." The Argument, or general plot of the comedy, is printed in beautiful small type, very regularly set up; the division of syllables, when



ONE OF THE TITLE PAGES TO HENRY VIII^ms "DEFENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH"
PRINTED BY RICHARD PYNSON IN 1521



THE TITLE PAGE TO BULLOC'S TRANSLATION OF LUCIAN ONE OF THE FIRST BOOKS
PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE. A.D. 1521

they occasionally occur, being correct, and the length of the lines made beautifully even; the wave of the lines in the fac-simile being caused by the curve of the paper, as rendered with unfortunately severe accuracy by the photographic process. The larger type of the second statement, or Argument, is a free Gothic, or "black-letter," also very regular; the apparent bend in some of the lines being caused, as in the other, by the photograph, which represents, in that way, the wave of the leaf in the open book. The printer's device, which appears as a kind of frontispiece to the volume, consists of his initials, in white, on a black shield, surmounted by a helmet, and surrounded by an effective but rather rude framework of ornamental bordering. He eventually established a press at Temple Bar, where he printed "Dives et Pauper," in 1493. Pynson was a Norman by birth, and probably came to the establishment of Caxton from the office of one of the celebrated printers of Rouen, perhaps that of Olivier, who, as we have seen, printed the finest of the "Salisbury Missals," as well as many other works for the English market. The original patent of his naturalization is still extant, in which he is described as "Richardum Pynson de partibus Normand. oriund., &c. &c." He speaks of Caxton in several of his prefaces, as his worshipful master, and also boasts of the special protection of the Lady Margaret, the king's mother, through whose interest he was afterwards appointed "King's Printer." The books which issued from his presses are, on the whole, of a superior class to those selected by Wynkyn de Worde, though their execution is not, on the whole, so fine; but it should be added that several very beautiful books were executed by Pynson, and some few very indifferent ones by Wynkyn de Worde. Pynson's type is generally a kind of "Secretary's Gothic," and was most likely produced in France, as it closely resembles that of Eustace, Verard, and others, of whose works I have furnished specimens. Among Pynson's finest books may be enumerated Lord Berners' translation of Froissart, also his English translation of the "Navis Stultifera Mortalium," which is entitled "The Shyp of Folys," of which the illustrations, though coarse, are very characteristic. As in the original work, previously described, the first subject is "The Bibliomaniac," a device which, incidentally, serves to show that spectacles were in pretty general use at that time. This first described of the passengers in the "Ship of Fools" is styled the "book fool," and is made to say—

> I am the firste fole of all the whole navy,
> To kepe the pompe, the helme, and eke the sayle;
> And this is my mynde, this one pleasure have I,
> Of books to have great plenty, and aparayle,
> Yet take no wisdom by them; nor yet avayle,
> Nor them perceyve not.

He possesses them, in short, for show, for the repute of having a library, and for their fine binding,—

> Full gooldly bounde in pleasant couverture
> Of Damas, satin, or else of velvet pure.

Pynson's "Chronicle of Fabyan," in which Brute, of the regal family of Priam of Troy, is made the founder of the first colony in the British isles, is a fine and curious book (bearing date 1516), and is enriched with many remarkable cuts; among which the Temple of Diana, on the African island, which Brute visits on his way to Britain, forms a very interesting feature. The usual cut, representing an author presenting his book to a patron, was not executed for the work, having previously done duty in the "Shepherd's Calendar," printed in Paris in 1503, and possibly in many other works, as was too common at that period with cuts of a generally useful character. Many of the cuts in Pynson's own "Shepherd's Calendar" are, however, original. He appears to have been a rather jealous trader, and to have had a fierce feud with a rival printer, who, according to one of his prologues, encroached on his rights unfairly; and of whom he speaks as Rob-Redman *sed verius Rudeman.*

Pynson enriched his works with more illustrations and decorative borderings than either Caxton or his own contemporary, Wynkyn de Worde; his "Bochas, or the Fall of Princes," being one of his most profusely though coarsely ornamented works; and one bearing a title in which it requires some ingenuity to trace in "Bochas" the name of Boccaccio; but when it is taken into consideration that the English translation was in all probability taken from the French, and not directly from the Italian, we obtain a clue to this extraordinary distortion, as the common French abbreviation is Boccace, the pronunciation of which is pretty accurately rendered in English by Bochas. The portrait of Lydgate, the English translator, at the beginning of this work, is a poor performance; and the illustration to the "Fall of Adam" is also very inferior to the previous treatment of the subject in continental editions of the same work. The "Shepherd's Calendar," printed by Pynson, is well known; and many other of the numerous works he printed might be cited, did space permit; but the book of Pynson's that will interest the general English reader most is probably the volume which in virtue of his official appointment he "emprynted" for the king himself, namely, that royal author's celebrated "Defense of the Roman Catholic Church," which won from the Pope the somewhat ambiguous title, as now applied to a race of Protestant princes, of "Defender of the Faith." One of the title-pages of this famous book, or rather the list of contents, surrounded by a handsome border, will be found in Plate 88; this list of Contents being printed in rounded Italian type, of good style, which at that period was already beginning (1521) to supersede the Gothic "black-letter." The first item enumerated in the Contents is the "Oration of John Clerk to the Roman Pontiff, in explanation of the work of the king;" followed by "the reply of the Roman Pontiff, &c.;" the two last being, the royal essay against the "arch-heretic Martin Luther," and "the royal letter to the illustrious Duke of Saxony," which assumes the form of a pious admonition,—the duke being one of the most powerful and ardent supporters of the Lutheran Reformers.

Wynkyn de Worde, whose foreign name has a catching sound, is perhaps better known to the general public as one of the immediate successors of Caxton than Richard Pynson; and his works also, it must be confessed, give him a certain right of pre-eminence. Many of them are fine specimens of the art, and display a marked advance on the productions of his instructor, Caxton. They were issued in rapid succession from his press, and are very numerous; but I have only room for a single example, taken from his edition of, Bartholomew de Glanville's "De Proprietatibus Rerum," translated into English by John of Trevisa. Bartholomew Glanville, an English monk, was the original composer of this once popular work, about the middle of the 14th century; and it became so celebrated that it was very soon translated into French by order of Charles V.; many French as well as English MSS. of the work being well known; while even after the invention of printing, the work still remained in request, and new editions continually appeared. It is an epitome, divided into nineteen books or sections, concerning the knowledge of all the things existing in the material world, and some of those of an immaterial nature. For instance, the illustration given as a specimen (Plate 87) is the frontispiece to the section which treats "of Angels." In this singular illustration, which is highly characteristic of the religious spirit of the age in connection with art, God the Father is represented as seated in the centre of heaven, which is represented by a series of circles surrounded by waving and shaded lines intended to express clouds. Good angels are shown kneeling at the throne of the Ruler of the Universe, while bad angels are precipitated downwards, assuming devilish and grotesque shapes in their fall. The cut representing the seven ages of man is a pre-Shakesperian version of the subject, in which the age of youth is represented by a figure of a young man with a falcon perched upon his hand, which is very gracefully conceived. The title-page of this volume from the press of Wynkyn de Worde (Plate 87) is remarkably bold and striking, consisting of very large Gothic letters cut in intaglio in a block of oak, and consequently remaining white in the printing, while the face of the block forms a solid black ground to them, except where the natural grain

of the wood shows a series of slight and irregularly broken white lines, which modify the blackness of the ground in a very pleasing manner. This was the first book printed upon paper of English manufacture, produced at the mills set up at Hertford by John Tate, under the patronage of Henry VII. The volume from which my specimen is taken was bequeathed to the national library by Sir Joseph Banks, and bears the device of Wynkyn de Worde, which is infinitely varied in his numerous productions, and no especial form of it appears to have been definitely adopted. Among the works of this clever advancer of his art I have always been struck with his "Orchard of Syon," in the illustrative cuts of which the dresses of the nuns are made to produce a very striking effect by being printed in solid black, and having the folds represented by white lines. His "Mirroure of God for the Sinfull Soule," printed in 1522, after he had had great experience in his art, is a remarkably fine specimen of printing; and his earlier work, the "Profytes of Tribulation," is also worthy of examination, especially for the cut of David in the act of slinging a stone at Goliah, which is very clever: this book was printed about 1495.

Wynkyn de Worde had doubtless been noticed and patronized during the short but active reign of the usurper, Richard III., who was much interested in the progress of the art of printing, and specially enacted that "foreign artizans should not be hindered from settling in this country," specifying especially "scrivenors, illuminors, readers, and *printers of books*." It is possible that some opposition was made by London citizens to the establishment of Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, on account of their foreign origin, and that the enactment in question may have had especial reference to the protection of these pupils of Caxton. De Worde had probably learned of his old master the art of propitiating the great, as well as the art of printing; Caxton having proved himself an equal adept at either.

Julian Notary is another of the early printers whose works serve to illustrate the advance of this art in England. He was busily engaged printing before the close of the fifteenth century, in King Street, Westminster; and afterwards at his office near Temple Bar, at the Three Kings,—a sign which was a favourite one in Cologne, and which leads me to believe that Notary may have come to England from that celebrated seat of the German press, where, as previously described, Ulric Zell, a pupil of Gutenberg, first introduced it. The works of Notary are generlly inferior to those of Wynykn de Worde and Pynson; his "Book of Hours," printed in connection with Barbier, being an exception; but then it is evidently of foreign execution. He reprinted many books of established popularity.

William Faques, or Fawkes, perhaps comes next in chronological order among the early English printers. Like Pynson, he was by birth a Norman,—probably a native of Rouen, where the art of printing had become quite a staple branch of trade. His Hereford Missal is perhaps his best book. A peculiarity in this Missal, and one showing the growing desire for having the Church Services in the vulgar tongue, previously to the Reformation, is, that while the rest of the Offices are in Latin, the Form of Matrimony is in English. Faques printed the proclamation of Henry VII. against clipped money, which is interesting, as exhibiting a series of the coins of the reign in the ornamental border, and is on this account mentioned by Folkes in his "History of the British Coinage." Faques's Latin Psalter is also very neatly executed; and his brother Richard was likewise a successful printer; and Henry Pepwell, another printer of this period, was one of the first, of undoubtedly English origin, but unfortunately his productions are not of a very high class.

Peter Treverius printed in the Borough soon after the beginnings of Pynson and De Worde, and was of Italian origin, possibly of Treviso. The "Disticha Moralia," 1514, was perhaps his first work, but he is better known by his "Grete Herbal," a substantial folio volume published in 1516. His device was a wild man and woman, with bows and arrows, in front of a tree, on which is slung a shield bearing his initials. He printed also that very curious book, Arnold's

"Customs of London" (1521), and an English edition of a very interesting and well-known German work, Brounswyke's "Description of Surgery;" the original German edition of which has a series of well-executed plates, exhibiting in very graphic style the costumes of the time and different scenes in a surgeon's practice, the whole of them being executed with wonderful truth and spirit; while the plates in the English work are of altogether inferior character. His edition of the "Polychronicon" exhibits, perhaps, the first example in the annals of English printing of a true title-page, in our present acceptation of that term.

James Nicholson, Robert Redman,* Christopher Truthall, and Thomas Godfrey next appeared as leaders among the English printers, who began to be very numerous. The widow of Robert Redman continued to print after her husband's death, and her books bear her name, as "emprynted by Elyzabeth, late wyfe unto Robert Redman, dwellynge at the sign of the George, next to Saynt Dunstan's Churche." John Skot was superior to any of the four named above, and adopted a well-known and very picturesque device. John Rastell, who also ranks high on account of the number of his works, printed the "Pastime of the People" in 1517, which is a very fine black-letter book, containing eleven illustrative cuts;—it is so good, indeed, that it has recently been republished in fac-simile. Donatuses, or Latin Grammars, were first extensively printed by English printers about this time, instead of being imported, and most of the printers just named issued one or more of them.

Next in order (if anything like chronological order can be preserved in so brief a statement) came Robert Copland, who had learnt the art of Wynkyn de Worde, and in whose will, as "an ancient servitor," he is a legatee. His selection of books for reproduction at his press has been the means of preserving several specimens of early English poetry and general literature, of which there is no other record. His imprint, or trade device, is well executed, and there are several varieties of it. His younger brother printed Gawin Douglas's "Books of Eneados," which, as previously stated, contains the leading passages of the "Æneid" narrated in a popular manner, just as the ever favourite "Histories of Troy" consisted of a series of narratives from the "Iliad." Among his later works were "The Palis of Honoure," and several of the romances popular at the time; among others, "The Sons of Aimon," a reprint from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1504; to which may be added his "Guy Earl of Warwick" and "Sir Bevis of Hampton."†

Robert Wyer must not be passed over in silence, being one of the most voluminous of early English printers, whose works comprise books in very various branches of literature; and the printers Richard Banks and Lawrence Andrew were his contemporaries. Bertholet, too, became eminent about the same time as a printer, though he did more in employing others than in actually printing at his own press. Pelyt and Redman both printed for him, as did also several foreign printers; and he received the appointment, after Pynson, of king's printer. He was a man of substance, and good family; and his shield, with its armorial bearings, is duly recorded in the Heralds' College. Among other works, he printed a volume which marks an epoch among English books, namely, the one which may be termed the first English Dictionary, compiled by Sir Thomas Eliot, in 1538; which, if not actually the first, was, at all events, by far the best work of the class which had been attempted. This early English Dictionary has a good cut of the Eliot shield of arms at the beginning, with the quaint motto, "Aut face aut tace." Bertholet also printed a small Bible for private use, and many translations of the Roman classics, as well as Thorn's "History of Italy."

About this time John Hawkins printed the first Grammar for learning the French language, which was entitled "L'Eclaircissement de la Langue Française" (1530). The first English Primers

* Superciliously styled *Rudeman* by Pynson.

† In Haslewood's "British Bibliographer" may be found a detailed account of most of the works of our early English printers.

were those of Byddell (1535) and John Gough (1536); who also printed (1540) the well-known and much-prized "Dove of Holy Scripture," and in 1543 the first work on English Bookkeeping, which was suggested by many changes in the names and values of the coinage, the explanation of which was entitled "Kepyng of the Famous Recoyning." The author informs us that the principle of his book is called in Latin, "dare et habere," and in English, "debitor and creditor." While speaking of the elementary works produced by our early printers, it may be stated that a Latin Grammar was printed by Roger in 1535, which is the only book that is now known of his press, though he doubtless printed many others.

Before speaking of Richard Grafton, the most celebrated English printer since Caxton, and whose early editions of the English Bible are so famous, I must retrace my steps to some extent, in order to say a few words on the earliest English translations of the Bible and first printed copies of any portions of the Holy Scriptures in English.

Long before it had occurred to the prelates of the Romish Church to prohibit the translation of the Bible into the vernacular language of any country—proclaiming every man a criminal who read such translations of the Scriptures into his mother tongue—many centuries, indeed, before that epoch of the highest pretensions and worst tyranny of the Church of Rome, Anglo-Saxon translations of the Bible had been issued to the public, the reading of which was not deemed a crime by the Anglican Church. At length, after a considerable lapse of time, came Wyckliffe's English translation, which unfortunately appeared in less liberal times; when, in fact, it was declared by Churchmen that even the Latin Bible ought not to be in the hands of laymen. Chaucer represents the hierarchy at that period as gathering up the Bibles in their libraries, "and so imprisoning them from secular priests and curates, that they thereby hindered them from preaching the Gospel to the people;" and, at a later period, as we learn from other sources, the clerical students, sent from Ireland by Archbishop FitzRalph to study divinity in Oxford, were forced to return without profit, because they could not find a single Bible there to be sold,—a state of things which occurred only very shortly before the invention of printing. When Wyckliffe's English translation first appeared, during the early and brilliant portion of the reign of Edward III., no edict was issued against circulating it or reading it; and it was not till twenty years afterwards that Archbishop Arundel proclaimed the reading of it to be rank heresy. Wyckliffe was, however, protected by the most popular and influential of the king's sons, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; and under that shelter the flash of persecution died out; one cause of the subsidence of the persecution being the simple fact that copies were so difficult to procure in those days of MS. books, that much stir was hardly requisite to prevent their circulation. Had the Printing-Press existed for the service of Wyckliffe and his translation, matters might have taken a more serious turn. The demand for the book as a MS. was, nevertheless, considerable; and the copies, being multiplied with as much rapidity as the process of copying by hand admitted of, were sold as low as twenty shillings each. Sir Thomas More tells us that the Bible had been translated into English long before the time of Wyckliffe, "by vertuous and well learned men," but that Wyckliffe maliciously took upon himself to translate it anew, perverting the text in order to favour his own peculiar heresies; but he was doubtless in error as to Wyckliffe's translation, and alluded to some of those later English translations of portions of the Bible which were produced on the Continent, and circulated in England, in his time.*

It was the advent of the Printing-Press that alarmed the clergy of the Anglican Church much more seriously than the appearance of Wyckliffe's Bible had done; for they declaimed loudly and

* Wyckliffe's translation of the Bible is a fine example of quaint idiomatic English, of a somewhat obsolete type, and thus forms an interesting monument of the state of the language at that period; but the passage cited by Fuller, in his "Church History," in which Paul is called the "knave of Jesus Christ"—the feudal term *knave*, or *villain*, being used instead of the more modern "servant,"—is only to be found in a single instance, which is known to be an impudent forgery.

fiercely against the circulation of the printed copies of the New Testament in Greek, when it first appeared,—and even against the Hebrew Bible when put forth from the same source. Erasmus tells us, with his usual vein of sarcasm, that one college in Cambridge forbade the reading of his Greek Testament; and it is on record that the vicar of Croydon, in Surrey, whose opinions no doubt represented those of the majority of his order, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in which he delivered himself in the following terms, on the subject of the Printing-Press: "We must root out printing, or printing will root us out,"—an honestly outspoken profession of faith that had more truth in it than the good Roman Catholic parson was aware of.

Thus matters stood when William Tyndale resolved to attempt a new translation of both the Old and New Testament, from the Hebrew and the Greek, into English. Tyndale, by birth a Welshman, finished his education at Maudelyn College, Oxford, removing afterwards to Cambridge; and failing to obtain the appointment he sought in the household of Dr. Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of London, went to Antwerp, where he subsisted for a time upon an annuity of £10 a year, furnished to him by his friend Humphrey Monmouth, a citizen of London, who was favourable to the Lutheran Reformation. It was in Antwerp that, in the year 1525, he completed, with the assistance of John Fryth and Joseph Roye, his translation of the New Testament; and proceeded to Cologne to print it, at the press of P. Quentell. Copies were soon forwarded in considerable numbers to England, which were so greedily bought up that Bishop Tunstal issued a commission to the archdeacons of his diocese, in which he says, "Some sons of iniquity, and ministers of the Lutheran faction, have craftily translated the holy Gospel of God into our vulgar English, and mixed with their translations some articles of heretical pravity;" and all copies that could be found and seized, were ordered to be delivered up to the bishop within thirty days, that they might be at once destroyed. The misprints in this "Dutch edition," as it has been called, are very numerous, the text having been set up by German printers not understanding the language, and some of the errors having escaped the editor's correction; the execution of the work is otherwise extremely good, and the woodcuts of a superior class, as shown in the two specimens in Plate 89. This edition of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was the first portion of an English translation of the Scriptures ever issued from the Printing-Press; and, as such, was very effectually suppressed, the unique specimens from which my fac-similes are taken forming part of a volume which is the only remaining fragment of an edition of 3,000 copies;* an interesting relic which was bequeathed to our national library by Mr. Grenville. It was during the printing of this work at Cologne that the machinations of the Roman Catholic party against Tyndale were commenced; Cochlæus, one of the most virulent opponents of the Lutheran party, being the leader in the persecution to which Tyndale was subjected. It is well known that these proceedings were envenomed by the activity of the Roman Catholic party in England, which worked upon the fanaticism of the Emperor Charles V. so successfully, that Tyndale was eventually arrested at Antwerp, not only with the sanction of the State Council of England, but also in the name of the king; the arrest being carried into effect by the emperor's procurator at Brussels. He was thrown into prison at Vilvorde, a fortified post between Brussels and Antwerp, where he lay eighteen months; and was then brought to trial on the charge of heresy, &c., and condemned to death by strangulation and burning. He is said to have died imploring Heaven to "open the eyes of the King of England;" and in so far as the royal adoption of the principles of the Lutheran Reformation was concerned, his prayer appears to have been answered. In the mean time, Fryth, who had assisted him in his translation, fell into the toils of the Romanist party in England, and was burnt in Smithfield in 1533,—a terrible example of the fierce opposition of the English clerical party to the translation of the Bible; while Roye, his other coadjutor, perished in a similar manner in Portugal. Tyndale's

* Wanley states that he never saw a copy of this edition of Tyndale's New Testament; but one is stated to have been in Ames's collection, which sold at his death for 14 guineas.

1

2

The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.

Hys ys the boke of
the generacio of Jesus Christ the so= * Abraham and David are fyrst re hearsid / because that christe was chefly promysed vnto them.
ne of David/The sonne also of Abra
Abraham begatt Isaac: (ha.
Isaac begatt Jacob:
Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre=
Judas begat Phares: (thren:
and Zaram of thamar:
Phares begatt Esrom:
Esrom begatt Aram:
Aram begatt Aminadab:
Aminadab begatt naasson:
Naasson begatt Salmon:
Salmon begatt boos of rahab:
Boos begatt obed of ruth:
Obed begatt Jesse:
Jesse begatt david the kynge:
David the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the Saynct mathew leveth out certeyn
Solomon begat roboam: (wyfe of vry:

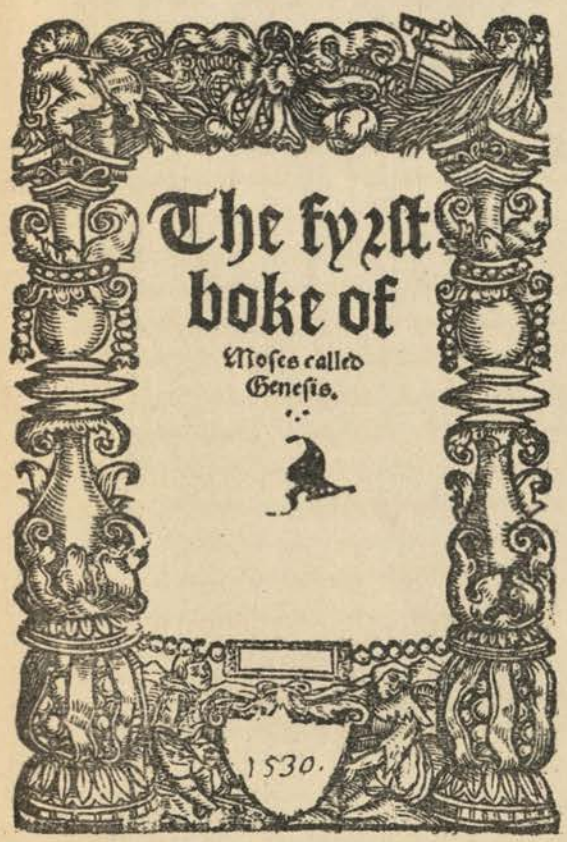
4

Folio. II.

The seconde boke of Moses
called Exodus.
The first Chapter.

These are the names of
the children of Israel,
which came to Egip=
te with Iacob / euery
man with his housholde:Rubē,Simeon, Le
ui, Iuda, Isachar, Zabu
lon, Beniamin, Dan,

3



5

XXVIII. Chapter.

The forme of Aaron with all his apparell.

3. 4. & 5. SPECIMENS FROM THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE PENTATEUCH, PRINTED IN 1530,
BEING THE FIRST PORTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT EVER PRINTED IN ENGLISH.

1 & 2 SPECIMENS FROM THE BEGINNING OF TYNDAL'S FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, THE FIRST PORTION OF THE BIBLE EVER PRINTED IN ENGLISH, PRINTED AT COLOGNE, 1525.

translation of the New Testament, unaided as he was by any help from previous models, and relying entirely on his own individual efforts, must be considered a truly wonderful work, which nothing but that energy and earnestness which distinguished the first Reformers could have produced single-handed. Even now, says a recent critic, there is "scarcely anything obsolete in its style, which for noble simplicity and purity of idiom has never been surpassed." Tyndale's portrait, sent to the recent Exhibition of National Portraits by the British and Foreign Bible Society, exhibits the features of just such a man as might be imagined capable of producing such a translation, and suffering martyrdom in the cause. It is a half-length, and the left hand rests on a book, to which the right is pointing; the book being doubtless intended to represent his translation of the New Testament. He wears a black dress with a narrow ruff, and a black silk skull-cap; and there is also an inscription in his praise, with the date, and place of his martyrdom—"Wiffordæ, presse Brussels, 1536."

The first portion of Tyndale's translation of the Old Testament was also printed on the Continent. It consisted of the five Books of Moses—the Pentateuch; and that production forms the second example of any portion of an English translation of the Bible issuing from the Printing-Press. Copies of the first edition of Tyndale's Pentateuch are almost as rare as his New Testament, only four being at present known; the Grenville copy,* from which my fac-similes are taken, being the only one that is perfect. The imprint to the translation is as follows: "Emprented at Marlborow, in the londe of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, in the yere of our Lord M cccccc xxx." The five Books are printed alternately in Gothic and Roman type; and the cuts, though coarse, are very characteristic; among which, the one of the figure of Aaron may be cited as an example, bearing for title, "The form of Aaron, with all his apparell;" the details of the robes being worked out in strict accordance with the Scriptural description, as interpreted by the artist. The border to the title-page is in a coarse, and at the same time florid style, in the taste of the transitional character presented by the ornamentation of the period, as shown also in the initial letters, which are bold and effective, though also coarse in execution. The examples (Plate 89) are from the Grenville copy in the British Museum.

The opening of the king's eyes, prayed for by Tyndale, took place three years after the publication of his translation of the Pentateuch; though not brought about in the way which Tyndale hoped for in 1533. His Majesty of England had seen the beautiful Anne Boleyn, and determined upon divorcing the childless and less attractive Catherine of Arragon. Pope Clement refusing to sanction the repudiation of the queen, the king appealed to the head of the English Church, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) pronounced the separation a legal one. The supremacy of the Papal power was declared by the king at an end; and the royal decree to that effect having been sanctioned by the Parliament, the kingdom of England was added to the list of those countries which had embraced the principles of the Reformation. Had these events taken place but a few years sooner, the printed translation of the Bible would not have been a book condemned to destruction by the ecclesiastical authorities of the State, and Tyndale would have escaped a cruel and unjust death.

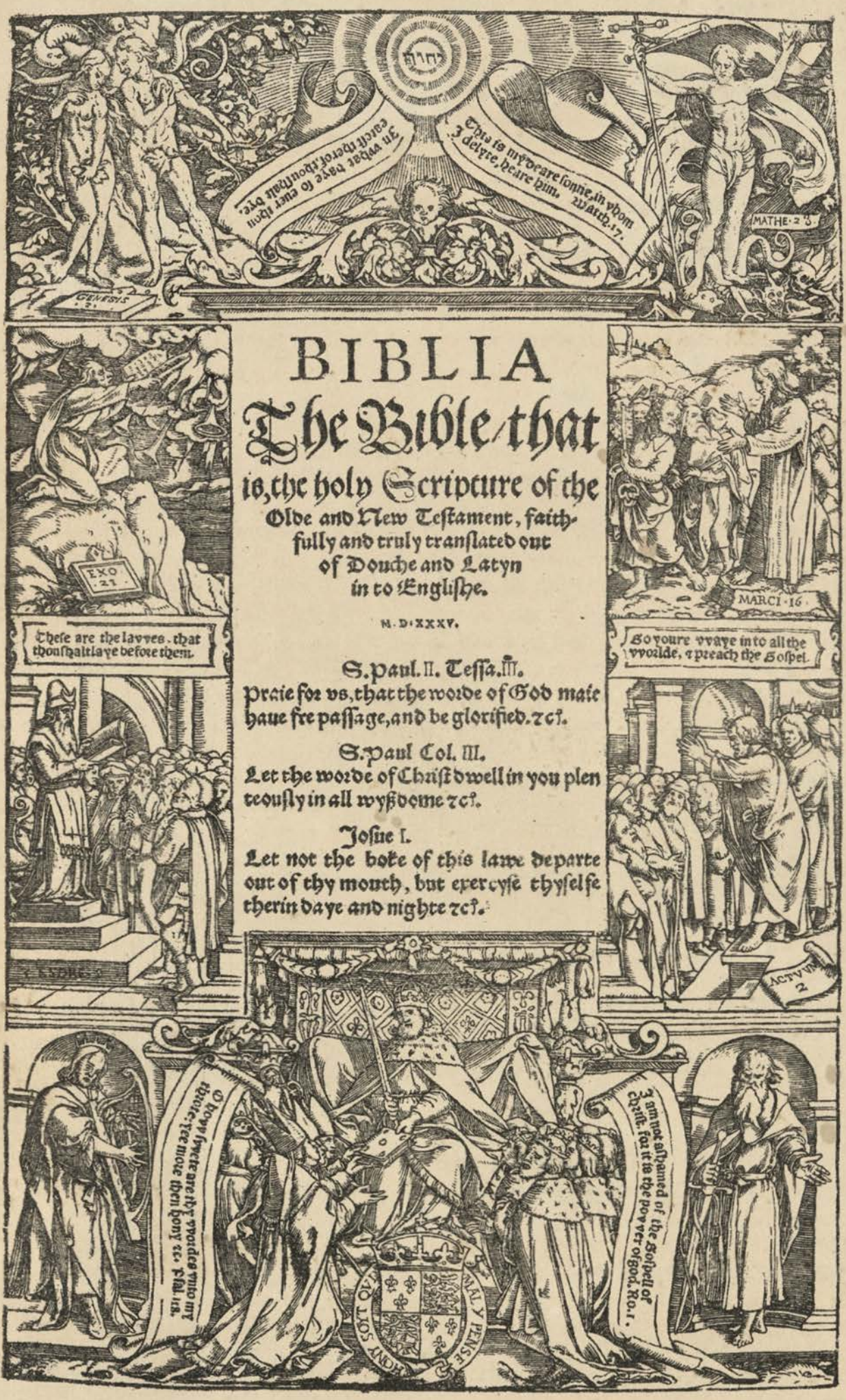
The king, personally, with a strong kind of common sense, which served greatly to modify many of his worst characteristics, had, in fact, never been averse to the publication of an English translation of the Holy Scriptures; and in answer to the angry complaints from the prelacy, regarding the circulation of such translations, he went in person to the Star Chamber, on the 22nd of May, 1530, the year in which the translation of the Pentateuch appeared, and stated boldly that he did not object to the issue of Bibles in the English tongue; yet, in deference to the influence of those Churchmen, who had been shocked by the appearance of six foreign editions of the New

* The one sold at the Ames sale for 14 guineas.

Testament in rapid succession, he was compelled to admit that he did not approve of such heretical translations as that of Tyndale.

Still, notwithstanding the king's predilection in favour of an English translation, and even after the declaration of the first principles of national independence, in repudiating the supremacy of the Pope, and some other leading tenets of Romanism, no English translation of the Bible was printed in England up to 1535. In that year, however, a complete English Bible, according to Tyndale's translation, revised by Coverdale with reference to the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German translation (as stated in the title), was printed abroad; but, in consequence of the persecutions very actively carried on by the chief Catholic states on the Continent, and the alarm created by the judicial murder of Tyndale, no printer could be found in the Low Countries, which were subject to Spain, or in those parts of Germany under the immediate influence of the emperor, willing to append his name to the work. This first edition, therefore, of an entire English Bible, which bears the date 1535, is without the name of the printer. It is, however, boldly dedicated to the King of England, whose sentiments as to an English translation were well known, and was possibly printed in Switzerland, where the imperial court had no power to prevent its execution, though a sufficient dread of its possible influence appears to have prevented the printer from publishing his name; Wanley, however, one of our great typographical critics, is of opinion, judging from a comparison of the types, that it was printed at Zurich, by Christopher Trochsover, the types of his known works bearing a strong resemblance to those of the English Bible of 1535. This Bible, in which the translation of Tyndale had been revised by Coverdale, and all the original translator's strongly-worded comments and introductory prologues omitted, was addressed to the king, in a dedication to which he (Coverdale) appended his name; from which circumstance the volume is now generally known as Coverdale's Bible. Plate 90 will be found to consist of a fac-simile of the title-page of this interesting volume. The tablet containing the actual title is surrounded by illustrative subjects, which are so well designed that some critics have attributed them to the pencil of Holbein himself; and they certainly exhibit much of his style of handling, not only in the figures, but also in the ornamentation. This may be accounted for by the fact that they were probably executed at Basle, or, if at the neighbouring Swiss city of Zurich, possibly by a Basilian artist, or one educated in that school. The upper subject, to the left, is the "Temptation," attached to which is a quotation from Genesis (ii. 17): "In what daye so ever thou eatest therof thou shalt dye." The translation differs slightly, as will be observed, from that now in use; and having been set up in type within a space reserved for it in the wood block, the compositor has inadvertently "set it up" upside down. On the opposite side are corresponding passages from the New Testament, as was the custom in the early block-books, and nearly all subsequent illustrations of Scripture subjects up to this period. Thus, opposite to the subject illustrating "Man's Disobedience," and its consequence, Death,—the figure of the Redeemer is seen, trampling upon Sin and Death, and bruising the head of the Serpent, accompanied by a quotation from Matthew (xvii. 5): "This is my deare Son, in whom I delyte, heare him."

The second design to the left represents Moses receiving the commandments on Mount Sinai; the thunders and lightnings, and trumpet-sounds, by which the transmission of the tablets was accompanied, being very graphically represented by the artist. The motto is from Exodus (xi. 1). The corresponding subject on the opposite side represents the sending forth of the Apostles, accompanied by the motto: "Go youre waye into all the worlde and preach the gospel" (Mark xvi. 15). That is to say, the New Law is to supersede the Old. A curious device of the artist in this composition is well worthy of explanation, as it is a direct and well-conceived declaration of Protestantism. The Popes, as *soi-disant* direct successors of St. Peter, whom they accounted the first Bishop of Rome, assumed as their badge the Keys of the Church, founding the Romanist fiction that St. Peter was the divinely appointed founder of the Church, upon a well-known


In whose hart I have set all my delyte.
Esay. 42.
This is my deare sonne, in whom I delyte, heare him. Matth. 17.
GENESIS 2.
MATHE. 28.
EXO 21
These are the lawes that thou shalt laye before them.
MARCI. 16.
Go youre wayes into all the worlde, & preach the Gospel.
ESDRE. 7
ACTVM 2
O how swete are thy wordes unto my throte, yee more then hony &c. Psal. 118.
I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, for it is the power of god. Ro. 1.
HONY SOYT QUI MALY PENSE

BIBLIA

The Bible/that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe.

M.D.XXXV.

S. Paul. II. Tessa. III.
Praie for vs, that the worde of God maie haue fre passage, and be glorified. &c.

S. Paul Col. III.
Let the worde of Christ dwell in you plenteously in all wyßdome &c.

Josue I.
Let not the boke of this lawe departe out of thy mouth, but exercyse thyselfe therin daye and nighte &c.

THE TITLE PAGE OF THE COVERDALE BIBLE, PRINTED IN 1535.

The first boke of Mo- Fo.
ses, called Genesis.

The first dayes worke.
The seconde dayes worke.
The thirde dayes worke.
The fourth dayes worke.
The fifth dayes worke.
The sixte dayes worke.

The first Chapter.

A
g Esa. 6. d
Eccli. 18. a
Iere. 10. b
Heb. 11. a
Ps. 44. c

IN ỹ begynnynge God created heauen & earth: and ỹ earth was voyde and emptie, and darcknes was vpon the depe, & ỹ spirite of God moued vpō the water.

And God sayde: let there be light, & there was light. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God deuyded ỹ light from the darcknes, and called the light, Daye: and the darcknes, Night. Then of the euenynge and mornynge was made the first daye.

And God sayde: let there be a firmament betwene the waters, and let it deuyde ỹ waters a sunder. Then God made ỹ firmamēt, and parted the waters vnder the firmamēt, from the waters aboue the firmament: And so it came to passe. And God called ỹ firmament, Heauen. Then of the euenynge & mornynge was made the seconde daye.

And God sayde: let the waters vnder heauen gather thēselues vntō one place, ỹ the drye londe maye appeare. And so it came to passe. And God called ỹ drye londe, Earth: and the gatheringe together of waters called he, ỹ See. And God sawe ỹ it was good. Iob 38. Pro. 8. G

And God sayde: let ỹ earth bringe forth grene grasse and herbe, that beareth sede: & frutefull trees, that maye beare frute, euery one after his kynde, hauynge their owne sede in them selues vpon the earth. And so it came to passe. And the earth brought forth grene grasse and herbe, ỹ beareth sede euery one after his kynde, & trees bearinge frute,

The new testament.

The gospell of S. Mathew.
The gospell of S. Marke.
The gospell of S. Luke.
The gospell of S. Jhon.
The Actes of the Apostles

The epistles of S. Paul.

The epistle vnto the Romaynes.
The first and seconde epistle to the Corinthians
The epistle to the Galathians.
The epistle to the Ephesians.
The epistle to the Philippians.
The epistle to the Colossians.
The first and secõde epistle to the Tessalonians
The first and seconde epistle vnto Tymothy.
The epistle vnto Titus.
The epistle vnto Philemon.

The first and seconde epistle of S. peter.
The thre epistles of S. Jhon.
The epistle vnto the Hebrues.
The epistle of S. James.
The epistle of S. Jude.
The Reuelacion of S. Jhon.

THE TITLE TO TYNDALS TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, PRINTED IN 1536

text. The Protestant artist has, in this design, put in his own protest and that of the Reformation in general against this Romanist assumption, giving to each Apostle a key, as expressing their perfect equality in the high privilege of preaching the gospel and founding the Church of Christ.* The third subject on the left is taken from the Apocryphal book of Esdras, no longer used in our version of the Bible. It illustrates the 40th verse of the 9th chapter: "So Esdras, the chief priest, brought the law unto the whole multitude, &c." The portion of the New Testament selected as corresponding with this passage is the 11th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, more especially the 14th verse: "And Peter standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judæa, &c." The figure of Peter addressing the multitude is very impressively conceived, and its position in reference to the group of listeners strongly recalls Raphael's cartoon of Paul preaching at Athens, which the German artist, in a visit to Italy, may possibly have seen. In the lower portion of the general design, David fills a niche to the left, while Paul is the corresponding figure to the right. In the central compartment, the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, both accompanied by suitable texts, are represented kneeling in front of the throne, the prelates being in the act of presenting the English Bible to the king, who graciously receives it.

Plate 91 is a fac-simile of the first page of the text of this celebrated Bible. The illustrations of the six days of creation are by a very inferior artist, and consequently present none of the remarkable qualities of the designs of the title-page. It will be noticed that the present Protestant feeling respecting the impropriety of attempting pictorial representations of God the Father had not then developed itself; that view, with others of a corresponding kind, being a subsequent growth of the principles of the Reformation. The initial letter may be considered a good specimen of those flourished letters of the time, which engravers executed in imitation of penmanship. Both the fac-similes just described are from a very perfect copy in the library of the British Museum. It will be observed that the lines of the text are curved towards the lower part of the page, an imperfection of the photographic process caused by the impossibility of getting the original page perfectly flat. Several editions of the Coverdale Bible were issued with the same date, but with new dedications to the King, in which different queens are successively referred to. The first has "Your dearest just wyfe and vertuous prencesse Queene Anne," while a subsequent edition appeared in which "Queen Jane" takes the place of "Queen Anne" in the dedication.

Plate 92 consists of a fac-simile of the title-page of the edition of Tyndale's New Testament, which was printed in 1536. The design is very inferior to that of the title-page of the Coverdale Bible, but the treatment of the figures of the Evangelists, accompanied by their respective symbols —St. Matthew and the Angel, St. Mark and the Lion, St. Luke and the Bull, and St. John and the Eagle,—are treated with some originality and spirit, as are the figures of Christ overcoming Death and Sin, and St. John the Baptist announcing the coming of Christ, which occupy the centres of the upper and lower borders, while the ornaments at the sides are tolerably bold examples of the style of the period.

It would have been impossible, within the restricted limits of the present work, to describe in chronological order all successive editions of the English translations of the Scriptures that began to appear after the first issues; and, in place of a detailed account of each edition, I shall therefore confine myself to the selection and description of a few examples from the most remarkable of those printed before the formal concession of royal authorization for their appearance; and I shall follow a similar course with regard to those subsequently issued under State authority during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his immediate successors. Examples therefore will appear in this work of some of the most remarkable among the first editions of the English Bibles and Prayer Books of the Reformed faith, but without attempting a detailed description of each successive edition, which

* It may be remarked here that, in the pictures of the great Italian masters having reference to this subject, Christ is represented as giving the keys to St. Peter alone; and the famous cartoon of Raphael may serve as an example.

while proving wearisome to the general reader, would, at the same time, have interfered with the plan of a rapid general view of the subject, which is the main object of the present work.

"Matthews's Bible" was published in 1537 by Grafton, who had previously suffered imprisonment on account of the publication of translations of the Scriptures, and was released with difficulty. "Matthews's Bible" was a combination of the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale; being, to the end of Chronicles, Tyndale's, and to the end of the Apocrypha, Coverdale's; while the New Testament was entirely Tyndale's; the prophecy of Jonas being accompanied by Tyndale's prologue. This volume, like Coverdale's Bible, was issued without a printer's name, no doubt from similar causes; and Strype was led to think it was printed at Hamburg, while Wanley assumes that it was executed at Paris. The types, however, are German, and it may have been, like Tyndale's Pentateuch, printed at Marlboro, in Hesse; which place being in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Rogers, an English Reformer, was residing, it has sometimes been distinguished as Rogers's Bible. This was the first English Bible that may be considered to have been published under the authority of the State; Cranmer, who had been promoted to the see of Canterbury four years before, and who was a more active and genuine Reformer than his predecessors, having, through the court influence of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, procured a royal license, in regular form, for its publication. Our great English printer Grafton was one of the promoters of this edition, for which he furnished £500, and his initials appear in the imprint. Fearing competition with the cheap Dutch (German) editions, he now obtained a patent for three years; and Lewis, in his excellent typographical work, while describing an edition in which the initials of Grafton do not occur, supposes it to be one of the piratical German editions against which Grafton sought to protect himself by his patent.

In 1538, a New Testament in English and Latin was printed at the English press of John Nicholson, in Southwark, the translation being the work of John Hollybushe; a second edition appearing in 1539, and an intermediate one, executed at Paris by Regnault, in 1538; while in the same year, Regnault printed an edition of Myles Coverdale's New Testament for Grafton and Whitchurch. About the same period appeared "The Byble in Englyshe," with the famous cuts said to be by Holbein, which has been termed a sumptuous edition; yet I must not attempt its description, but pass on rapidly to the narration of a few of the circumstances which led to the appearance of the celebrated Cranmer Bible, commonly known as the "Great Bible."

About 1538-9, Grafton, in partnership with Whitchurch, obtained official permission to print a copy of the Bible in Paris, as both better print and better paper could be obtained there than in England; but at that period of the reign of Francis I., a strong reaction against the previously tolerated principles of the religious Reformers had set in, and, urged on by the powerful Romanist clergy, soon resulted in the banishment of the great French printer, Robert Estienne, and was, in fact, the beginning of the great ferment against the Huguenots, which some twenty years later culminated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. The printing of an English Bible in Paris was, therefore, deemed by the dominant party a work carried on in the cause of the Reformation, and after 2,500 copies of this great work had been produced in Paris, they were seized and confiscated by the French Government, and all concerned in the work obliged to fly from a persecution, which, it was well known, was not likely to be a mild one. The presses, which were probably the property of Grafton, were, however, eventually restored to the owners by the interference of the English Government, and the project was resumed by the enterprising Grafton in London.

Having recommenced their labours at home, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch eventually succeeded in producing, between 1539 and 1541, the fine folio Bible, commonly known as Cranmer's, or the Great Bible; and upon its production those enterprising men may safely stake their repute as the most eminent of English printers since the time of Caxton and his immediate

The gospel of S. Mathew.

The first Chapter.

A 1.a

This is the boke of the generacion of Jesus Christ ẏ sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Abraham. Abrahā begat Isaac: Isaac begat Jacob: Jacob begat Judas ⁊ his brethrē: Judas begat Phares ⁊ Zarā of Thamar:

21.a 25.c 1.f 31.a

of S. Mathew. Fo. ij.

Zorobabel begat Abiud:
Abiud begat Eliachim:
Eliachim begat Azor:
Azor begat Sadoc:
Sadoc begat Achin:
Achin begat Eliud:
Eliud begat Eleasar:
Eleasar begat Matthan:
Matthan begat Jacob:
Jacob begat Joseph the hußbande of Mary, of whō was borne that Jesus, which is called Christ.

All the generacions from Abrahā to Dauid are fourtene generacions: From Dauid vnto the captiuite of Babylon, are fourtene generacions. From the captiuite of Babylon vnto Christ, are also fourtene generacions.

The byrth of Christ was on thys wyse: When his mother Mary was maried to Joseph * before they came together, she was foūde with chylde by ẏ holy goost, But Joseph her hußbande was a perfect man, and wolde not bringe her to shame, but was mynded to put her awaie secretely. Neuertheles whyle he thus thought, beholde, the angell of the LORDE appered vnto him in a dreame, saynge: Joseph thou sonne of Dauid, fea

C Luc.1.b

Some reade *before they sat at home together.

1 PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF TYNDALS NEW TESTAMENT

2

S. Mathew. Fo. ij.

¶ The Gospell of S. Mathew.

¶ The fyrst Chapter. ✠

¶ The genealogye of Chryst, and maryage of hys mother Mary. The angel satysfieth Josephs mynde.

Hys ys ẏ booke of the generacyon of Jesus Chryst, ẏ sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Abrahā: to Dauid, are fourtene generacyōs. And frō Dauid vnto the captyuyte of Babylon, are fourtene generacyōs. And from the captiuyte of Babylon vnto Christ, are fourtene generacyons.

The byrth of Jesus Chryst was on this wyse. ✠ When his mother Mary was maryed to Joseph (before they came to dwell to geather) she was founde with chylde by the holy ghoost. Then Joseph her husbande (because he was a ryghteous man, and wolde not put her to shame) he was mynded preuely to departe from her. But whyll he thus thought, beholde, the aungell of the Lorde appeared vnto hym in slepe, saying: Joseph, thou sonne of Dauid: feare not to take vnto the Mary thy wyfe. For that which is conceaued in her, cometh of the holy ghost. She shall brynge forth a sonne, and thou shalt cal hys name * Jesus. For he shall saue his people from theyr synnes.

C

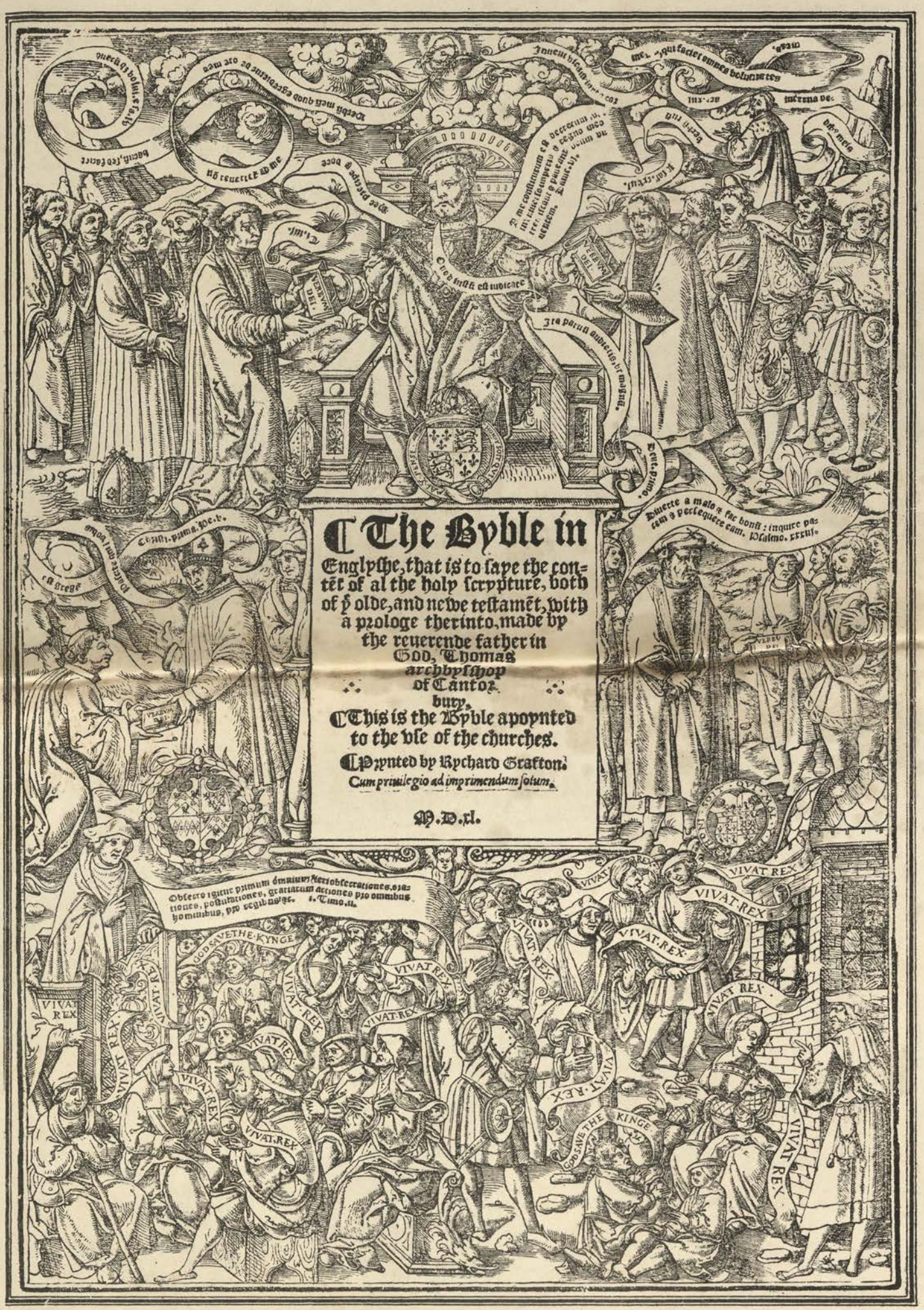
* Philip.ii.b Actes.iiii.b

D

Al this was done, ẏ it might be fulfilled, which was spokē of the Lord by ẏ prophet, saying: * Behold, a mayd shalbe wt chylde, & shall bring forth a sonne, & they shall call his name Emanuel, which yf a man interpret, it is asmoch to say as God with vs. ✠

* Esa.vii.e

2. PART OF THE FIRST PAGE OF "ST MATTHEW" FROM THE "GREAT BIBLE" PRINTED IN 1540



THE TITLE PAGE OF CRANMERS BIBLE, KNOWN AS THE "GREAT BIBLE." 1540.

successors. The title-page (Plate 94) is, perhaps, the noblest work of the kind that the designer's and engraver's art had produced up to that period; and no doubt every effort was made that it should be so: Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, at that time the two most powerful men in the realm, having both interested themselves greatly in the production of an English Bible in a worthy manner; feeling that an important historical event was taking place in the preparation of a volume, which was to be issued under the full authority and protection of the throne and the Church, as set forth in the tablet of the title-page, at the head of which Cranmer and Cromwell are both represented in the act of receiving simultaneously a copy of the book from the king, as the supreme head of the Anglican Church. It has been said that this title-page was designed by Holbein, and most of the designs appear to favour that idea, especially the figure of the king, which exhibits much of that regal stateliness, approaching to audacity, which Holbein knew so well how to express. The figures of Cranmer and Cromwell, too, evidently portraits, are also in his manner, as well as several of the attendant figures grouped around them, many of which will be recognized by those familiar with the portraiture of the period. The engraving is not, in many respects, equal to the designing; from which it may be inferred that it was perhaps the work of national artists, in whose hands some of the grace and freedom of the great German draughtsman was lost.

The intention of the designer may be thus briefly explained. At the top, forming the background of the upper part of the picture, is the figure of the Almighty, issuing from a mass of clouds. To the left of this figure, and emanating from it, is an appropriate text from Isaiah, inscribed on a scrolled label, and to the right, a text from the Acts of the Apostles, which is addressed to a kneeling figure of the king. The king is bareheaded, having placed his crown upon the ground, in token of humiliation, while thus receiving, direct from Heaven, his appointment as supreme head of the Church of England, as intended to be indicated by this device of the artist. Below these objects, and on a larger scale, in order to give the effect of distance to the figures in the background, the king, seated on his throne, forms the central feature, and thence proclaims his supremacy, having, as the new head of the Church, assumed the right to dictate a religious faith to his people, which he announces in the words of a well-selected passage from the book of Daniel (vi. 26): "I make a decree that in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the living God." A scroll issuing from the king's mouth, to the left, is made to bear a text from the Epistle to Titus (ii. 25), addressed to the Lords spiritual, who have removed their mitres and placed them at their feet, in deference to the head of the Church, in whose presence they stand. The text runs, "These things speak and exhort;" thus intimating precisely to the prelacy the duties which they were expected to see duly performed. At the same time, as the fountain-head of the national faith, he hands to Archbishop Cranmer, surrounded by his brother bishops, the newly translated Bible, bearing for inscription on its cover, "The Word of God" (*verbum Dei*). On the opposite side the king presents a similar book to Cromwell, his laic vice-gerent, prime minister, and also vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, as well as chief of the Lords temporal (by whom he is surrounded), and through whose instrumentality the "Word of God," made intelligible in the English tongue, is to be disseminated among the laity; while a scroll emanating from the king bears an inscription commanding that judgment in temporal matters should be fitly and justly performed. It is taken from Deuteronomy (ii. 16, 17): "Judge righteously. Ye shall hear the small as well as the great."

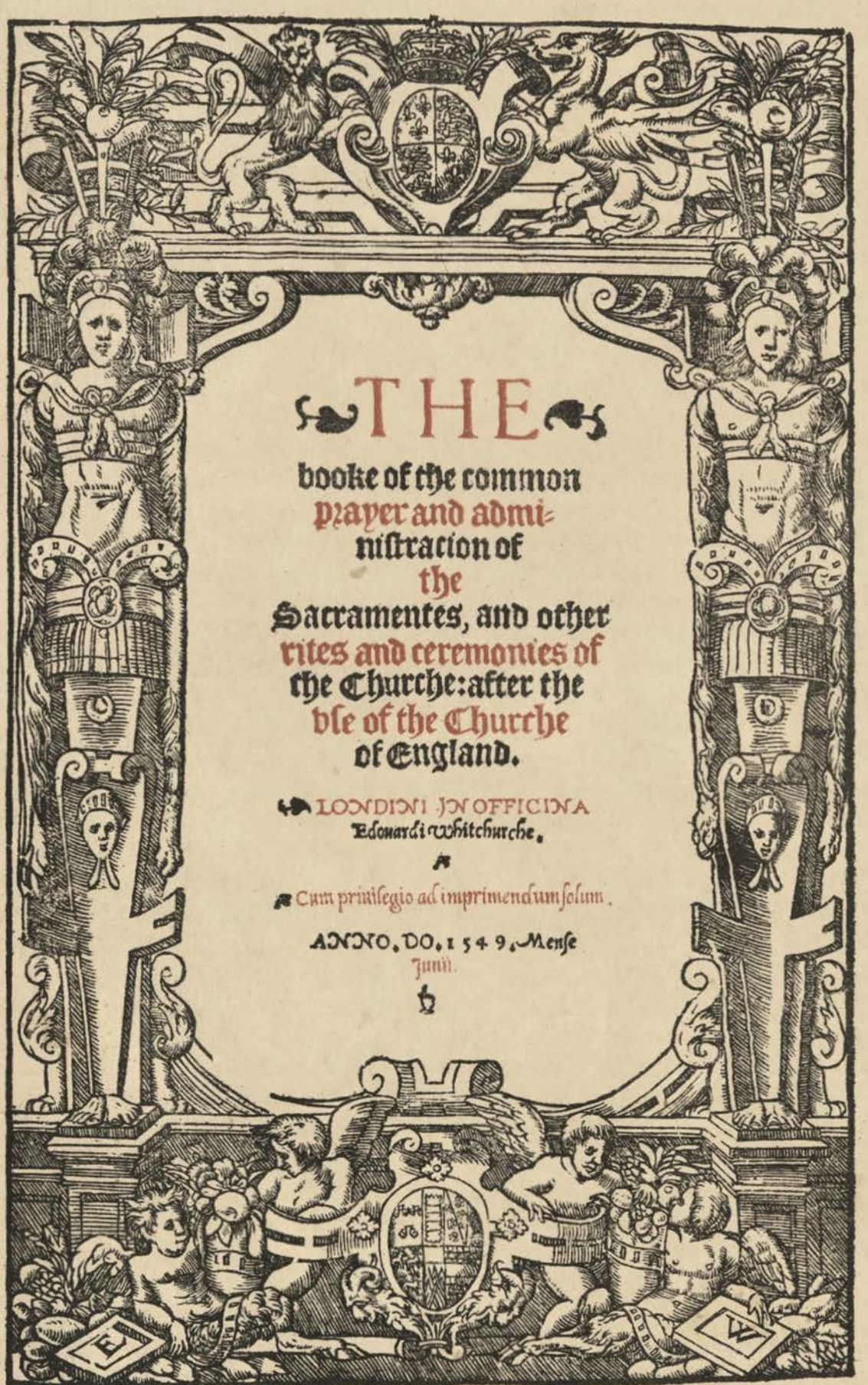
Beneath this scroll is another group, in which Cromwell again appears, and being no longer in the immediate presence of the king, he wears his usual beret cap, while he presents the translated Bible (*verbum Dei*) to a group representing the laity in general. All this tells its story very ingeniously; but there is one great inconsistency; namely, that the text of the mottoes, and even the title of the Book itself, are in Latin, while the great fact intended to be expressed by the entire

design of the artist is the authoritative presentation to the English people of an English Bible. Beneath the principal figure of this group are the arms of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, enclosed in the Garter, of which order he had been created a knight; but in subsequent editions of the Great Bible there is a blank patch, in the place of these arms; for Cromwell's fall and execution having taken place in the interim, the king's printer therefore erased his arms from the title-page of the State Bible. On the opposite side to Cromwell, the Archbishop Cranmer is seen, attended by one of his chaplains, standing above a shield bearing his coat of arms. These arms are the same as those which appear at the commencement of his life by Parker, but with the addition of the crescent, indicating a younger branch of the family. He is presenting the book to the clergy, while a flowing label bears the text from the first Epistle of Peter (i. 5): "Feed the flock of Christ which is among you." Below this group is a preacher in a pulpit, who is giving forth a text from the first Epistle to Timothy (i. 1): "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings, &c."

The lower part of the composition represents people of all classes, both men and women, joyfully joining in one universal cry of Vivat Rex! groups of children shouting in plain English "God save the Kynge;" while even prisoners behind the bars of the jail windows are also seen to be gladdened by the news that at last the "Word of God" was given direct to the people in their mother tongue. The grouping of this mass of figures is exceedingly artistic, and the distinctions of various callings and characters defined with very great artistic skill. The whole design is in fact a grand artistic manifesto of that Protestantism, the greatest feature of which was the placing of the "Word of God" directly in the hands of the people.

In Plate 93 will be found a specimen of the text of the Great Bible. The type is a fine upright Gothic or black letter, of very bold and legible character, and distinct in style from the German type of the Coverdale Bible, and that of Tyndale's New Testament, a specimen of the last of which may be conveniently compared with it, as being on the same plate. The gigantic initial T is in the Dutch rather than the German style of the period, and was probably designed and engraved in Holland. In this edition several well-known passages were modified, and will be found to differ from the corresponding ones in Matthews's Bible. A separate edition of this Bible appears to have been printed by John Byddell, in Fleet Street, with some variations, under the editorship of the great Greek scholar Taverner. It was probably done with the direct permission of Cromwell; but was nevertheless an infringement of Grafton's patent; and very soon afterwards appeared Grafton's new edition, with the omission of the arms of Cromwell on the title-page, his former patron having perished on the scaffold, on the 28th of July, 1540, accused by his enemies of heresy and other crimes. It is well known that his fall was accomplished by his old enemy, the Duke of Norfolk, through the influence of his fair daughter Catherine Howard, whose influence over the king had become unbounded, and who was destined to succeed to the divorced Anne of Cleves, a match of which Cromwell had unfortunately been the chief promoter. The striking title-page of this volume is repeated at the commencement of the New Testament, and large initial letters in the style of the one in Plate 93 are repeated at intervals. The secondary capitals are very elegant, but of a more usual style, while the illustrative cuts are few, and in every way inferior. The vellum copy in the British Museum, which was evidently the presentation copy executed for the king, has the grand title-page coloured, and, it may be added, spoilt in the colouring.

It would be impossible in this place to record the appearance of all the subsequent editions of the English Bible about this and the immediately succeeding epochs: they were many, and appeared in rapid succession. I may state, however, in order to complete my account of the first "Great Bible" in English, that seven or eight editions of it were issued, and that a royal proclamation went forth commanding its use in all churches, and fixing its price at ten shillings unbound, and twelve shillings well bound and clasped. Bishop Bonner, afterwards a sanguinary persecutor of



PRINCIPAL TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1549.

ANORDRE

for Mattyns daylye through the yere.

The prieſt beyng in the queer ſhall begynne wyth a loude voyce the Lordes prayer, called the *Pater noſter.*

OUR father whiche arte in heauē, hallowed be thy name. Thy kyngdome come. Thy wyll be done in earth as it is in heauen. Geue vs thys day oure daily breade. And forgeue vs oure treſpaſſes, as we forgeue theim that treſpaſſe againſt vs. And leade vs not into temptacion. But deliuer vs from euell. Amen.

PVBLIKE BAPTISME

When there are children to be Baptiſed vpon the Sonday, or holy daye, the parentes ſhall geue knowledge ouer nyght or in the mornyng, afore the beginning of Mattyns to the curate. And then the Godfathers, Godmothers, and people, with the children, muſte be ready at the churche doore, either immediatly afore the laſt Canticle at Mattens, or els immediatly afore the laſt Canticle at Euenſong, as the Curate by his diſcretion ſhal appoynte. And then ſtanding there, the prieſte ſhall aſke whether the chyldren bee Baptyſed or no. If they aunſwere. No. Then ſhall the prieſte ſaye thus.

DEare beloued, foraſmuche as al men be conceyued and borne in ſinne, and that no man borne in ſynne, can enter into the kingdom of God (except he be regenerate, and borne a newe of water, and the holy goſt (I beſeche you to cal

Euening prayer.

MY ſoule doeth magnifie the Lord: and my ſpirite hath reioyced in God my Sauiour. Magnificat. Luke 1.

For he hath regarded: the lowlineſſe of his handmaiden.

For beholde from henceforth: al generations ſhal cal me bleſſed.

For he that is mightie hath magnified me: and holy is his name.

And his mercie is on them that feare him: throughout all generations.

He hath ſhewed ſtrength with his arme: he hath ſcattered the proude in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put downe the mightie from their ſeat: and hath exalted the humble and meeke.

He hath filled the hungrie with good things: and the rich he hath ſent emptie away.

He remembring his mercie, hath holpen his ſeruant Iſrael: as he promiſed to our forefathers, Abraham and his ſeede for euer.

Glorie be to the father, and to the ſonne. &c.

As it was in the beginning, is now. &c.

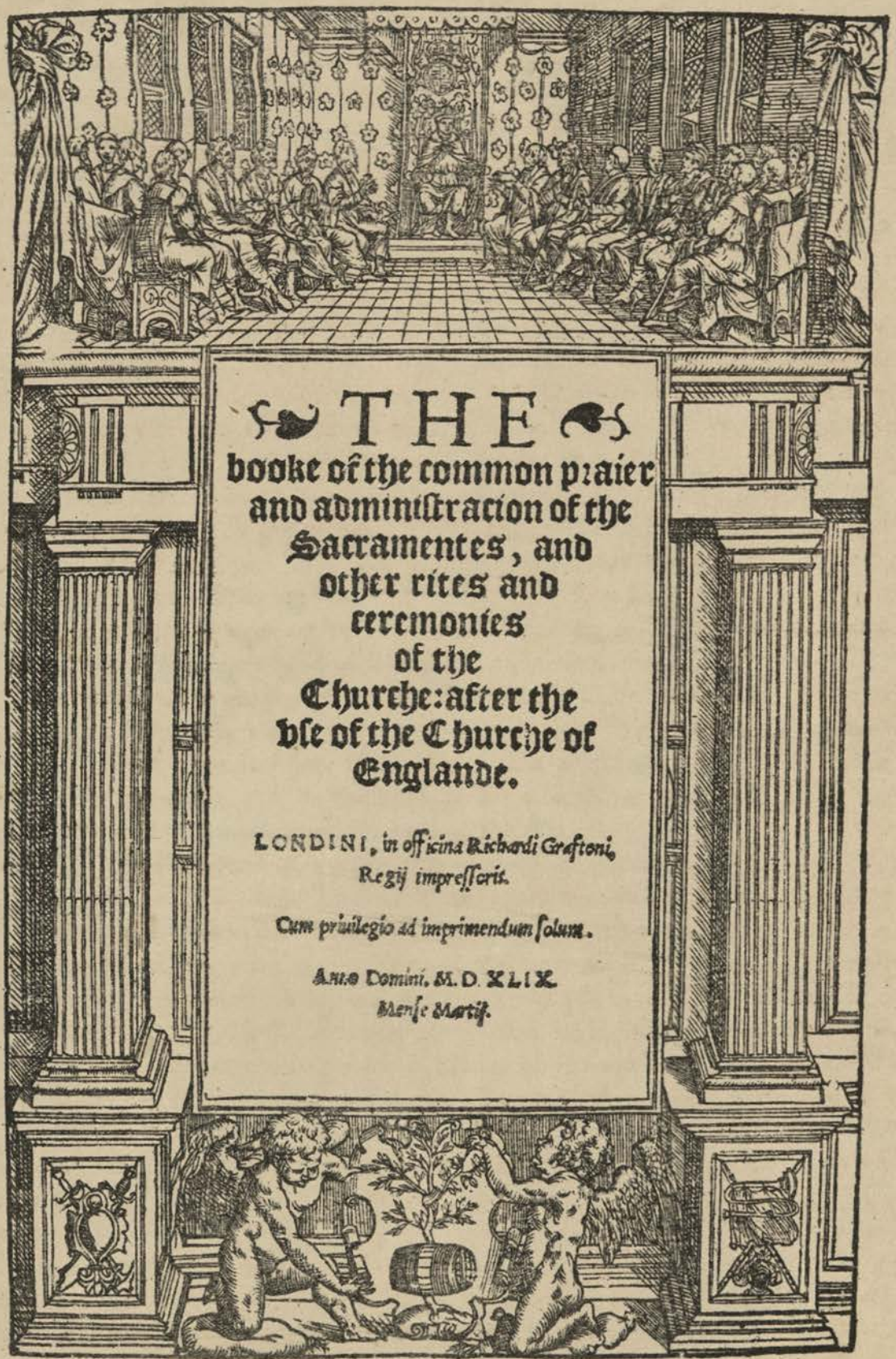
Or els this Pſalme.

OSing vnto the Lord a newe ſong: for he hath done marueilous things. Cantate Domino. Pſal. 98.

With his owne right hande, and with his holy arme: hath hee gotten him ſelfe the victorie.

The Lord declared his ſaluation: his righteouſnes hath he openly ſhewed in the ſight of the heathen.

He hath remembred his mercie and trueth towarde the houſe of Iſrael: and all the endes of the worlde haue ſeene the ſaluation of our God.



THE
booke of the common praier
and administracion of the
Sacramentes, and
other rites and
ceremonies
of the
Churche: after the
vse of the Churche of
Englande.

LONDINI, in officina Richardi Graftoni,
Regij impressoris.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Anno Domini. M.D. XLIX.
Mense Martij.

A SUB TITLE FROM THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

the Reformers in the reign of Mary, was so good a courtier in the reign of Henry VIII., under whose protection, and through the influence of Wolsey, he had risen from the lower ranks of society, took up the cause of the Reformation with a great show of energy; and in order to carry out the royal edict as to the reading of the Bible in English, set up six copies of the Great Bible in his cathedral against six pillars (to which they were chained) in six convenient places, each book being accompanied by an admonition to readers.

Of the other ecclesiastical works of the Grafton press, the first authorized Prayer Book of the Reformed Church of England is the next most important, after the "Great Bible." It was issued under royal authority in 1549, two years after the accession of Edward VI. The title-page of this first-printed English Prayer Book will be found in fac-simile in Plate 95. In style of ornament it does not present that quaintness of feeling and intricate variety of outline that we find in the earlier works of the 16th century; for that rich and grandly florid ornamentation of the Revival may be said to have disappeared with Holbein, though some of the German masters displayed something of its spirit for a little time longer. It had been the hybrid product of the prolific union of the rich Gothic tracery with the long-neglected and newly-appreciated beauty of the classic styles; for, like all striking styles, it was founded on the union of two distinct feelings in art, married by Genius, and producing for a time a robust and magnificent offspring, which was undoubtedly one of the most really successful schools of modern art; but in the design before us (Plate 96½), which represents its decadence, the full force of the equal union of styles has nearly disappeared; and the richly florid feeling of the Gothic is made to give way to the more severe and frigid lines of the Roman style, the taste for which was soon destined to prevail still further, to the ultimate extinction of all mediæval feeling. In England, towards the close of the career of Holbein, who died in 1543, the change was very rapid; and in the design before us, though there is still some remnant of the elder feeling, plain classic pilasters have taken the place of fancifully twisted columns, cusped arches, and the endless variety of outline of the earlier period. In the council-chamber, for instance, in the upper part of the design, the representation of the young king in council is well conceived, but the bare and square formality of the general device is without any decorative framework to set it off; while in the lower border, the pictorially punning device of the printer Grafton, represented by a *graft* and a *tun*, might have been very attractive had the surroundings been equally spirited and picturesque. In this title Grafton takes care to parade his exclusive patent for printing "the Book of the Common Praier," as he states that he printed it *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum;* and his partner Whitchurch appears to have possessed an equal privilege, as shown in the title-page fac-similied in Plate 95. The ornamental border-work to the title of the last-named edition is preferable to that of Grafton's edition, with the sole exception of the view of the council-chamber; being bolder and more florid in general design, and of a richer and fuller character. In the lower part, in place of the punning device of Grafton, Whitchurch has placed his own armorial bearings by way of imprint, accompanied by the initials of his name effectively placed on small massive tablets.

In the specimens from the general text of the Book of Common Prayer, it will be observed that many of the Roman Catholic terms are still preserved; as for instance, Morning Prayer is still termed "Matyns;" and in order to make those once accustomed to Latin prayers fully understand what is meant by the "Lord's Prayer," they are informed that it is the prayer usually called the *Paternoster*. The capital O used for this prayer is a very fine initial, but evidently not originally designed for its present position, as it represents the stoning of St. Stephen. The black letter of the general text is similar in style to that of the "Great Bible," though larger and bolder, as shown in this fac-simile of an entire page taken from the commencement of the "Publike Baptism" (Plate 96). The initials occurring in this page, though of smaller size, are richer in design, and of a style belonging to a somewhat earlier period than the great

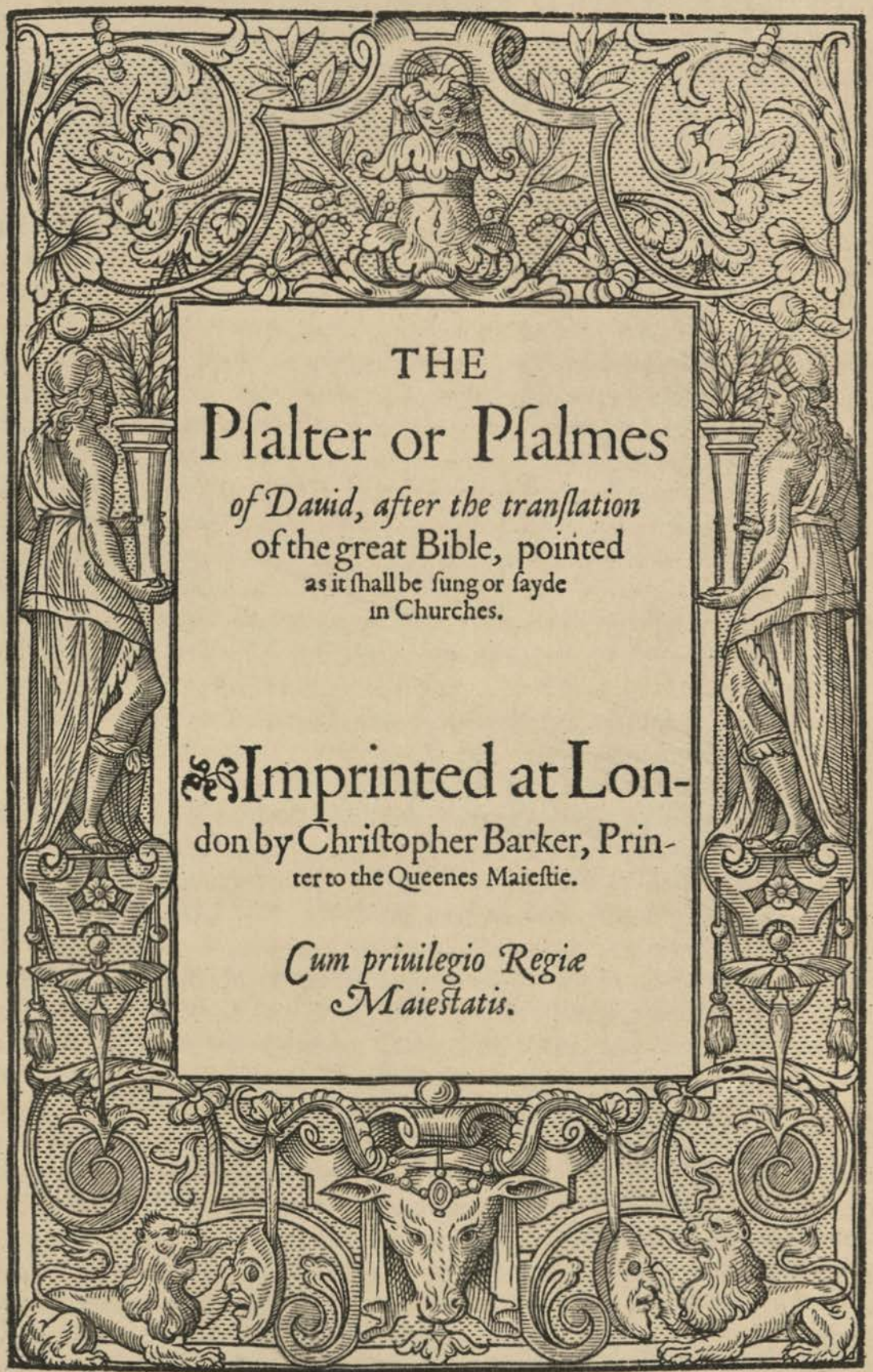
M of the Evening Prayer, which is a fine example of the newer style of capital letter, which now began rapidly to supersede the more complex forms of semi-Gothic decoration. The "Evening Prayer" appears to have taken its new title at once, though in the marginal note the precaution is taken to refer to the *Magnificat* of the old mass-book as the basis of the new form.

It has been remarked, as a somewhat curious circumstance, that neither the English printed Missals nor the first Prayer Books exhibit any attempt at elaborate decoration similar to that of the celebrated French "Hours." With regard to the Missals, it is not easy to give a satisfactory explanation of this peculiarity; but the absence of profuse decoration of the kind alluded to in the Prayer Books of the Reformed Church may have been a form of demonstration against "image-worship;" and the somewhat ostentatious abnegation of all unnecessary ornament in the Reformed Prayer Book, was probably, in its way, a declaration of the Protestant feeling against what were termed Popish mummeries. But if so, it is somewhat inconsistent that, at a much later period, in the reign of Elizabeth, we find a printer issuing a very highly decorated Protestant Prayer Book, and that, too, at a time when the rich ornamentation of the French "Hours" was rapidly dying out. On the whole, the printing of the first English Prayer Book may be considered, though without ornament, a fine specimen of the art at a period when it had fully and finally superseded that of the copyist in a commercial point of view. Manuscript volumes were, however, still executed; but they were no longer the books of the day—they were exceptional products, and after the first quarter of the 16th century were becoming very rare, although the art did not become entirely extinct, and a few fine works were still executed occasionally; a Missal for the Royal Chapel of Versailles having been written and illuminated more than a century later; for the Catholic Church clung to the forms and appendages of its palmy days with a tenacity which was the chief means of sustaining the art of the book-transcriber in a lingering career for nearly two centuries after the legitimate period of its natural extinction.

Among the works of Grafton not connected with the Church, his fine edition of "Hall's Chronicle," in which Grafton's own "Chronicle" was incorporated, may be cited as a typical example, and a specimen page is given in fac-simile (No. 1, Plate 99). It will be seen that the beautiful regularity of the type, and its skilful and artistic setting-up, form one of the most perfect specimens of the art of any period, from the time of the first great masterpieces of the Gutenberg press and that of Schoiffher, even to the sumptuous productions of the present day; and in regularity and facile legibility, resulting from the absolute identity of recurring letters, it exhibits in a striking point of view the fully established superiority of type and print over the finest manuscript work. The large initials are in a peculiar and elegant style, and were evidently designed expressly for the work; that in the present specimen being a fine, though not one of the most decorative examples. The grand feature of this book is, however, the design representing the great council-hall of Henry VIII., which is placed at the beginning of his reign. It was certainly the work of Holbein, and must have been done shortly before his death. In many of the existing copies of Grafton's "Chronicle" it has been, from its attractive character, cut out; while in others it is so much injured as to render the taking of a photograph impossible, and I could not make up my mind to take one from the fine fac-simile copied by hand which has been executed to supply its place in the Museum copy.

We have seen that Grafton was an author of considerable ability, as well as printer; and, in fact, from Caxton downward, many of our early printers printed the products of their own authorship, though few of them produced works of the importance and authority of the Chronicle compiled by Grafton. He was also a man of substance, and for a time represented the town of Coventry in Parliament; he moreover held a patent for printing all State papers, both in the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Grafton and Whitchurch, who saw one of the great patrons of their early career, Cromwell,



THE TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST SEPERATE EDITION OF THE PSALTER IN ENGLAND.

brought to the block within a few months after the appearance of their noble work, the "Great Bible," also lived to see a second patron, Cranmer, cruelly brought to the stake during the persecutions in the reign of Mary. In the last case, however, Whitchurch, being a man of good family connections, or at all events considerable pretensions, as we have seen from his ostentatious display of his coat of arms by way of imprint in editions of the Prayer Book, consoled himself by marrying the widow of the bishop.

The appearance of the first edition of the Psalter in English may be referred to in this place, though belonging to a later period. It was printed by Christopher Baker; and a fac-simile of the title will be found in Plate 97½.

It should be stated here that both Grafton and Whitchurch abstained from exercising their art during the reign of Mary, and that many of the other printers of the period of the Reformation followed their example. Henry Tab, of St. Paul's Churchyard, William Baldwin, Thomas Petit, John Wayland (for a time Queen's printer), John Meyler, William Middleton, and John Herforde, are a few of the more prominent among the English printers towards the middle of the 16th century; the last-named having produced one book so remarkable that it can scarcely be passed over in silence; namely, the medical work of Gemminus, with illustrative anatomical plates engraved on copper, supposed to have been the first printed at the rolling-press in England, in 1553; the decorative title, though only in outline, being also a very remarkable and elegant production. Ragnald printed the first English book on Midwifery, with "divers thyngs concerning fruytfullnesse," uselessly dedicated to the most excellent virtuous Lady Queen Katherine. Robert Foy printed a "Book of Hours" in the reign of Mary (1555); and the name of his widow may still be seen in Stationers' Hall as a benefactress of the Worshipful Company. The names of Richard Lant, William Bonham, Nicholas Bowman, and Reginald Wolfe also belong to the archives of English printing of the period under description. Wolf had his press at the sign of the "Brazen Serpent," at St. Paul's; and was a man of good position, having been on intimate terms with Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, with Archbishop Cranmer, and with other eminent men; being also Master of the Stationers' Company at the time it received its charter from Queen Elizabeth. He printed "The Castle of Knowledge," which the author had dedicated to the "most puissant Princess Mary, Queene of Englande, Spaine," &c.; and this is one of the first English books printed in Roman type, to the exclusion of the fine Gothic black letter, while the title, representing the "Castle of Knowledge" by an allegory, is a remarkably ingenious production. The books printed by Wolfe form a very numerous and remarkable list. He was certainly one of our greatest and most enterprising printers.

But more eminent still was John Day, the last printer I shall here refer to, as an account of his works will carry me beyond the period—namely, the middle of the 16th century—at which I determined to close my general sketch of the origin of the printing-press, and its progress during the first century of its existence. John Day was a Suffolk man by birth, and had his first printing-office near Holborn Conduit. But he soon became so eminent, that Stowe mentions his extensive offices in Aldersgate, which he tells us, with his usual love of detail, were enlarged by extending them over the City wall. Among other matters for which he was remarkable in his career as an English printer, it may be stated that he was the first to make use of Saxon characters, and that he greatly improved the Greek types, as well as the Italic. The learned Archbishop Parker fully estimated his talents and character, and had a great personal esteem and affection for him. From the variety and excellence of his types, he has, indeed, been termed the English Plantin. His folio edition of Tyndale's Bible appeared as early as 1549, and in 1551 he printed a folio edition of Matthews's Bible. One of his finest works is the "Cosmographical Glasse," issued in 1559, a work printed entirely in his fine italic type, and embellished with a profusion of woodcuts. It was dedicated to the Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester Another of his most

celebrated works is the "Ypodigma Neustriæ vel Normandiæ," a kind of summary of the history of Normandy; the profuse illustrations of which must have cost a very large sum, said to have been defrayed by Archbishop Parker. The "General and Rare Memorials" were printed in 1577, and the emblematical frontispiece of this curious work is one of the most remarkable things of the kind in the whole range of books of this period. The Queen, Elizabeth, figures very prominently in the allegorical picture, round which is the inscription **ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΝ ΒΡΥΤΑΝΙΚΟΝ**. The author of this singular work was the celebrated astrologer and spiritualist, Mr. John Dee, sometimes called Dr. Dee. "Queen Elizabeth's Progresses," remarkable for their fine illustrations, were also brought out by Day, in 1578, and his Books of Psalms in 1581 and 1583.

One of the prettiest of his books is the Prayer Book, commonly known as Queen Elizabeth's, on account of her portrait at the beginning of the volume. This book is remarkable as being an adoption of the highly decorative and Romanist style of the French "Hours," at a time when Protestantism was so strongly in the ascendant in England, and John Day one of its stanchest supporters. It would seem, however, that he delighted in the exercise of his art, and especially in its more decorative forms, while he was liberal enough to perceive that simply decorative features in ecclesiastical works did not necessarily imply a giving in either to the forms or the spirit of Romanism. It was in such views that the more liberal Protestants differed from the fanatical iconoclasm of the Puritans. The portrait of the Queen kneeling at a private altar, though somewhat stiff in outline, has yet much of the fulness of design and rich treatment of accessories which generally distinguished the works of an earlier period, as the fac-simile in Plate 98 will exemplify. The title-page, composed principally of the Tree of Jesse, and of which a fac-simile has been reproduced in the same plate, is still more strongly marked by the fine old manner of the 15th century, which, at the late period at which this composition was devised, one might fancy had entirely given place to the more prevalent styles. It is true that much of the luxuriant fulness of detail of the elder time is wanting; but the dramatic and picturesque qualities of the old treatment are still rife in the present composition. The recumbent figure of Jesse is not without dignity, and the genealogy of Christ, shown in the branches of the tree which springs from the founder of the sacred race, is well defined; the figure of the Virgin and Infant Saviour forming very artistically the central object of the upper portion of the border. A national character is imparted to the composition by the introduction of the Rose of York and the Arms of Westminster (the portcullis). In the lower border of this title-page the printer describes himself as dwelling over Aldersgate, bearing out the account of the antiquary Stowe, that he enlarged his offices by means of building "over the city walls," for which he no doubt obtained the requisite permission from the city authorities of the time. As a specimen page from the general text, I have taken that containing the Prayer on "first going abroad!" as it exhibits in its decorative border much of that conventional arrangement of small distinct subjects, ranged into a border which distinguished many of the celebrated French "Hours," of the style of which this little volume is one of the latest examples. The execution both of border and print is exceedingly neat, and quite worthy of the press of John Day, though some of the small blocks may not be original, and I think I recognize the geometric decoration forming the fringe as having previously done duty in some of the later of the old French "Hours" above alluded to. From a few other pages I have selected specimens of the borders only, taking such as were likely to afford a good general idea of the decorations of the rest of the volume. In imitating the general style of the French "Hours" and Missals, the "Dance of Death" as one of their appropriately decorative features, could not, of course, be omitted by an emulator of the style; but many new subjects were added to the series as adopted by John Day, exhibiting a wider range in the selection of "victims." When the original idea of the Dance of Death was first developed, and his indiscriminating visits to all classes alike, duly illustrated—from the pope, the priest, the

merchant, the butcher, the baker, down to the child in the cradle—the printer's craft did not exist; but in John Day's time it had become a leading and most important art; and we find, therefore, in the present version of this grim satire, the inevitable visitant duly waiting upon the printer at his work, hour-glass in hand, very graphically represented. For instance, in the first of the separate borders represented in Plate 98, Death waits upon the *compositor*, whom he addresses in the irregular couplet—

Leave off setting thy page!
Spent is thine age!

while in the compartment below, the same grim visitant summons the *pressman*, with,

Let printing stay!
And come away!

The next two borders are of a lighter and more pleasant nature, and are very gracefully treated. They form part of a series of four, representing the senses. "Smelling" is very elegantly expressed by means of a pleasing female figure holding a bouquet, from which she has selected the sweetest flower (a rose), which she is in the act of smelling. The accompanying symbol is the dog, whose scent, as displayed in his hunting capacity, is considered keener than that of any other animal. "Sight" is equally well expressed by a somewhat similar figure holding a mirror, in which she is looking at the reflection of her own face; the accompanying symbol being fully as characteristic as the preceding one; it is an eagle, whose sight is supposed to be so keen that, according to the well-known fable, it gazes without blinking at the full glare of the mid-day sun. There are many other borders equally well designed, and quite as full of point; but those described will sufficiently explain the high merit, of its kind, of the decorations of this pretty little volume. The execution of these borders must not be judged in comparison with the delicate manipulation and high finish of works of our own time, but accepted for its artistic pith and point, which, in spite of the comparative roughness of the work, surpasses many things of the present day, which are put forth with much higher pretensions. The editions of the "Book of Psalms" of this printer appeared in 1581 and 1583.

But the work of John Day's press, by which his reputation as one of the great English printers will be best sustained, is the noble volume in which he produced to the world Fox's great work entitled "Acts and Monuments, &c.," but better known as "Fox's Book of Martyrs." This book contains such an array of undeniable facts, exhibiting the sanguinary, and unchristian persecutions of the Roman Catholic party, that its publication proved a most powerful lever to the cause of Protestantism, and was, indeed, a blow from which Romanism never again rose erect in this country. The great and immediate effect produced by Fox's work was no doubt partly owing to the striking manner in which it was issued to the public by its printer, himself an ardent supporter of the reformed faith. The copious series of large illustrations is most expressively designed, and often exhibits the well-known features of those concerned, both as victims and persecutors, which no doubt greatly added to the effect produced by the graphic accounts furnished by the author, especially as the characteristic and well-executed designs always tell their own story well, directly, and unmistakeably. Among the large number of illustrations with which the book is actually teeming, the selection of a single one as a specimen was no easy task. Those representing martyrs expiring in a sheet of fire at the Smithfield stakes are generally most strikingly treated, and often with a kind of success, so difficult of attainment in subjects of the kind, successfully absorbing the attention of the spectator in the lofty enthusiasm of the martyr, rather than in the agony of his cruel death. From some of these I was greatly tempted to make my selection of the single subject destined to form the hundredth and last illustration of this volume; but eventually "The sharp burnyng of Thomas Tomkyns' hand by the cruel Bonner hymselfe" was preferred, the graphic reality of

the composition having decided me in taking that subject instead of others of greater artistic merit, and greater historical importance. The face of Bonner (evidently done from a portrait) presents a full reflex of that sensuousness, as well as cruelty, for which he was infamously distinguished; and the manner in which he holds one hand of his victim by the fingers, while he applies a lighted taper to it, till the flesh is frightfully scorched, together with the resolute bearing of the Protestant martyr, who makes no effort to withdraw his hand from the agonizing suffering which his tormentor is inflicting upon him, are both highly characteristic; and not less so is the position of the jailer standing at the door, who has brought the prisoner from his cell, and who turns away his head, in order not to witness the act of cruel brutality perpetrated in his presence, while he dashes away a tear which he cannot control, but which, if he acted wisely, he did not allow the bishop to perceive. This sentiment of the jailer, in contradistinction to the easy and indifferent manner in which the learned Doctors of the Catholic Church are continuing their discussion, undisturbed by the agony which is being inflicted upon a fellow-creature in their presence, makes up a picture that much greater artists than the illustrator of John Day's book might well be proud of. The designer of these illustrations is not known; but that they are not English work is evident, and that their author was either Dutch or German is pretty certain, as it would have been unsafe for any artists to engage in such a work in France, where the great Protestant massacre was just impending.

This book was printed principally in small black letter, and was first issued in the year 1562, being dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The dedication is printed in two sizes of the famous Italic type which John Day had brought to such great perfection (see Plate 99); the capital C at the commencement, which is one of the finest examples known of the woodcut initial, being of unusually large size; while its design and execution—which I believe to be the work of English artists—is of very superior merit, especially in the ornamental details. The portrait of the queen attended by three of her ministers, to which the minor decorations of this fine letter itself form a rich framework, is very characteristic, and the satire conveyed by some portions of the ornamentation should not be overlooked. In the upper part, for instance, a winged figure sustains the royal arms, holding above them the triumphant rose of Lancaster, and supporting at the same time a floridly-designed Horn of Plenty. Crushed beneath the feet of the queen, Roman Catholicism is symbolically placed; the Pope being represented with features strongly resembling those usually assigned by artists of the period to the "Evil One," who, on this occasion, wears the triple crown in due form, while the significant *tail* sports into picturesquely designed serpents, the "Keys of St. Peter" being represented as broken in the grasp of the fiend, while they are stung by the serpents of the "Tail." Such far-fetched allegories were common at that epoch, and many of such artistic manifestoes of Protestantism are so involved in the intricacies of decorative design, that they frequently escape notice in these quieter times, when the bitterness of sectarian disputation has passed away; but they were keenly sought out at the time, and no doubt as keenly relished.

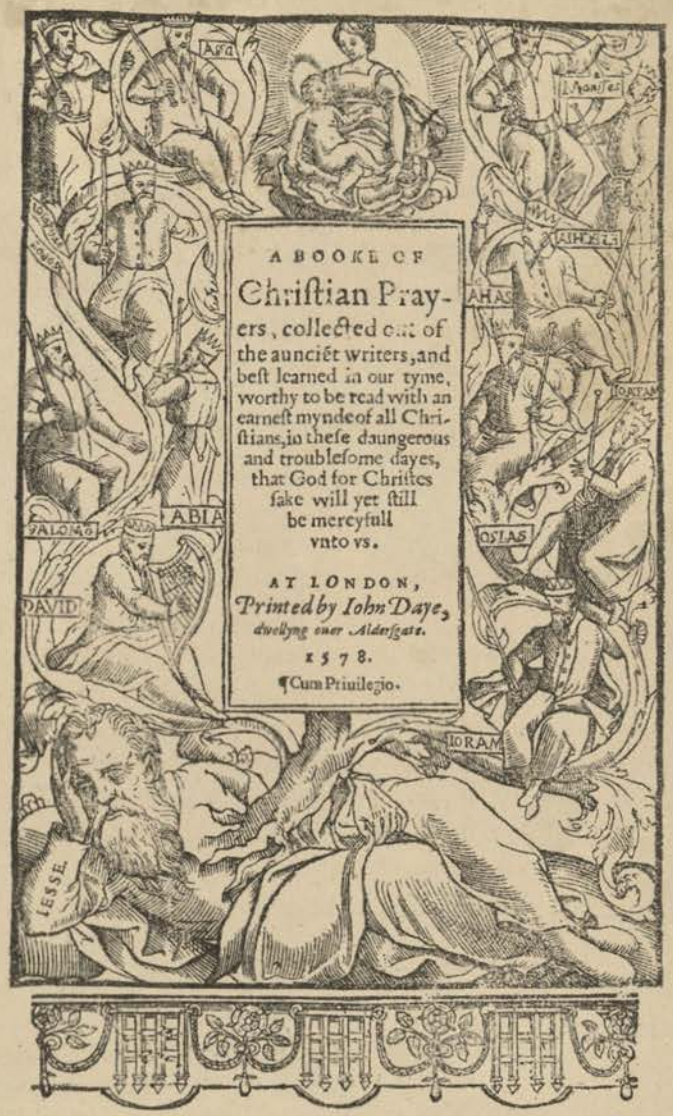
John Day died full of years and honours in 1583. He is one of the most distinguished of our commercial worthies, and along with Caxton and Grafton, his predecessors, merits some more tangible memorial than has, as yet, done honour to his memory. He was buried in his native parish of Bradly Parva, where brass effigies of a man and woman kneeling, surrounded by their children, long marked the resting-place of his remains. There was also an epitaph in verse, in which the following allusion to his celebrated Book of Martyrs occurs:—

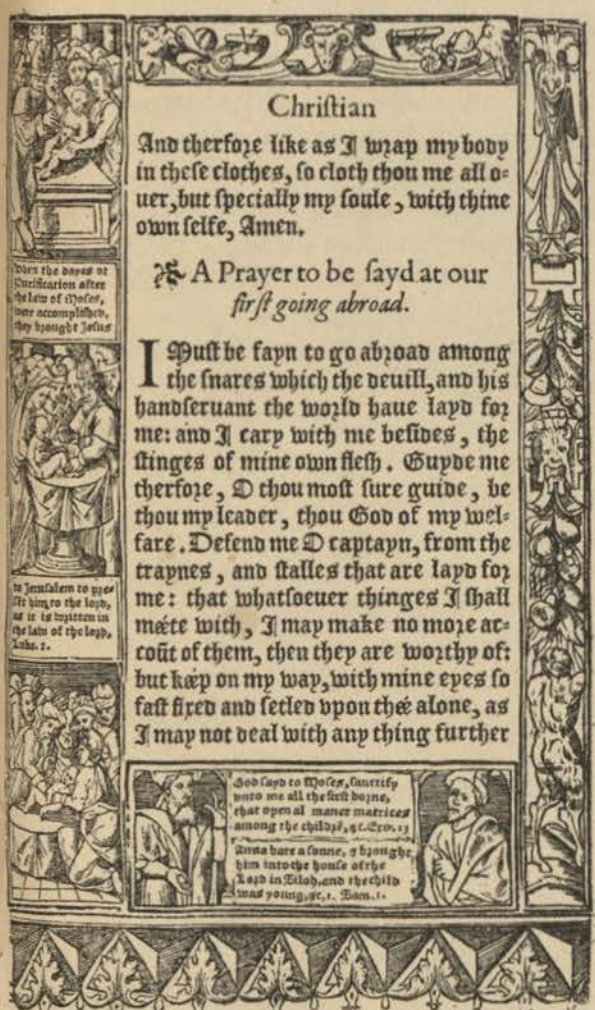
> Here lyes the Daye that darkness could not blinde,
> When Popish fogges had overcast the sunne;
> This Daye the cruel nighte did leave behinde,
> To view and shew what blodi actes were donne.

Elizabeth Regina.

2. PARALIPOM. 6.

¶ *Domine Deus Israel, non est similis tui Deus in cœlo & in terra, qui pacta custodis & misericordiam cum servis tuis, qui ambulant coram te in toto corde suo.*


A BOOKE OF
Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull vnto vs.
AT LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.
1578.
¶ Cum Priuilegio.
ABIA
DAVID
IESSE


Christian
And therfore like as I wrap my body in these clothes, so cloth thou me all ouer, but specially my soule, with thine own selfe, Amen.
¶ A Prayer to be sayd at our first going abroad.
I Must be fayn to go abroad among the snares which the deuill, and his handseruant the world haue layd for me: and I cary with me besides, the stinges of mine own flesh. Guyde me therfore, O thou most sure guide, be thou my leader, thou God of my welfare. Defend me O captayn, from the traynes, and stalles that are layd for me: that whatsoeuer thinges I shall méete with, I may make no more account of them, then they are worthy of: but kéep on my way, with mine eyes so fast fixed and setled vpon thée alone, as I may not deal with any thing further
God sayd to Moses, sanctify vnto me all the first borne, that open al maner matrices among the childre, &c. Exo. 13
Anna bare a sonne, & brought him into the house of the Lord in Silo, and the child was young, &c. 1. Sam. 1.

THREE ENTIRE PAGES AND THREE BORDERS FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PRAYER BOOK, PRINTED IN 1578.

The victorious actes Fo. xxxiii.

of Kyng Henry the fifth.

Enry Prince of wales, sonne and heire to kyng Hēry the. iiii. borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the obsequies of his noble parēt solēply celebrate and sūptеously finished, toke vpon him the high power & regiment of this realme of Englande the. xx. daie of Marche in the yere after that Christ our sauior had entered into the immaculate wōbe of the holy Virgin his naturall mother a thousande foure hundred and xij. and was crouned the. ix. daie of Aprill then next ensuyng, and proclaimed kyng by the name of kyng Henry the fifth. Before whiche royall possession so by hym obteined, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to hym homage, liege and sware dewe obeisance (whiche thyng had not been before experimēted) as to hym in whom thei conceiued a good expectacion bothe of his verteous beginnynges and also of his fortunat successe in al thynges whiche should be attempted or begonne duryng the tyme of his prosperous reigne and fortunate Empire. The.i.yere.

THIS kyng, this man was he, whiche (accordyng to the olde Prouerbe) declared and shewed that honors ought to change maners, for incontinent after that he was stalled in the liege royall, and had receiued the croune and scepter of the famous and fortunate region, determined with hymselfe to put on the shape of a new man, and to vse another sorte of liuyng, turnyng insolencie and wildnes into grauitie and sobernes, and wauerynge vice into constant vertue. And to thētent that he would so continue without goyng backe, & not therunto bee allured by his familier cōpaignions, with whom he had passed his young age and wanton pastime & riotous misorder (insomuche that for imprisonmente of one of his wanton mates and vnthriftie plaifaiers he strake the chiefe Justice with his fiste on the face. For whiche offence he was not onely commited to streight prison, but also of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte, and his brother Thomas

1. PART OF A PAGE FROM HALL'S CHRONICLE, 1547.

TO THE QVENES MOSTE EXCEL-

Lent Maiestie Quene Elizabeth, by the grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce & *Ireland, defendour of the faith, and supreme gouernour of the saide Realme of Englande and Irelande, next vnder the Lorde, as well in causes ecclesiasticall, as also to the temporall state appertaining, her humble subiect* IOHN FOX *hartely wisheth and desireth with increase of Gods holy spirite and grace, long to florishe and reigne in perfect health, and much honour, through the mercie and fauour of Christ Iesus, our Lorde and æternall Sauiour, to the comfort of his churche, and glorie of his holy name.*

Onstantine the greate and mightie Emperour, the sonne of Helene an Englyshe woman of this youre Realme and countrie (moste christian and renowmed Prynces̄e Queene Elizabeth) after he had pacified and establisshed the churche of Christ, being long before vnder persecution, frō the tyme of our sauiour Christ almost 400 yeres: and comming in his progresse at length to a citie called Cæsaria, (where Eusebius wryter of the Ecclesiasticall story was then placed Byshop) required of the sayde Eusebius vpon his owne free motion, to demaund and aske of him what so euer he thought expedīet or necessary for the state and commoditie of his Churche, promising to graunt vnto him the same, whatsoeuer he should aske. Whiche Eusebius, if he had thē required what terrene benefite soeuer he would, either of possessions to be geuen, or of impositiōs to be released, or any other lyke &c. he had no doubt obtained his request of that so lyberall, and so noble harted Emperour. But the good and godly Byshop, more nedy then gredy, more spiritually geuen, then worldly minded, who had learned rather to take a litle, thē to aske much, setting all other respectes aside, made this petition, onely to obtaine at his maiesties

2. A PORTION OF THE DEDICATION PAGE FROM FOX'S "ACTS AND MONUMENTS," PRINTED BY JOHN DAY IN 1560.

The next moneth of Marche, the. 6. daye of
ie. the same moneth, a godly man, one named Rowland Whyte, was burned at Cardyffe in Wales.

The hystorye of Thomas Tomkyns, fyrst hauyng hys hande burned, after burned hymselfe by Bysshoppe Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christes true profession.

h. LYke as the former moneth of February, as it hath bene told before was notable, by the martirdome of fyue most worthye Preachers and true Bysshops: so no lesse memorable was the next moneth of Marche, by the death & murther of eyghte moste constant wytnesses of the Christian doctrine. Amonge whom Thomas Tomkins, citizen of London and Weauer by his occupation, hath the fyrst place. Now those former persons that hytherto haue bene spoken of, were all condemned by Stephan Gardiner, bysshop of Wincheſter which then was hygh Chauncellour: but he beyng now weary, as it seemeth, of the payne and trouble, put of al the reſt to Edmund Bō
r. ner bysshoppe of London, to be condemned by hym, as hereafter God wyllyng ye shal heare. And touchyng Wyncheſter, we haue spoken somewhat before in the hystories aboue. Now concernyng Boner, because wee shall often make mencion of hym hereafter, the occasion of this place woulde require, that we shoulde wryte somwhat of hym likewise, who was almost nothyng els (in one word to speake al his qualities) but a belly. And as for hys prodigious cruelty, in shedding of bloude, to whych thing onelye he seemed to haue bene brought forth of nature, here myght we haue a great field to walke in: but because we wryte an hystory, and not invectiues, we wyll leaue hym to hys Judge, especially seyng the very Martirs them selues, whom he hath condemned, haue sufficiently performed thys part, as here after we shall heare. Now resuming our history of Tomkyns, let vs procede in the matter which we haue begonne. Thys Weauer ther fore whō I speake of, being brought forth vn to Boner, among al the other Martirs, which after followed in great nomber, had this thing as a peculiar destiny, that he was the fyrst of them al whych should try the violence & rage of this bysshop of London. Who also begynnynge hys persecution, gaue forth in thys man a notable example or declaration of hys cruelty to be considered. For Tomkyns, although he was vnlearned, yet was he better learned then that he coulde bee ouercome by hym, and more louyng the truthe, and better stickyng to it, then that he woulde geue place to anye false disallowed errours. Therefore

Tomkyns with his fellowes the fyrste that came before Boner in q. Maries tyme.

The sharpe burnyng of Thomas Tomkyns hand, by cruel Boner hym selfe, who not long after burnt also hys body.

John Day's device was "a cupid waking a sleeping person, and pointing to the rising sun, with the motto, 'Arise, for it is Daye.'"

One of the reasons for terminating the present sketch of the development of the Printing-Press with the career of John Day, was the fact that the fine Gothic letter of former periods may be said to have received its *coup de grâce* from the great perfection to which he brought the rounded Roman character, as we now use it. It is true that books printed in the Gothic, or black-letter, were published after his time, but only in small numbers; the more legible rounded type, which he had made so regular and beautiful, coming daily into more general use till the elder Gothic style, as that of the general text of a book, entirely disappeared, except in Germany; a revolution in the aspect of our books mainly brought about by the great printer whose career forms the closing event of the present volume.

HAVING described the general progress of the Printing-Press in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, the Low Countries, and England, up to the middle of the 16th century, it may be well, in concluding this portion of my subject, to say a few words on the progress of the art in other European countries in which it appeared at a somewhat later period. First of all Scotland should be mentioned, where the establishment of the new art as a native branch of trade appears to have been later by nearly half a century than in England, though James Watson, who obtained a patent for printing in Scotland from Queen Anne in 1717, assumes, in a short history of the art, which he afterwards published, that the Scotch possessed the art at a very early period, through their intercourse with the Low Countries, assigning in proof, the resemblance of the Scotch presses and ink, as well as many peculiarities of workmanship, to those of the Dutch, probably meaning those of the Germans, the terms Dutch and German being often confused at that period. But certain it is that no monuments belonging to the infancy of the art are found in Scotland; the earliest example being a Breviary for the Church of Aberdeen, published at Edinburgh in 1509; and it is thought that even this work may have been printed at Paris, as the lives of the Bishops of Murlland and Aberdeen, published in 1522, was certainly printed abroad, by the well-known Badius Ascencius, as was also the "Scotorum Historia," produced in 1527, though it bears the Scottish arms, and is dedicated in due form to James V. It was only in 1536 that a well-authenticated work of native Scottish printing appeared, which was undoubtedly imprinted at Edinburgh by Thomas Davidson, "dwelling fornens the Fryere Wynde;" and it was not till 1750, far beyond the times I am treating of in the present volume, when the brothers Foulis, who established the first fine-art academy in Scotland, produced at their printing-press editions of the Greek and Latin classics, with a perfection that had then no parallel in the United Kingdom, and of which I shall speak at length in a volume which will form an entirely distinct work, commencing with the printing of the middle of the 16th century, and carrying down the history of the art to the present time.

It is not to be wondered at that Scotland, placed at the extreme north-west of Europe, should be behind England and France in adopting the Printing-Press, when we find that even in Eastern Germany its progress was extremely slow. The first work printed in Vienna, for instance, did not appear earlier than 1482, and was then not the product of an established press, but the work of itinerant printers, who travelled from place to place with their tools and presses; and long after that period the art progressed but slowly in that uncongenial atmosphere; even the works of the best subsequent Viennese printers, Winterberger and Surgrenius, being unknown to bibliographic fame; while still farther east, in Hungary, the Press appears to have had a better chance than in the Austrian capital, as we find the "Historia Hungarica" printed at Buda by Andrea Hess as early as 1473. In Sweden the first printed book with a date appeared in 1483; being the well-known

and ever popular "Dialogus Creaturarum." In Constantinople the Jews introduced the art in the 15th century, and succeeded in printing the Hebrew history of Joseph Bengorion in 1490, and other books in 1492, notwithstanding the edict of Bajazet II., issued in 1483, which forbade the exercise of the art under pain of death, an edict which was renewed by his son Selim in 1515. It was not till the 18th century that the open establishment of printing-presses was permitted by the Turkish Government; and not till the close of that century, in 1798, during the French occupation, that the first press was set up in Egypt. In Syria, however, an Arabic Psalter had appeared in 1610, followed by a few other works of less importance at an earlier period. The Jesuits in the mean time had established Presses in the far East—namely, at Macao, in China, in 1590; and at Goa, in India, as early as 1563.

It was introduced in America by Mendoza in 1566; his printer in Mexico being Antonio Espinoza. In North America, considered as a group of English colonies, the first book was not produced earlier than 1638, at Cambridge, Massachusetts; while Boston was thirty-five years, and Philadelphia, from whence Bradford carried it to its present great American seat in New York, was fifty years later than that date.

In concluding that section of the history of the Printing-Press which was undertaken in the present volume, it may be well to recapitulate very briefly the events and chief features of the successive developments which mark the origin and progress of the art from its infancy in the 15th through the period of its vigorous development to the middle of the 16th century. A reference to Plate 2 will serve, for instance, to exhibit the forms of abbreviation, which in printed impressions from block-books before the invention of moveable types, were copied from those used in manuscripts, accompanied by the usual line employed to mark their occurrence. It will be seen that, in consequence of the labour required in engraving on wood, the abbreviations are greater and more frequent than in MSS., as shown in the inscription at the top left-hand corner, where *beatæ* is found in the extremely abbreviated form of *bt̄e*, with the usual mark of abbreviation; and it should be observed that when syllables were divided at the ends of lines, the same sign of connection (-) was used at that early period as at the present time.

The transition from text engraved on a wood block to that formed by means of separate metallic types, should be examined in Plates 9 and 10, from Koster's "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis," in which the irregularities of those letters engraved on wood in Plate 9 will be found considerably greater than in those produced by moveable types, as shown in Plate 10. The fact that the letters of certain pages of this work are actually impressions from moveable types, may be satisfactorily proved, says M. Didot, by the word *Baptesimo*, which is repeated three times close together in the 28th page; or by the word *Emitte*, repeated four times in the 58th page; both examples showing plainly, by special marks and peculiarities, that the letters of those words must have been cast in the same respective moulds.* It is thus proved that in a book printed at Haärlem before 1440, the principle of moveable types was understood and applied full fifteen years before Gutenberg brought his improved system to bear in Mayence; and a comparison of No. 1, Plate 11, with No. 2 in the same plate, will serve to show how closely the engravers of moveable types in Holland endeavoured to imitate the manuscript characters of the Dutch caligraphers of the period; and in Plate 13, a similar comparison may be made as regards Gutenberg's close imitation of German manuscripts of the time, in his famous Bible.

The Italian character, as written by copyists of the day in Italy, was copied with equal closeness by Sweynheim and Pannärtz, the founders of the first printing-press in Italy, as shown by the examples displayed in Plate 27 of MSS. of the period, in juxtaposition with the types of the first book printed in Italy, of which an entire page is reproduced in Plate 28.

* Fournier's is perhaps the best general description of this interesting work.

The successive methods of punctuation may also be traced with advantage in examining the illustrations of this volume in the chronological order in which they are placed. The student should bear in mind that the *punctus*, or point, as used to denote a pause, was an invention long subsequent to that of the letters of the alphabet, and one that was only very gradually perfected. It is true that after the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium (120 B.C.), both Greek and Roman writers appear to have admitted pretty generally the useful principle of three kinds of pauses, answering pretty nearly to the comma, semicolon, and period of the present time; but such a system, though admitted by grammarians, was but scantily followed by copyists; and we find that in most of the earliest class of MSS., even the finest, and not excepting those executed with the greatest care and beauty, in those grand uncial characters which we admire so much, there is no attempt at punctuation of any kind whatever, one sentence running on into another without even an extra space to mark a division of the sense. About the time of Alcuin, however, in the course of the 8th and 9th centuries, an attempt was made to remedy this defect; Alcuin himself especially recommending his copyists to pay great attention to the marking of pauses, "per cola et commata." It will be found, on examining the present series of illustrations, that the sign which we term a semicolon was first used in MSS. and early printed books for an entirely distinct purpose—namely, to mark the abbreviations of *bus* and *que* at the end of Latin words; from which position it gradually glided into use as a sign of punctuation in a rather interesting manner, which there is not space to discuss in this place.

It will have been perceived that the use of punctuation only became systematized after the invention of printing; and its course of establishment appears to have been as follows:—At first a larger letter was used to mark the beginning of a fresh sentence, as will be observed on examining the earlier examples of the present volume, and occasionally the comma pause was indicated by a little oblique line or bar, termed *incisum* in Latin, and *comma* in Greek. The dot, placed at the lower part of the line (.), expressed a moderate pause, and when placed at the top (˙), indicated the termination of the phrase. The full point was termed a colon; and when the dot and the line were combined, in order to denote an intermediate kind of pause, the double sign was called a semicolon. Sometimes the point or full period will be found denoted by a star of six dots, as (⁘), and sometimes a triangle of three (⁖).

It will be interesting also to note the first appearance of numerated pages; a convenience, and, as we now feel it, a necessity, which was one of the later developments of the printing system. We find that even Aldus himself, while in one of his interesting prefaces he recommends students to number the pages of their books for convenience of reference, had not even then thought of doing it for them in his printing-press, so great appears to be the human instinct of conservatism and the dread of innovation upon established forms, a feeling which is perhaps the very foundation of the human capacity for the establishment and observance of Order, which is one of the fundamental principles of civilized society.

Another point which will yield much instruction as regards the progress of the art is the gradual equalization of the lines, without arbitrary divisions of syllables. In the earlier specimens the length of the lines will be found extremely irregular, notwithstanding the most arbitrary and barbarous divisions of words; while in the finest works produced towards the close of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, both those defects had disappeared.

I cannot close this brief and, in too many respects, imperfect attempt to trace the early history of Printing without quoting the remark of M. Didot, that "the discovery of the Printing-Press is the incident that forms the true separation of the ancient and the modern world, opening up a more brilliant and wider horizon to the genius of man,—who from that epoch became endowed with a higher, and entirely different kind of existence."

The marvellous rapidity of its development and extension is illustrated by the fact that

Schoiffher, who had witnessed the struggles of the great inventor to produce the first real book that ever issued from the press, about 1455, not only lived to see the brilliant and widely-extended triumphs of the art, in the thousands of volumes that were annually poured forth from teeming presses in all the great cities of Europe, during the next fifty years; but also the masterpieces of exquisite workmanship which appeared about the opening of the great 16th century.

APPENDIX.

—o—

NOTICE.—It was originally intended to print an Appendix to the present volume, as alluded to in several places in the preceding chapters; but finally the author has considered that the accumulation of additional details, even as a separate Appendix, would be inconsistent with the general and popular form of the present work, and only tend to embarrass the ordinary reader.

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